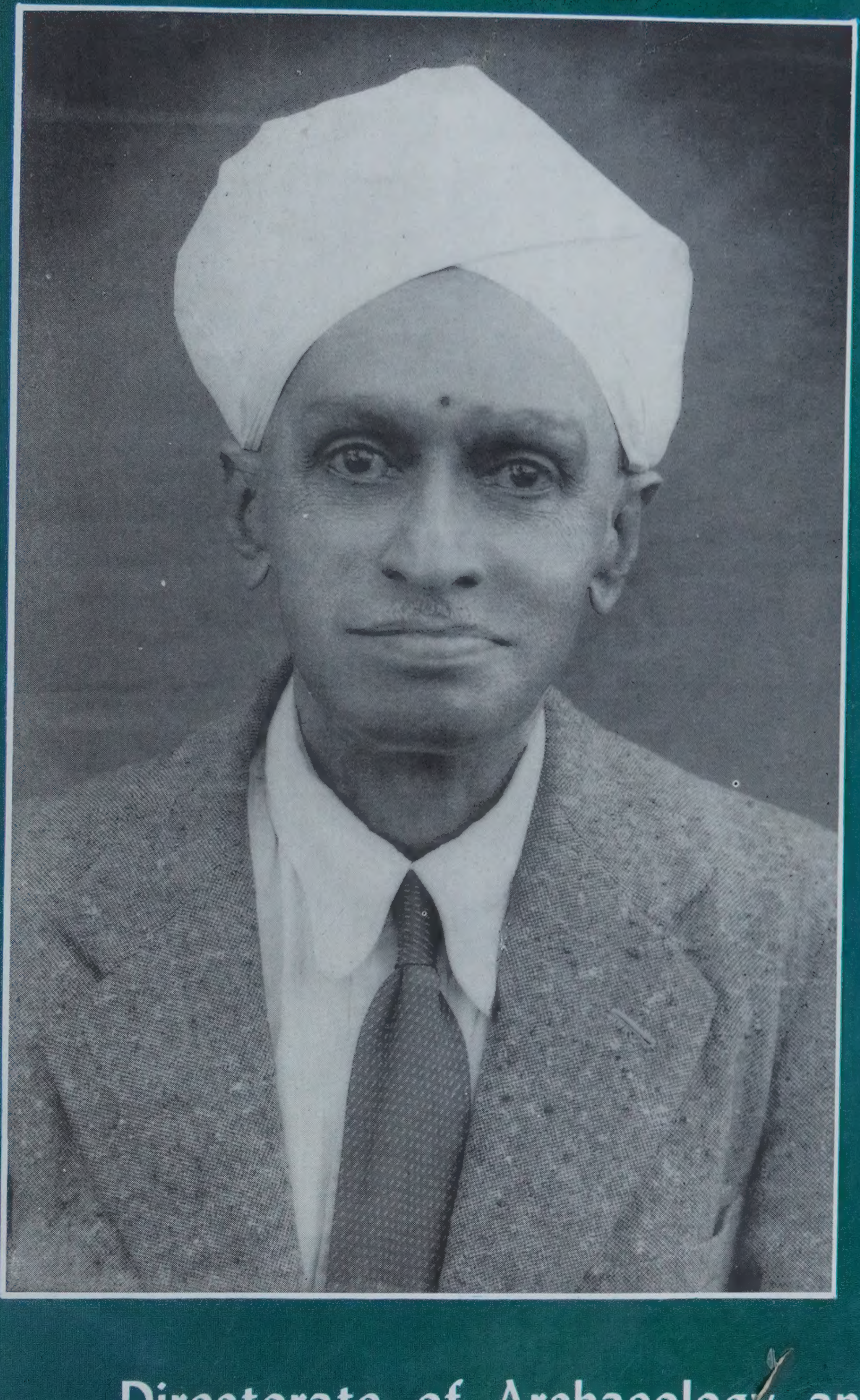

EPIGRAPHICAL STUDIES

(Introductions and
Papers of N. L. Rao)

Chief Editor
Dr. B. R. Gopal

Editors
Dr. Srinivasa Havanur
Dr. H. S. Gopala Rao

Directorate of Archaeology and Museums
Mysore
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KANNADA AND CULTURE

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VIDHANA SOUDHA, BANGALORE-1

DATED: 01.12.1996

FOREWORD

This is yet another volume of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums of the Government of Karnataka. This contains the writings of Sri N.Lakshminarayana Rao, who was the Government Epigraphist for India. He had been trained by Rao Bahadur H.Krishna Sastri who was a great scholar in Sanskrit and all South Indian languages, and also in History. Sri N.L. Rao was his worthy disciple and imbibed his scholarship. Sri N.L. Rao was a disciplined scholar and like a true historian stood for truth. He wrote very little but what he wrote was solid. The readings of the inscriptions given by him were perfect and the interpretations made thereupon were ingenious. This would certainly be of great value to researchers.

Dr. D.V. Devaraj, the Director of Archaeology and Museums initiated this idea and assigned the work of editing this volume to Prof. B.R. Gopal as chief editor and Dr. Srinivasa Havanur and Dr. H.S. Gopalarao as editors. These three have taken pains to collect all the writings of Sri N.L. Rao, edit them, read the proofs etc., and bring it to its present shape.

I am sure this would be of great help to students and researchers of History.

(LEELADEVI R PRASAD)

PREFACE

It gives me immense pleasure to write a few words about "Epigraphical Studies" which is a collection of the research writings of late Sri. N. Lakshminarayana Rao who was the Government Epigraphist for India, of the Archaeological Survey of India. Sri N.L. Rao was a great epigraphist and a scholar of repute. He was well-versed in Sanskrit, Kannada and Telugu. Trained as an Epigraphist by Rao Bahadur Sri H.Krishna Sastri, he was always keen on giving a perfect reading of inscriptions, before interpreting them. He has edited volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* and of *Epigraphia Indica.* Almost all of his writings are based on epigraphs and the interpretations given by him are thought-provoking and results of his in-depth studies.

The Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in Karnataka decided to collect all his writings and bring them out in one single volume. Since all of these are based on epigraphy, the volume is entitled 'Epigraphical Studies' - He has not written much; but whatever he has written is superb. Prof. B.R. Gopal as chief editor and Dr. Srinivasa Havanur and Dr. H.S. Gopala Rao as editors were requested to collect all his writings and edit them. They have done a neat job of the same. We are sure this work would be of great interest and inspiration to researchers in the field.

Place: Mysore
Date: 28.11.96

(D.V. Devaraj)
Director
Archaeology and Museums
Mysore

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

It was around 1956 that I first came in contact with late N.Lakshminarayana Rao who had already been known to me through his volume of Bombay Karnataka Inscriptions and the 'Karnāṭakada Arusumanetanagaḷu' (Kannada) jointly authored by Sri. R.S. Panchamukhi and himself. When he rejoined the office of the Chief Epigraphist of India (then at Ootacamund), he had to pick either of us - Dr. S.H. Ritti and myself - as his assistant. His choice was Ritti since I was a Research Assistant and was being trained in both Kannada and Telugu respectively by Dr. P.B.Desai and Sri. H.K.Narasimhaswamy.

Sri Rao had fixed up his residence *cum* office adjacent to our own office. The office consisted of a big hall with an attached bathroom and Ritti's table was at the other end. Outwardly Sri Rao looked severe and would always enter the office with a full suit on. For him, a suit comprised of an inner waist coat, and waist thereupon with matching trousers. A turban completed his attire. He always meant business and there would be no loose talk. Almost every evening, after 5 P.M., I would be in his office to discuss with him certain points pertaining to my thesis. However, the discussions would cover so many points that I would only be listening to his deliberate, dedicated discussions rather than take notes. It was then that I knew how learned the master was.

N.L. Rao was first an epigraphist and then alone a historian. For him a correct reading of the text of an epigraph was the first concern. Thereafter came the understanding and interpretation. He, like his predecessors in the field of epigraphy, edited the inscriptions more scientifically. There would be a note on the script, the orthography and palaeography. A sound knowledge of phonetics and grammar also was essential. This can be seen in his editing the Gokak plates of Dejja-maharaja (No. 6), Aṇṇigēri inscription of Kīrtivarma II (No. 10), Siroda plates of Bhōjarāja (No. 5), Koilkoṇḍa pillar inscription (No. 8), Haldipur plates of Gōpāladēva (No. 9), Two stone inscriptions of Kṛishṇa II (No. 11), Jura praśasti of Kṛishṇa III (No. 12), Pangal inscription of Qutb Shah (No. 19) or the latest Tamil inscriptions at Mahākōsal (No. 21).

This volume contains Introductions to S.I.I. volumes XI, pt. I, XI, pt. II and XVIII. These are historical surveys of the inscriptions contained in those volumes, superbly handled. Only the first one, being authored by three editors, is in a different style altogether, since Sri Rao could not imprint his own on them. His papers on history are in-depth studies. His identification of the river Prēhāra (No. 30), the genealogy and chronology of the Noḷamba Pallavas (No. 33), the family of Arikesarin, patron of Pampa (No. 53) and the Nāyakas of Keḷadi (No. 39) exhibit his vast knowledge of Karnataka history in particular and South Indian history in general. His influence on contemporary sculpture on the Kannada poet Rudrabhaṭṭa (No. 37) is a result of his ingenious thinking. More convincing and the most acceptable is his interpretation of the term Pulakesin, which has been interpreted by several scholars differently. In No. 50 he deals with the meaning of Polekesi (Pulakesi, Pulikesi) where he has argued that *pole* and *Kēśi* are two Kannada terms. *Pole* means the room wherein the child is born and which is normally referred to as *holemane*. *Kēśi* is the same as Kēśava and the term would actually mean that the child was shining like Srī Kṛishṇa (Kēśava) even when he was in the *holemane* itself. This is the most satisfactory and acceptable interpretation of the term Pole-Kesi which needs no emendation.

Compared to his English articles, the ones in Kannada are in the nature of surveys. Even in English, the ten years of Indian Epigraphy (No. 1) is a survey more useful and pertinent to the point.

For N.L.Rao, the correct reading of a word, a phrase would be of great importance. Infact, the Talangere inscription of Jayasimha edited by himself and Sri D.L.Narasimhachar (No. 14) is the result of two giants in the field of epigraphy and literature joining their masterful ideas in editing that inscription.

I was so much overstunned by his knowledge that I was always commenting that he should give more to the Society. But he would not write unless he was convinced himself of the pros and cons of the subject matter he was writing upon. He would rather wait, he told me, to get more information, more accurate information rather than be in a hurry to write. In this way, he has differed from many other epigraphists and historians. What little he wrote was full of meaning. There may be many of them in the form of Notes and readings and interpretations made by other scholars on which he had his own stamp. Thus Rao was first an epigraphist. His works were more in the nature of epigraphical studies. All others did not find much importance. Being a scholar in Sanskrit, Kannada and also Telugu he could have a clear conception of what was expected of him. He dilated upon unimportant matters of little consequence. His was more of matter - of - fact thinking. In explanation of his thinkings he had been more a grammarian, a logician and had an advantage of thinking sharp. He was a stickler but would see things openly than others.

One word about the diacritical marks Rao used. They are different. I tried to bring in some sort of uniformity. But finding it stupendous, I have left them as they are in the originals. My colleagues have helped me a lot in gathering all the material, reading the proofs etc. I owe my thanks to them.

Dr. B.R. Gopal
Chief Editor

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लक्ष्मीनारायणं वंदे ललितं लोकनन्दकम् ।
यन्नामस्मरणेनापि नरो याति समुन्नतिम् ॥ १

2

अदूरवर्तिनी ह्येते श्रवणे नयने तथा ।
तथाऽपि सुमहत्तेषां व्यापारे विद्यतेऽन्तरम ॥ २

प्रायो या श्रूयते श्रोत्रैः कर्णाकर्णि वदज्जनैः ।
सा कथा बहुधा रम्या भव्या चातीव विस्तृता ॥ ३

तदेव दृश्यते यावत्प्रत्यक्षं स्वात्मप्रत्ययम् ।
भिन्नं रम्यतरं वाऽपि जायते चक्षुर्वै सत्यम् ॥ ४

विपर्ययोऽथ वर्तेत विधानेष्वपि केषुचित् ।
परोक्षादपि प्रत्यक्षमाधिकं यत्र गम्यते ॥ ५

3

इत्थं मेऽनुभवः प्राप्तो नीलाचलनिवासिनः ।
मद्रासनगरादत्र कार्यार्थं यावदागतः ॥ ६

श्रीमान् 'नारायणो' नित्यं 'लक्ष्मी' पदसमन्वितः ।
'राव्' इत्युपपदं यस्य स्थितमुत्तरतः सदा ॥ ७
सोऽयं मान्यो मम चिरं चक्षुषोर्विषयोऽभवत् ।
स्नेह सौहार्द सौजन्य सत्काराणां च शेवधिः ॥ ८
मिथ्यास्तोत्रं न जानामि प्रशंसामपि वा वृथा ।

न शिक्षितो मृषा वक्तुं भावितं भाषितं मम ॥ ९
वर्णनीयोऽस्ति किं तत्रभवतो ललिताकृतिः ।
सर्वेषां गोचरा त्वेषा स्मेराननविराजिता ॥ १०
ततोऽपि रुचिरः स्वान्तरात्मा स्फुरति संततम् ।
अगोचरप्रकाशोऽपि केषांचन सुगोचरः ॥ ११
एधते मेधया धीमांस्तेजस्वी प्रतिभान्वितः ।
दुर्गमं गहनं येन सुलभं गृह्यतेऽञ्जसा ॥ १२

४

एकस्यामपि विद्यायां दुस्तरं पाटवं यदा ।
भूरिविद्यासु प्रावीण्यं कष्टं कष्टतरं परम् ॥ १३
तदस्ति येषां संपन्नं विरला मनुजा भुवि ।
तादृशेषु भवानेको नैकज्ञानविशारदः ॥ १४
अनेकासु च भाषासु साहित्येषु विचक्षणः ।
संस्कृते प्राकृते प्राज्ञो देश्यभाषासु पण्डितः ॥ १५
परेषामपि भाषाया मांग्लायां च पुरोगमः ।
बहुश्रुतः सदा वाग्मी काव्यशास्त्रविनोदवान् ॥ १६

५

तत्राप्यथ विशेषोऽयं तत्तत्प्राक्तनवस्तुषु ।

लक्ष्मीनारायणं वंदे ललितं लोकनन्दकम् ।
यन्नामस्मरणेनापि नरो याति समुन्नतिम् ॥ १

2

अदूरवर्तिनी ह्येते श्रवणे नयने तथा ।
तथाऽपि सुमहत्तेषां व्यापारे विद्यतेऽन्तरम् ॥ २

प्रायो या श्रूयते श्रोत्रैः कर्णाकर्णि वदज्जनैः ।
सा कथा बहुधा रम्या भव्या चातीव विस्तृता ॥ ३

तदेव दृश्यते यावत्प्रत्यक्षं स्वात्मप्रत्ययम् ।
भिन्नं रम्यतरं वाऽपि जायते चक्षुर्वै सत्यम् ॥ ४
विपर्ययोऽथ वर्तेत विधानेष्वपि केषुचित् ।
परोक्षादपि प्रत्यक्ष माधिकं यत्र गम्यते ॥ ५

3

इत्थं मेऽनुभवः प्राप्तो नीलाचलनिवासिनः ।
मद्रासनगरादत्र कार्यार्थं यावदागतः ॥ ६

श्रीमान् 'नारायणो' नित्यं 'लक्ष्मी'पदसमन्वितः ।
'राव्' इत्युपपदं यस्य स्थितमुत्तरतः सदा ॥ ७
सोऽयं मान्यो मम चिरं चक्षुषोर्विषयोऽभवत् ।
स्नेह सौहार्द सौजन्य सत्काराणां च शेवधिः ॥ ८
मिथ्यास्तोत्रं न जानामि प्रशंसामपि वा वृथा ।

न शिक्षितो मृषा ननुं भावितं भाषितं मम ॥ ९
वर्णनीयो ऽस्ति किं तत्र भवतो ललिताकृतिः।
सर्वेषां गोचरा त्वेषा स्मेराननविराजिता ॥ १०
ततो ऽपि रुचिरः स्वान्तरात्मा स्फुरति संततम्।
अगोचरप्रकाशो ऽपि केषांचन सुगोचरः ॥ ११
एधते मेधया धीमांस्तेजस्वी प्रतिभान्वितः।
दुर्गमं गहनं येन सुलभं गृह्यते ऽजसा ॥ १२

४

एकस्यामपि विद्यायां दुस्तरं पाटवं यदा।
भूरिविद्यासु प्रावीण्यं कष्टं कष्टतरं परम् ॥ १३
तदस्ति येषां संपन्नं विरला मनुजा भुवि।
तादृशेषु भवानेको नैकज्ञानविशारदः ॥ १४
अनेकासु च भाषासु साहित्येषु विचक्षणः।
संस्कृते प्राकृते प्राज्ञो देश्यभाषासु पण्डितः ॥ १५
परेषामपि भाषाया मांग्लायांच पुरोगमः।
बहुश्रुतः सदा वाग्मी काव्यशास्त्रविनोदवान् ॥ १६

५

तत्राप्यथ विशेषो ऽयं तत्तत्प्रान्तजनस्तुषु।

अभिज्ञो हृदयँ तेषाँ भूयो जानाति सत्वरम् ॥ १७
प्रागतीतेषु कालेषु सहस्रेषु शतेषु वा ।
संभवो घटितो यादृक् तद्वेत्तुं दुष्करं बुधैः ॥ १८
तदप्यन्वेषकैर्लोके बहुभिः संप्रकाशितम् ।
कल्पितं कुशलैः शास्त्रं पुरातत्त्वमिति श्रुतम् ॥ १९
प्राचीनलिपिभाषासु प्रबंधा ये विलेखिताः ।
शासनानि शिलाताम्रे चोत्कीर्णानि सहस्रशः ॥ २०
एतेषाँ वाचनं सम्यग् व्याख्यानं च समग्रतः ।
पुरातत्त्वस्य मुख्याँगं मन्यन्ते विबुधा मुहुः ॥ २१
तत्पुरातत्त्वविज्ञाने लेखशास्त्रे विशेषतः ।
पारदृश्वा भवान् धीरो बहुधा च विवेकवान् ॥ २२
सँस्कृतँ प्राकृतं चान्ध्रं कन्नडँ तमिळं तथा ।
एतद्भाषासु लिपिषु प्राप्ता लेखा ह्यनेकशः ॥ २३
तेषामध्ययनँ कृत्स्नं सविमर्शं प्रकाशनम् ।
कृतँ ग्रंथादिषु तथा प्रबँधेषु च भूरिशः ॥ २४
सँपादयति च निपुणं 'भारतीयप्राच्यलेखनप्रकाशिकाम् ।
देशविदेशे विदितं यस्याः शासनविषये स्वप्रामाण्यम् ॥ २५

चित्रं चित्रं यदपि बहुधा जृंभते मत्स्वभावो ।
लोके लब्धं स्थिरतरपदं नास्त्यहो मे वरीयः” ॥
एवं वक्त्रीं वदति पदवी “शारदे याहि दूरम् ।
बालेऽमूर्त्ते गगनवसने किं त्वया निःस्वया मे” ॥ २६

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ज्ञानं फलति ज्ञानेन ज्ञानं श्रेयस्करं परम् ।
तथाऽपि लौकिकं तस्य मूल्यं निर्मीयते जेनैः ॥ २७
विद्यायाः परिपाको यः प्रागल्भ्यं च धियस्तथा ।
कर्मणां कौशलं यावदेतेषामुचितं यदि ॥ २८
न फलं लौकिकं तावदाप्तो नार्थो न गौरवम् ।
नाधिकारोऽपि यद्यत्र किं भवान्दोषभाजनम् ॥ २९
विधेर्वैषम्यमेवैतद् विचित्रचरितं नृणाम् ॥ ३०
‘चरन्वनान्ते नवमञ्जरीषु ।
नषट्पदो गंधफली माजिघ्रत् ॥
सा किं न रम्या स च किं न रन्ता ।
बलीयसी केवलमीश्वरेच्छा’ ॥ ३१
एवं यत्कविना प्रोक्तं सद्ग्रन्थान्तरतः पुरा ।
एतस्मिन्निजये हन्त हा हा दृश्यते ध्रुवम् ॥ ३२

COPPER PLATE PRESENTED TO SHRI N.L. RAO - TEXT

या वाणी सर्वतो भद्रा रेखारूपेषु राजते ।
भूयस्यै भवतां भूत्यै भवतात् साक्षरात्मिका ॥

शुभमस्तु ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीजयाभ्युदय शालिवाहनशकसंवत्सरेषु षण्णवत्यधिकाष्टशतोत्तरसहस्रेषु वर्त्तमाने आनन्दनामसंवत्सरे ~~दक्षिणायने~~ उत्तरायणे हेमन्ते पौषशुद्धनवम्यां भौमवासरेऽद्य (क्रि॰ श॰ २१·१-१९७५)

स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनविख्यात भारतवर्षान्तर्गत-भरतखण्डे भारतीयसर्वकारप्रतिष्ठापितपुरातत्त्वसर्वेक्षणशाखान्यतमशासनसंशोधनकार्यालये उद्योगपदवीं प्रविष्टानां क्रमप्राप्तोत्तरोत्तरोत्तमपदवीकानां अवगतलिपिशास्त्रतत्त्वानां द्राविडसंस्कृतादिभाषासु परं प्रावीण्यमुपगतानां अनुसन्धानधुरन्धराणां प्रकाशितासाधारणविमर्शनग्रन्थरत्नानां पदवीतो निवृत्तानां सत्याचारधर्मपराणां भारतवनितासुपुत्राणां कर्णाटकवनिताकर्णावतंसानां धन्यजनिमतां सुगृहीतनामधेयानां

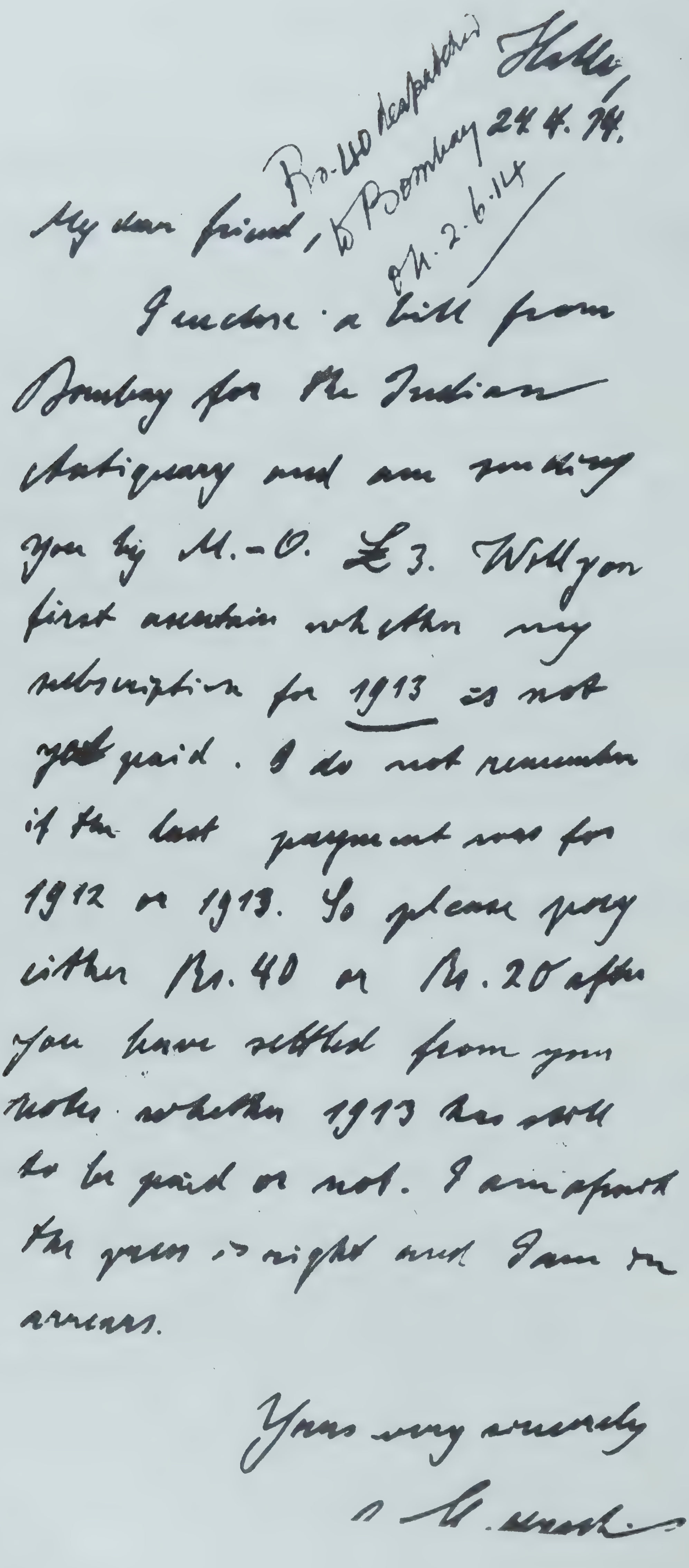
श्रीयुत नेलमङ्गल लक्ष्मीनारायणमहोदयानां तत्कृतशासनसेवां बहुमान्य भारतीयपुराभिलेखपरिषदः प्रथमवार्षिकमहोत्सवावसरे तदङ्गभूतैः सुहृद्भिस्तेभ्यः सादरं समर्पितेयं परिषन्मुद्राङ्किता

ताम्रपट्टिका ॥

पूर्वशासनसंस्कर्त्रे संस्कृतेऽपूर्वशासनम् ।
निर्माय भवते दत्तं विद्वत्सन्तोषकारणम् ॥

॥ इति शम् ॥

*



Halle, 24.4.14.

Rs. 40 despatched to Bombay on 2.6.14

My dear friend,

I enclose a bill from Bombay for the Indian Antiquary and am sending you by M.-O. £3. Will you first ascertain whether my subscription for 1913 is not yet paid. I do not remember if the last payment was for 1912 or 1913. So please pay either Rs. 40 or Rs. 20 after you have settled from your notes whether 1913 has still to be paid or not. I am afraid the greater is right and I am in arrears.

Yours very sincerely

PRAKTANAVIMARSA VICHAKSHANA
MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA. RAO BAHADUR
R. NARASIMHACHARYA, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
RETIRED DIRECTOR OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN MYSORE

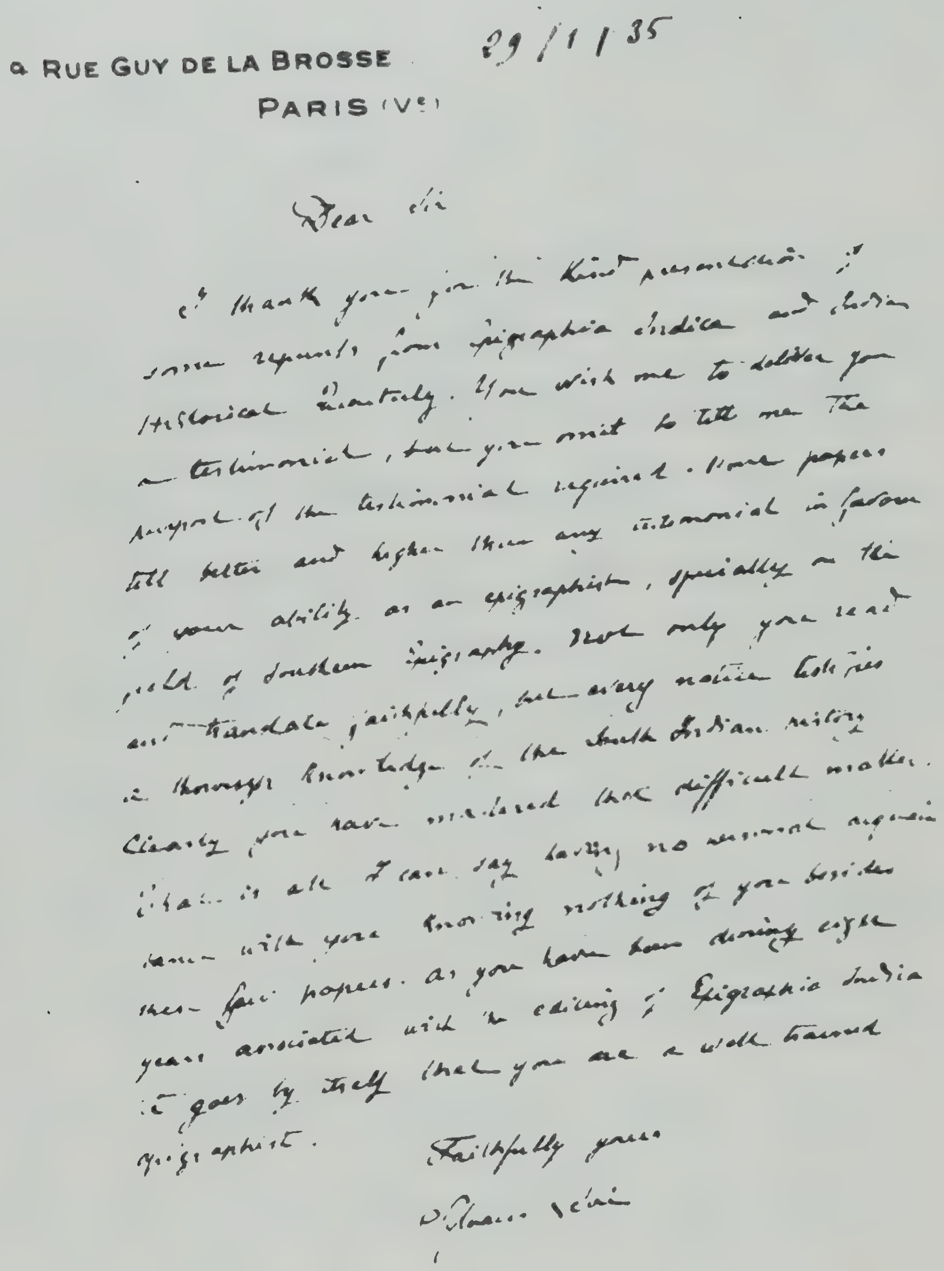
MALLESWARAM
BANGALORE

Dated 18 - 1 - 1935.

I have known Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao, M.A., for some years. His contributions to the Epigraphia Indica, Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica, Hyderabad Archaeological Report and the Indian Historical Quarterly bear testimony to his attainments in Kannada, Sanskrit and Telugu and to his researches in the field of History and Epigraphy. He has been helping the Government Epigraphist for several years in editing the Epigraphia Indica. He has also helped in the preparation of Volumes VI and VII of *South Indian Inscriptions*. He is the Joint Editor of the Volume on Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions which is being printed.

A perusal of his articles has impressed me with the care and diligence shown by him in his work. His qualifications are of a high standard. He deserves every encouragement.

R. Narasimhachar



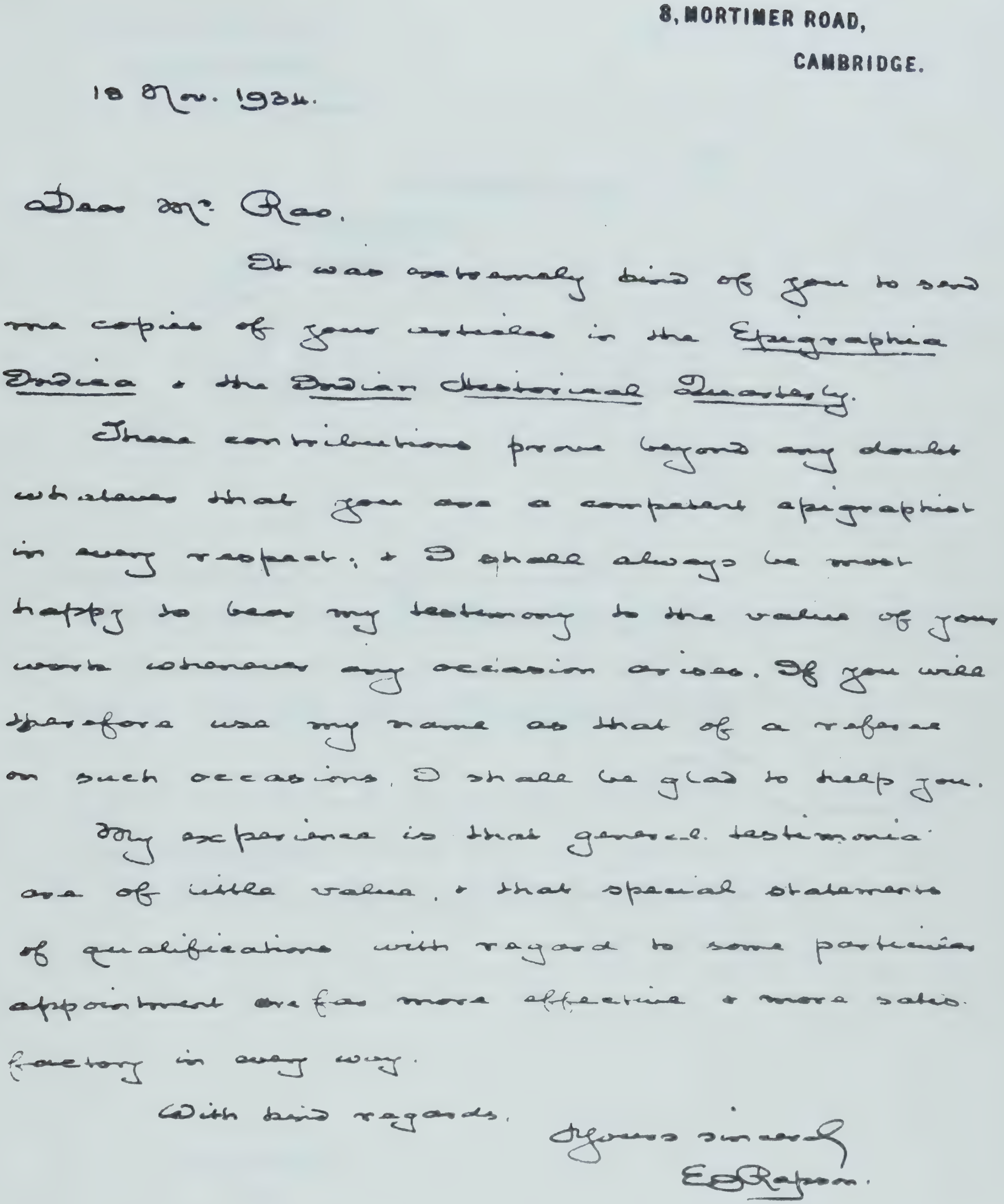
9 RUE GUY DE LA BROSSE
PARIS (Ve)

29/1/35

Dear Sir

I thank you for the kind presentation of some reprints from Epigraphia Indica and Indian Historical Quarterly. You wish me to deliver you a testimonial, but you omit to tell me the purpose of the testimonial required. Your papers tell better and higher than any testimonial in favour of your ability as an epigraphist, specially in the field of Southern Epigraphy. Not only you read and translate faithfully, but every notice testifies a thorough knowledge of the South Indian history. Clearly you have mastered that difficult matter. That is all I can say having no personal acquaintance with you knowing nothing of you besides these fine papers. As you have been during eight years associated with the editing of Epigraphia Indica it goes by itself that you are a well trained epigraphist.

Faithfully yours



8, MORTIMER ROAD,
CAMBRIDGE.

18 Nov. 1934.

Dear Mr Rao.

It was extremely kind of you to send me copies of your articles in the *Epigraphia Indica* & the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.

These contributions prove beyond any doubt whatever that you are a competent epigraphist in every respect; & I shall always be most happy to bear my testimony to the value of your work whenever any occasion arises. If you will therefore use my name as that of a referee on such occasions, I shall be glad to help you.

My experience is that general testimonials are of little value, & that special statements of qualifications with regard to some particular appointment are far more effective & more satisfactory in every way.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely
E J Rapson.

No. 316

GOVERNMENT MUSEUM,
Pantheon Road, Egmore,
Madras, 28th March 190.

From

EDGAR THURSTON, Esq.
SUPERINTENDENT,
GOVERNMENT MUSEUM,
Madras,

To

The Government Epigraphist.

SIR,

With reference to your No. 172, dated 17th Instant, I have the honour to state that; M. R. Ry. M. Narayanaswami Iyer saw the copper plate grants before they were shown to you.

*To be returned. 2. Letters (as per enclosed list) in *origina received from the District Officers advisin despatch of the copper plates are herewith forwarded.

I have the honor to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,

Edgar Thurston

Superintendent,
Government Museum

F./1 500—22-8-05.

REMINISCENCES

ನೆನಪುಗಳು

MY REMINISCENCES OF MR. N. LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO

H.K. Narasimhaswami*

I came to know Mr. Lakshminarayana Rao, intimately only long after I joined the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy at Madras way back around March 1932 under circumstances that were providential. Contrary to my plan to continue my studies at the Presidency College, Madras, for my post-graduation in Chemistry, with the help of the late Rao Bahadur C.R. Krishnamacharlu, the then Superintendent for Epigraphy and my late father's colleague, I ended up in becoming the Reader in Epigraphy in the Epigraphy office at Madras. Mr. Krishnamacharlu and most of the members of the technical section of his office had worked under my late father Rao Bahadur H. Krishnasastri. Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao was then working in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacumund under Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India. He was then residing in Belmont, a house that my father had acquired when he took up his service as assistant to Dr. E.Hultzsch, a German linguist and the first Epigraphist to the then Government of Madras in the early years of the 20th century (1886-1903).

Long after that, when the Madras office was merged with the Head office at Ootacumund, as a war measure, around 1944 when important offices located in Madras were virtually shifted into the interior regions, I got the thrill of going back to Ootacumund where I had spent my childhood and boyhood days! Mr. Rao who was then occupying my house at Fernhill invited me and members of my family with open arms and from then on the saga of our friendship commenced. I have deliberately deleted many details covering a few decades of this long drawn episode as they are not relevant to my theme at present.

My memory as we settled down to work in the Ootacumund office goes back to the task of revision of the volume in the series "South Indian Inscriptions" containing the texts of some 500 Telugu inscriptions collected by the Madras office upto the year 1925 or so, and assigned for being edited to Mr. J.Ramayya Pantulu, an erudite scholar deeply interested in the study of inscriptions of the Andhra districts of the then Madras Presidency. Sri J.R. Pantulu having died soon after the first proof sheets of the volume were printed, the work had to be completed by our office and Mr. Rao and I were directed to revise the proofs and bring the volume to its final form and issue it posthumously in its author's name. It was a work of patience, as the texts of each and every inscription had to be checked with the original estampages of the respective inscriptions for accuracy. In the process, we came across many howlers, some truly Pickwickian that made us laugh heartily, but alas, they are long past my memory! Nevertheless, this engaging work resulted in my getting closer still to Mr. Rao for his genial outlook and way of life.

It was part of my work as Senior Assistant to collect, collate and get the typescript copy of the lists of inscriptions collected by each one of the other members of the Technical staff ready for the Annual Report. These lists furnished the details of location, date and a gist of the contents of the inscription. I used to consult Mr. Rao as and when occasion arose during the course of this work. It was a fragmentary inscription in Kannada characters attributable to about the 6th or 7th century A.D. It was engraved at the bottom right corner of the stone in 2 or 3 lines and the only words that could be made out were read as *ettabahali....svargālayak=kēridōn,* obviously referring to the death of a person, the hero whose image is depicted on the stone containing the inscription, The gist of the record was given as "mentions a certain Ettabahali as having attained *svarga,* evidently in a fight or battle". On checking the impression of the inscription, the word read as *etta* was clearly *etti,* thus making the meaning of the word *ettibahali* i.e., marching on an attack, beyond any doubt. When I showed this to Mr. Rao, he had a heartly laugh! The gist as given in the list was duly corrected. There were many such incidents in the course of my work but this alone has stayed fast in my memory as my colleague who listed this inscription which was one among his collection for the year, was at that time a fresh recruit to the office but he held a doctoral degree in linguistics!

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* Superintendent for Epigraphy (Retd.), 3, MIG Flats, II Avenue, Indira Nagar, Madras 600 020.

Turning now to our domestic field of life, the circumstances that led to my close intimacy with Mr. Rao and members of his family arose not so much out of the turn of events that brought us to live together at Belmont, the house that my father had left for us but out of the fact that Mr. Rao was taken into this office by my father decades earlier when Mr. Rao, as a young scholar, presented himself before him at Ootacumund with a letter of introduction from Dr. M.H. Krishna, the then Professor of Indian History and Director of Archaeology in Mysore.

Decades rolled on and in the process many changes in the destinies of the two offices that dealt with Epigraphy, viz., the Head office at Ootacumund and its vital unit mainly engaged in collection of inscriptions in South India and stationed at Madras, took place until, as I pointed out earlier, the latter office was merged sometime in 1944 with the Head Office at Ootacumund. Mr. Rao took us in heartily and with open arms. I felt thrilled to be back in my old surroundings and my wife and children enjoyed the change immensely in the homely atmosphere that prevailed at Belmont. A few of us, to wit, Mr. Rao, myself, Mr. Shrouti, Mr. Rao's brother-in-law, a very hearty gentleman who was the then Municipal Assistant Engineer at Ooty and Mr. Srinivasa Rao, the steno-typist of our office, all of us living close by, used to gather in the evenings and go on long walks along the beautiful roads flanked by giant eucalyptus and cyprus trees and free from any kind of disturbance either vehicular or human as we meet with the cites and towns now-a-days. The old Ooty town too was no exception even in those days to the banes of excessive congestion and its consequences. My junior colleagues Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Dr. B.R. Gopal, Dr. S.H. Ritti, Dr. Lahiri were not able to join our group for walks as their residences were somewhat away from Belmont. It was during one such evening walk along the less frequented but throwing out to my vision breath taking views of ever-green forests full of the rich-green rhododendrons in their brilliant crimson bloom that Mr. Rao, touching me on my shoulder and pointing out a massive gate of a big bungalow said, "Narasimhaswami, see what is written on the plaque on that pillar of the gate!" Yes, I read out the name of that Bungalow; written in bold letters in English was "Lingavilla"! "What do you see right below?" queried Mr. Rao. I read out the word *ayyō pāpa* in white chalk and in Kannada script! For a few seconds, I felt dazed and then all of us burst out in uncontrollable laughter that ended in stitches in our stomachs! Sharp indeed was that guy's wit who wrote this graffiti! This incident still persists in my memory whenever I reminisce of my past life in Belmont with Mr. Rao. There were many such funny incidents but all of them have faded out of my memory in the long stretch of time.

When I read through the long list of Mr. Rao's contributions under the heading "Epigraphical studies" and the items under "Śāsana Śāstra" in Kannada, sent to me by Dr. Havanur, it set me ruminating for a long time how decades rolled on without my being aware of Mr. Rao's profundity and output on the subject of his work in Epigraphy and realised with great sorrow my having neglected a rare opportunity to have benefited myself by my long and close association with him. I realised too the truth of Arjuna's plaintive address to the lord in the Bhagavad Gita:

Yachchāvahāsārtham=asatkṛitōsi vihāraśayyāsana-bhōjanēshu |
Ekōthavāpy-Achchyuta tat samaksham tat kshāmayē tvām–aham aprамēyam ||
(Bhagawad Gīta, XI, 42)

SOME REMINISCENCES ON MY TEACHER

K.G. Krishnan*

"An Epigraphist is one who is able to decipher inscriptions of his chosen field. All others who write on such printed text of inscriptions to pool the information on any aspect of history are also epigraphists only by courtesy. It is possible that some of the latter may be capable of deciphering an inscription but scholars of the former group are supposed to be dedicated to epigraphy proper. It is physically impossible for all to check up the readings of required inscriptions when they are numerous. It is therefore necessary for an epigraphist to be sure of his reading when he publishes texts of inscriptions intended for the use of researchers."

These were the golden words of advice given to me by Sriyuta Nelamangalam Lakshminarayan Rao, a silent but steady worker in Epigraphy who retired as Government Epigraphist for India in 1955. Way back, towards the end of December in 1949, I happened to see a small item of advertisement in 'The Hindu' which read as follows: "Wanted a candidate with Post-graduate qualification in Tamil with sound knowledge of Sanskrit and South Indian History. Knowledge of any other Dravidian language is desirable. For a post of Epigraphical Assistant. Pay Rs. 160-330 with allowances. Apply within the 10th January 1950." As I was looking for a good opening I immediately jumped with joy and applied for the same. The call for an interview from Ootacamund where the office was located came in the third week of January 1950. I happened to be the only candidate present there on the date of interview. Later on I learnt that another candidate had been interviewed on the previous day due to some urgency.

Incidentally I may remark that this type of short advertisement had not appeared till now nor has anyone turned up to satisfy these requirements.

When I entered the room with a trepidating heart for the interview I could see a person with stern and alert looks and with an impressive Mysore turban and western dress. I summoned all my courage and began facing the interviewer. But he was soft- speaking, always to the point. He told that he was not bothered about my qualifications of M.A. in Tamil which included study of Dravidian Philology and South Indian History. But he wanted to know whether I knew Sanskrit as (even today) I did not have any paper qualification in Sanskrit. He explained to me the importance of Sanskrit knowledge for an epigraphist. Therefore he suddenly drew from his shelf a book (Bilhana's *Vikramankadeva- charita*) with a marker on a particular page and asked me to read on the chapter commencing on that page fully. I reeled off to his surprise (not exhibited) as it was very easy for me to read any Sanskrit text, though I had not seen this book at all. He asked me also to give the meaning of the verses. I gave him and he questioned me as to how I came to possess this knowledge of Sanskrit. I explained to him that I am a scion of the great Nilakanta Dikshitar of Madurai and that it is a family trait. Then he passed on to the next query whether I know any other Dravidian language. I pleaded ignorance as I was aware of some smattering knowledge of words or forms studied in respect of Dravidian philology. He immediately informed me that I was selected and be ready to join duty when called upon. And when I joined on 6th March 1950 he gave me the advice which opens this write up. He told me further that I should acquire (working) knowledge of Kannada, Telugu and Malayalam so that I could do full justice to Tamil inscriptions; that I should not venture to publish anything and everything for five years or till at least I became confident and conversant with all that I should know. I promised and kept it up.

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He initiated me also in touring for the purpose of copying inscriptions. He would insist that I should attempt *in situ* reading before and after copying the inscriptions. Later he referred me to Shri M.Venkataramayya for training in the intricacies of deciphering i.e. to deciphering, first, without reference to the meaning or known from but only to tackle letter by letter so that no letter is misread.

I know that his words of advice were only ideal and cannot be realised easily. Later I found that he himself followed the same. The classic instance is that of the Siroda plates of Devaraja where he had read the dynastic name Bhoja instead of Gomin read by C.R.Krishnamacharlu. Shri Rao had made some other corrections also. We may quote many more. The point is that he was not merely preaching but also practising.

Just before his retirement in May 1955 I reported to him about how I had tried to follow his advice. I was surprised when he told me that he had already checked up my work through Shri M.Venkataramayya who was about to leave on promotion to the main branch of the Survey and had an assessment about me. He spoke appreciatively about me and blessed by saying that I would become in course of time, if I continue to learn more, the head of that institution (as I did in 1978).

This is only one side of his personality - not to speak of his personal warmth in respect of all without partiality - to all who go to his residence.

I must say with all humility that even to-day I am trying to follow his advice, perfect as we can never become!

SHRI N.LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO - A KIND AND GENTLE SOUL

G.S. Dikshit*

In the summer of 1969, on behalf of the History Department of the Karnataka University, Dharwad, I organised a seminar on Keladi History in Shimoga. Shri N.Lakshminarayana Rao, who had made seminel contribution to the study of that history was the chief guest. This seminar evoked a lot of interest among the local people who attended it with great enthusiasm. Shri. N.M.K.Sogi, another guest at this conference, who was then minister in the education ministry of the Government of Karnataka, who saw this enthusiasm of the local people suggested that I should organise a Vijayanagar History seminar. I organised this seminar in Hospet- Hampi in November 1970. At this seminar also, Shri. N.Lakshminarayan Rao was our honoured guest. He was delighted to be present at both these conferences and by his speeches endeared himself to one and all and, above all, to me. In the 1970's he, a widower, was residing in Kolhapur with his son Sri. Lakshminarasimha Rao, and daughter-in-law Smt. Indira who had been my student in the Willingdon College at Sangli. Both the son and the daughter-in-law took very good care of Shri Lakshminarayana Rao, whose health was very delicate. Whenever he travelled, he was accompanied by his son. When there was an Epigraphy conference in Dharwad, Shri Lakshminarayana Rao was one of the prominent invitees. For this occasion I had the rare privilege of being host to him and his son. It was then that I observed with what devotion Sri Lakshminarasimha Rao looked after his father. I have never seen a more dutiful and more self-sacrificing son. Lakshminarasimha Rao was suffering from diabetes, but he took more care of his father's health than of his own.

Shri N.Lakshminarayana Rao was held in very high esteem by epigraphists and historians. One of his colleagues and later successor in the Epigraphy Department, Dr. D.C.Sircar was a master debunker in the sessions of the Indian History congress. He used to sit in the last row smoking a cheroot all the while and generally keeping queit. But when he felt that a scholar was uncritical or unhistorical, he used to pounce upon him and tear his arguments to pieces. He spared none, however high he might be either in age or scholarship. He did not spare even his own teacher the great Dr. R.C.Majumdar. But he made one exception and that was Shri N.Lakshminarayana Rao. In one session, he praised very highly Shri. Lakshminarayana Rao's editing of one inscription. I think it was the Ulchāla inscription.

I have talked with him many times either in his house or in mine or during conference. During all these occasions I have never heard him speak ill of others. Thus passed away a kind and gentle soul who has made memorable contributions to the study of Indian and Karnataka histories. These should have been collected and presented to him while he was alive. But better late than never. Dr. B.R. Gopal, Dr. S.K. Havanur and Dr. H.S. Gopala Rao and and the Directorate of Archaeology and Museum of Karnataka deserve our thanks for doing justice to Shri N.Lakshminarayan Rao's contributions.

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A GURU AND A GODFATHER

Dr. S.R.Rao*

As a student of History and Archaeology in Maharaja's College, Mysore (1938-42) under Prof. M.H.Krishna, I used to study some of the inscriptions edited by the great Epigraphist N.Lakshminarayana Rao. His contribution to History and Linguistics was then well known. But it was only in 1953 that I met him in the Office of the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India at Delhi to seek his blessings in my humble effort to study early Kannada inscriptions. He was very happy to see that a young man evinced interest in epigraphy and that too in inscriptions from Karnataka. By then I had read a few Sanskrit inscriptions (copper-plate grants) of the Maitraka Rulers of Valabhi in Baroda Archaeological Department under A.S.Godre. Lakshminarayana Rao was really elated to see that I was interested in Sanskrit and Kannada inscriptions and of course in Asokan Edicts too. Lakshminarayana Rao in the next few days started clearing my doubts in the vocabulary of some inscriptions. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit and South Indian languages was astounding. As a man of literature he scanned through the epigraphs for their literary merit which was an eye-opener to me. He was very much enamoured of the *praśasti* in the Kāḷikāmāta temple of Dabhoi (Darbhavati).

I came in closer contact with Lakshminarayana Rao in 1959 onward when I was posted at Nagpur. He was really a God-father to me and my family members. In my absence of long tours, Lakshminarayana Rao would make enquiries of my children. All his family members extended a helping hand to my family. I used to meet him for discussion on the evolution of scripts and of course, about his own contribution to history and literature. It is Lakshminarayana Rao who introduced me to *dāsa sāhitya* of Karnataka. I considered him my Guru and placed before him all my problems and sought solutions both in official and personal matters. He was not only a kind hearted and benevolent scholar but also a good disciplinarian.

I wish the present day scholars emulate him especially in his devotion to research.

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* Director General (Retd.), Archaeological Survey of India.

LATE SHRI N.LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO - SOME REFLECTIONS

Ajay Mitra Shastri*

Though I was familiar with the great learning and scholarship of the late Shri N.Lakshminarayana Rao as a post-graduate student of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Banaras Hindu University when I had an opportunity to pursue some of his writings published in *Epigraphia Indica* and elsewhere, it was only in November, 1957 that I came into personal contact with that sagacious personality and with the passage of time it grew into close relationship. I had just joined as a regular, and the only one at that time, Lecturer in Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Nagpur University which till then mostly depended on hired services of scholars, some of them well-known and others who can be described as common teachers. The late R.C.Majumdar was then a Professor (he left shortly afterwards) and myself a lecturer (appointed at the recommendation of the former), and we two constituted the only regular faculty. Among the well-respected part-time teachers were the late V.V.Mirashi and the late Lakshminarayana Rao. While Mirashi was paid for his lectures, the latter did not accept any honorarium and did his assigned work of training students in early Indian palaeography, most sincerely. While others took their classes at a fixed place, students went to the residence of Shri Rao who not only taught them but also showered his paternal affection and offered to them tea/ coffee and, sometimes, even snacks. In connection with my own work as well as by way of courtesy calls on festivals, I visited him very frequently. Infact, after his retirement as the Government Epigraphist for India, Shri Rao had come to Nagpur where his son was a lecturer in English at the local (then) prestigious Morriss College and this made him stay here for a few years. This gave me opportunity to learn from him. Our close personal contact gradually developed into an abiding relationship with myself earning his great love and appreciation. It became obvious to me when in 1966 he (and, of course, others) as a member of the Selection Committee, recommended me for appointment as Professor. It is different that owing to certain reasons I just missed the bus to catch it some twelve years later.

Later when his son was transferred to Kolhapur, he had to move with him there, and Nagpur missed him permanently. However, I continued contacts. Often the sessions of the Epigraphical Society of India in its early years in seventies afforded such opportunities. That he was a great scholar of deep insight and combined it with an affectionate touch was not only my personal experience but was confirmed closely from what his former colleagues told me casually. These scholars included Shri K.G.Krishnan, a former Chief Epigraphist (later designation of Government Epigraphist). Professor S.H.Ritti, B.R.Gopal and others. The first-named scholar told me about the severe test to which he was put by Shri Rao who later showered his affection on him and the second is one of the inheritors of his great epigraphical scholarship and an embodiment of many of his personal qualities and has also inherited his rich epigraphical collection.

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I am most happy that the Archaeological Department of the Government of Karnataka has undertaken to bring out all the writings of the late lamented Shri Rao in a consolidated volume which would not only facilitate the research referencing but also would provide a glimpse of his profound scholarship which is only partly reflected in them. He was a serious thinker and chose to write onby when he had to. Had he written on all the problems that engaged his attention, the output would have been much more than what it has been.

He was a very conscientious editor and his editorial notes are more often than not products of his great penetrating vision and embody his great scholarship. One of his editorial observations is cited by the late D.C.Sircar in *Ep.Ind,* XXX, p.46, fn.2. It relates to the Sagar inscription of the Kalachuri king Śaṅkaragaṇa where according to the late Mirashi the king is described as meditating upon the feet of Vāmarāja. Shri Rao has read the name as Vāparāja or Voparāja which appears to be borne out by the estampage and makes a world of difference regarding our perception of the early history of the Kalachuris of Tripurī and has been accepted by us in our Hindi work *Tripurī* (Madhya Pradesh Hindi Grantha Academy, Bhopal, 1971, p. 42 and note 5).

On this solemn occasion I pay my humble homage to his sacred memory.

EMBODIMENT OF ERUDITION AND DEVOTION - THAT WAS ACE EPIGRAPHIST N.L. RAO

K.Abhishankar*

I had the proud privilege and pleasure of being associated with Shri N.Lakshminarayana Rao for several years after his retirement as Chief Epigraphist of the Central Government. He was on our Advisory Committee for the Karnataka State Gazetteers when I was Chief Editor of the volumes. He was advising us on History, culture and cognate subjects. Historical evidences of Karnataka and South India were at his fingers' tips. He was a scholar of high stature, ripe with abundant knowledge and experience in epigraphical investigations to which he had dedicated himself. He was recalling with nostalgia the good deal of tireless work he had done in the invigorating climate of Ooty (Udakamandala-Nilgiris) which was the headquarters of the central Department of Epigraphy during that period.

Shri Rao had a remarkable memory even at that age, and could cite exact details of particular matters, whether they be of Tāḷagunda, Halmiḍi, Kalyāṇa, Dōrasamudra or Aghōrēśvara temple. He wanted the writings on historical subjects to be precise and to the point based on reliable evidences, and deprecated any padding or beating about the bush. He was emphasising that inscriptions provided dependable contemporary evidence and had to prevail over later literary references. He was meticulous in correcting facts and figures, and commended our labours in carrying out the hard monumental task of preparation of Gazetteers with quality and speed.

The question of origin of the eminent royal family of Kākatīyas of Warangal had baffled the scholars. A Kannada epigraph of an early Kakatiya chief named Prōla was found at Anamakoṇḍa near Warangal. About ten Kms., from Belgaum City, there is a Kākati village where some inscriptions and other antiquities were discovered. It was once an important place. Shri. Lakshminarayana Rao identified this place in Belgaum District as the original home of the Kākatīyas. They went over to Warangal as vassals of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa (vide his article "The Original Home of the Kakatiyas" in Karnataka Historical Review, Vol. XIII, No. 1 of 1977). When I happened to visit Hyderabad thereafter, I brought this significant contribution of Shri Rao to the notice of Andhra scholars who were pleasantly surprised to know about the same. I had felt that Karnataka could and should have taken more advantage with better benefits from his profound scholarship.

After retirement from Government service, Shri Rao was living with his two sons at Kolhapur in Maharashtra. He was regular in attending our meetings and was punctual in sending his suggestions. During his visits to Bangalore, he was staying at the residence of one of his relatives. I used to meet him and discuss with him at length on historical and cultural problems.

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* Retd., Chief Editor, Karnataka Gazetteers, Bangalore.

The time I spent with him has been memorable and rewarding. He represented the sound work-ethics and devotion to work of the earlier generations. He was thinly built and was dressed elegantly with trousers and Mysore turban. His 'satwic' appearance left a lasting impression on the minds of those who came into contact with him. It is a matter of gratification that his nephew Dr. H.S.Gopala Rao, following in the footsteps of Shri Lakshminarayana Rao, has been doing notable research work in historical subjects as worthy successor to the tradition of distinguished scholarship bequeathed by the celebrated epigraphist.

OBITUARY NOTE ON NELAMANGALA LAKSHMINARAYANA RAO*

Nelamangala Lashminarayana Rao passed away on 14-1-79 at Kolhapur. He was one of the top-ranking epigraphists, having served as the Epigraphist to the Government of India (This was equal to the present post of Chief Epigraphist).

Born at Hebbur in Tumkur District on 15-5-1898, Rao completed his early education at Chikkaballapur and Bangalore. After securing the M.A. degree from the University of Mysore having studied at the Maharaja's College, he started his career as the Epigraphical Assistant of the Madras Government in 1921. Later he was selected by the U.P.S.C. as the Assistant Epigraphist of G.O.I. He retired in 1957 as Government Epigraphist, having worked in the office at Ootacamund for over 30 years.

Even after retirement, Rao was busy engaged in his writing work and he was also actively associated with the grand *Kannada Nighantu* project of the Kannada Sahitya Parishat of Bangalore.

As an epigraphist, Rao has edited four volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions* (Vols. IX, X, XI and XVIII). He also edited *Annual Reports of South Indian Epigraphy* from 1939 to 1945. In the same series, he also edited the *Descriptive List of Inscriptions from Bombay Karnatak* from 1926-27 to 1950-51. He was joint editor for *Epigraphia Indica* volumes for some time and edited parts of Vols. No. 27, 29 and 30. When the labour involved in the editing of epigraphical publications is borne in mind his achievements in the fields are solid indeed.

In addition he had contributed over 40 research papers to various journals and other publications. The most notable among them is the chapter on the "Chalukyas of Badami" published in *Maharashtra Gazetteer.* This article running into over 30 pages not only outlines a systematic chronology of the dynasty but also reaches the conclusion that the dynasty was of Kannada origin by analysing the names of the members of the family such as, Polekeshi, Bittarasa, Kattiyarasa, Ambera etc. Similarly in the book *Archaeology in India* he has written a very scholarly article "Epigraphical Research", reviewing the work done in the field of epigraphical studies such as, exploration, decipherment, editing, publication etc. In the *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume* he wrote a highly valuable article on the "Nayakas of Keladi". He also contributed many articles to *Kannada Visvakosha,* (Kannada Encyclopaedia of the Mysore University). He also wrote a book *Karnatakada Arusumanetanagalu,* jointly with Vidyaratna R.S. Panchamukhi. This work gives a very systematic account of the dynastic history of the Kadambas, Chalukyas of Badami, Gangas, Nolambas and the Banas.

Rao had been contributing to the QJMS too. Of his writings, the one was "Geographical Notes" published in Vol. 64 discussing some of the place names - Doravadi, Madhuvana, Bhogavatipura and Manchul. The other was "An interesting reference to Music in a Kannada Inscription" in Vol 65, no. 3. This was regarding an artist called Mokari Baramayya of the Kalyāṇa Chalukya times.

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* *Q.J.M.S.,* Vol. LXVIII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 110-111.

The Mythic Society felicitated him on the occasion of its diamond Jubilee in 1973. He also unveiled the portrait of Dr. R.Narasimhachar on the occasion. *Archaeology in Mysore,* reprint of Mysore *Archaeological Reports* prepared by Sri. R.Narasimhachar, released on the occasion also had the privilege of containing a foreword by Rao. "The Mythic Society must be congratulated on bringing out a handy edition of these rare and invaluable *Reports",* he says in the foreword. He was also felicitated at the first Congress of the Epigraphical Society of India at Dharwad in 1975.

At the inaugural session of the fifth congress of the Epigraphical Society, hosted by the Mythic Society at Bangalore, a condolence resolution was passed at the outset (3-2-1979).

ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾವ್

ತಿ.ತಾ. ಶರ್ಮ

ಶ್ರೀ ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ಕೈಹಿಡಿದೆತ್ತಿದರೂ ಹೊರಕ್ಕೆ ಬರುವವರಲ್ಲ. ಸದ್ದಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಸಾರ್ಥಕವಾದ ಕೆಲಸವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುವ ಸದ್ಗೃಹಸ್ಥರಿಗೆ ಅವರು ಉತ್ತಮ ಉದಾಹರಣೆ. ಇತಿಹಾಸ, ವಿಜ್ಞಾನ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಲ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಸುವವರು ಇಂತಹ ''ನಿಶ್ಶಬ್ದ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮ''ರು.

ಇವರು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು 1898ನೆ ಮೇ 15ನೇ ತಾರೀಖು. ಚಿಕ್ಕಬಳ್ಳಾಪುರ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು, ಪಟ್ಟಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರೌಢಶಾಲಾ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ಮುಗಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು, ಮೈಸೂರಿಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ, ಮಹಾರಾಜ ಕಾಲೇಜನ್ನು ಸೇರಿ ಎಂ.ಎ. ಪದವೀಧರರಾದರು.

1921ರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಯರು ಮದರಾಸಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ 'ಆರ್ಕಿಯಾಲಜಿಕಲ್' ಆಡಳಿತ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಆಡಳಿತ ಶಾಖೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ''ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿಕಲ್ ಅಸಿಸ್ಟೆಂಟ್ (ಕನ್ನಡ)''ಆಗಿ ಉದ್ಯೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದರು. ಆ ಸಂದರ್ಭ ಕುರಿತು ಶ್ರೀ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಮಾತುಗಳನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಬೇಕು.

"Since the powers in charge were not in favour of my appointment, nobody was willing to train me in reading inscriptions and interpreting them, though they were expected to do. Fortunately for me, my friend Sri. T.T.Sharma who was Telugu-Kannada Reader in that office at that time was good enough to initiate me into the science of the decipherment of inscriptions, though it was not part of his official duties."

''ಆ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಲಯದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದವರಿಗೆ ನನ್ನನ್ನು ನೇಮಿಸಿದ್ದು ಪ್ರಿಯವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಓದುವುದಾಗಲಿ, ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನ ಮಾಡುವುದನ್ನಾಗಲಿ, ನನಗೆ ಕಲಿಸಲು ಅವರು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಅದು ಅವರ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯ. ಅದಕ್ಕವರು ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದೃಷ್ಟವಶಾತ್ ನನ್ನ ಮಿತ್ರರಾದ ಶ್ರೀ ಟಿ.ಟಿ.ಶರ್ಮರವರು ಆ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಲಯದಲ್ಲೇ ತೆಲುಗು-ಕನ್ನಡ ರೀಡರ್ ಆಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಮನಸ್ಸುಮಾಡಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಓದುವ, ಲಿಪಿಗಳನ್ನು ಗುರುತಿಸುವ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಪರಿಚಯವನ್ನು ನನಗೆ ಮಾಡಿಸಿದರು. ಅಧಿಕಾರಯುತವಾಗಿ ಅವರು ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯಗಳು ಬೇರೆ ಇದ್ದುವು. ನನಗೆ ಈ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಾಭ್ಯಾಸಮಾಡಿಸುವ ಕೆಲಸ ಅವರದಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.''

ಕೆಲವು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಅವರು ಮದರಾಸಿನ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲಸಮಾಡಿದ ಮೇಲೆ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರದವರು ಅವರನ್ನು ಉದಕಮಂಡಲಕ್ಕೆ (ಭಾರತದ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಶಿಲಾ ಶಾಸನಾಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಲಯ ಅಲ್ಲಿತ್ತು) ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾರತದ ಶಿಲಾ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಸಹಾಯಕ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನಾಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳನ್ನಾಗಿ ವರ್ಗಮಾಡಿದರು. 'ಯೂನಿಯನ್ ಪಬ್ಲಿಕ್ ಸರ್ವಿಸ್ ಕಮಿಷನ್'ನವರು ಶ್ರೀ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರನ್ನು ಆರಿಸಿದ ಕಾರಣ ಸರಕಾರದವರು ಅವರನ್ನು ಮೊದಲು 'ಅಸಿಸ್ಟೆಂಟ್ ಸೂಪರಿಂಟೆಂಡೆಂಟ್'ರನ್ನಾಗಿಯೂ, ಆನಂತರ 'ಸೂಪರಿಂಟೆಂಡೆಂಟ್'ರನ್ನಾಗಿಯೂ ನೇಮಿಸಿದರು. ಕಡೆಗೆ ಅವರು ಭಾರತದ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಆಡಳಿತ ಶಾಖೆ ಮುಖ್ಯ (Government Epigraphist for India) ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳಾದರು. 1957ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ಕೆಲಸದಿಂದ ನಿವೃತ್ತರಾದರು.

ತಮ್ಮ ಕಾಲು ಶತಮಾನದ ಸೇವಾ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಕೆಲಸದ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ-ವೈವಿಧ್ಯತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ವಿವರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆರಂಭಿಸಿದರೆ ಒಂದು ಗ್ರಂಥವೇ ಆದೀತು.

ಶಾಸನತಜ್ಞ ದಿ॥ ಎನ್. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು

ಜಿ. ವೆಂಕಟಸುಬ್ಬಯ್ಯ*

ನನಗೆ ಹಿರಿಯ ಬಂಧುವಾದ ಎನ್. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರನ್ನು ನಾನು ಮೊದಲು ಕಂಡದ್ದು ವಿಚಿತ್ರವಾದ ಒಂದು ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ. ದಿ। ರಾ.ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಕವಿಚರಿತೆಯ ಮೂರು ಸಂಪುಟಗಳನ್ನು ಪುನರ್ಮುದ್ರಣ ಮಾಡುವ ಕಾರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ತು ಕೈಗೆತ್ತಿಕೊಂಡಿತು. ಇದು ನಡೆದುದು ಸುಮಾರು 1956ರ ವೇಳೆಗೆ. ಆಗ ಈಚೆಗೆ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ದೊರಕಿದ್ದ ಶಾಸನ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿ ಹೊಸ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಯನ್ನು ಸಂಪುಟಗಳಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿಸುವುದು ಅಗತ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಿತು. ಈ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆಂದು ಒಂದು ಸಂಪಾದಕ ಮಂಡಲಿಯನ್ನು ಏರ್ಪಡಿಸಿ, ಪರಿಷತ್ತು ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಅದರ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥಾಪಕನನ್ನಾಗಿ ನೇಮಿಸಿತು. ಆಗಿನ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತದ ಶಾಸನ ಇಲಾಖೆಯು ಉದಕಮಂಡಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ನಾನು ಆ ಸ್ಥಳಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ನಿಂತು ಕೆಲವು ದಿನಗಳವರೆಗೆ ಹೊಸ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ತಪಾಸಣೆಮಾಡುವ ಅವಕಾಶ ಒದಗಿಬಂತು. ದಿ। ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ಆಗ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಉನ್ನತ ಅಧಿಕಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರು. ನಾನು ಮೊದಲು ಅವರನ್ನು ಕಂಡು ಮುಂದಿನ ಕೆಲಸದ ರೀತಿಯನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದೆಂದು ತೀರ್ಮಾನಿಸಿ ಅವರಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಹೋದೆ. ನಾನು ಅವರನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದಾಗ ನನ್ನ ಪೂರ್ವಾಪರಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಚಾರಿಸಿ ನನ್ನ ಅವರ ಬಾಂಧವ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ವಿವರವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು. ಹೊಸಬರ ಪರಿಚಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಅವರ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬಂದ ನನಗೆ ಹುಡುಕುವ ಬಳ್ಳಿ ಕಾಲಿಗೆ ತೊಡರಿದಂತೆ ಆಯಿತು. ಅವರನ್ನು ನಿತ್ಯ ಕಂಡು ಭಾರತ ಶಾಸನ ಇಲಾಖೆಯ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕಾರ್ಯವಿಧಾನವನ್ನೂ ವಿವರವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಂಡೆ. ಆ ಬಳಿಕ ಅವರು ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಅದೇ ಕಚೇರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲಸಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಶ್ರೀ ಬಾ.ರಾ. ಗೋಪಾಲ ಮತ್ತು ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸರಿತ್ತಿರವರನ್ನು ಪರಿಚಯಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅವರ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯುವಂತೆ ಸೂಚಿಸಿದರು. ಶ್ರೀ ಬಾ.ರಾ.ಗೋಪಾಲ ಅವರು ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀನಿವಾಸರಿತ್ತಿಯವರೂ ನನಗೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ಅನುಕೂಲಗಳನ್ನು ನೀಡಿ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶನ ಮಾಡಿದರು.

ಅಂದು ನಾನಲ್ಲಿ ಕೈಗೊಂಡ ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗದ ಪರಿಣಾಮವಾಗಿ ಮೂವತ್ತು ಜನ ಹೊಸ ಕವಿಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ವಿವರಗಳೂ, ಹಳಬರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಕೆಲವು ವಿವರಗಳೂ ದೊರಕಿದವು. ಈ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗದ ಪರಿಣಾಮವನ್ನೂ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಕವಿಚರಿತೆಯ ಮೂರು ಸಂಪುಟಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬಹುದು.

ಈ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾನು ದಿ। ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ಕಾರ್ಯದಕ್ಷತೆಯನ್ನೂ ವಿದ್ವತ್ತಿನ ವೈಶಾಲ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಪರಿಚಯ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡೆ.

ನನ್ನ ಅವರ ಸಂಬಂಧವು ಮುಂದುವರಿಯುವ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಅವಕಾಶವು ನನಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಿಯಾಯಿತು.

ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಪರಿಷತ್ತು ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಕನ್ನಡ-ಕನ್ನಡ ನಿಘಂಟಿನ ಸಂಪಾದಕ ಸಮಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಅನೇಕ ಹಿರಿಯ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರಲ್ಲಿ ದಿ। ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರೂ ಒಬ್ಬ ಮುಖ್ಯರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲ ತುಂಬ ಕಿರಿಯವನಾಗಿ ನಾನೂ ಸರಕಾರದಿಂದ ನೇಮಕನಾಗಿದ್ದೆ. ಈ ಸಭೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರೂ ಸಿದ್ಧಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಬರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಳಿತು ನಾನು ನನ್ನ ಅವರ ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹೋಲಿಸಿ ನೋಡುವ ಅವಕಾಶ ನನಗೆ ದೊರಕಿತು. ನನ್ನ ಸಂದೇಹಗಳನ್ನು ಅವರೊಡನೆ ಚರ್ಚಿಸಿ ಅನುಮಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಹರಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಯಿತು. ನಿಘಂಟು ಸಂಪಾದನ ಕಾರ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸುವ ಮಾರ್ಗವನ್ನು ನಾನು ಅವರಿಂದ ಕಲಿತುಕೊಂಡೆ.

ಕೆಲವು ವೇಳೆ ಅವರನ್ನು ನಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಗೆ ಕರೆತಂದು ನನ್ನ ಸಂದೇಹಗಳನ್ನು ಅವರೊಡನೆ ಚರ್ಚಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದೆ. ಡಾ। ಸರಕಾರರ ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಬಂಧ ನಿಘಂಟನ್ನು ಪುನರ್ವಿಮರ್ಶಿಸಿ ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಅವಶ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಅವರು ಸಾಧಾರಣವಾಗಿ ನಿರೂಪಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.

ಮೃದುನುಡಿಯ, ಆತುರವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ವಿಷಯದ ಎಲ್ಲ ಮುಖಗಳನ್ನೂ ಕ್ರೋಢೀಕರಿಸುವ ಮಾರ್ಗವನ್ನು ಅವರು ನನಗೆ ಹೇಳಿಕೊಟ್ಟರು. ಇರುವ ಆಧಾರಗಳನ್ನು ಅವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಡ್ಡಿಯಾಗುವ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ತೂಗಿ ನೋಡುವ ಅವರ ದಕ್ಷತೆ ಅಪೂರ್ವವಾದುದು.

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* 58, 31ನೇ ಕ್ರಾಸ್, 7ನೇ ಬ್ಲಾಕ್, ಜಯನಗರ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು-82.

ಕನ್ನಡ-ಕನ್ನಡ ನಿಘಂಟಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಾಸನೋಕ್ತವಾದ ಅನೇಕ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಗಳ ಸ್ವರೂಪ ನಿರ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕೂ ಅರ್ಥನಿರ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕೂ ನಾವು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಕೃತಜ್ಞರಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಆಗ ನಿಘಂಟು ಸಮಿತಿಯ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದ ದಿ। ತೀ.ನಂ. ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಯ್ಯನವರಿಗೂ, ಪ್ರಧಾನ ಸಂಪಾದಕರಾಗಿದ್ದ ದಿ। ಡಿ.ಎಲ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರಿಗೂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ಮಾತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಪಾರ ಗೌರವವಿತ್ತು.

ರಾಯರೊಡನೆ ನಾನು ಮಾಡಿದ ಎಲ್ಲ ಪತ್ರವ್ಯವಹಾರವೂ ನಿಘಂಟಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದವುಗಳೇ ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಅವು ನಿಘಂಟಿನ ಕಡತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿಹೋಗಿವೆ. ಅವುಗಳ ಪ್ರತಿಗಳನ್ನು ನಾನೂ ನನ್ನ ಬಳಿ ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೆ ಅವರ ಪತ್ರವ್ಯವಹಾರ ನೈಪುಣ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಸ್ನೇಹಪರತೆಯನ್ನು ಕಿರಿಯರ ಮೇಲಿನ ಅಭಿಮಾನವನ್ನೂ ದೃಷ್ಟಾಂತ ಪಡಿಸಬಹುದಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಅವರೊಡನೆ ನಾನು ಕಳೆದ ರಸನಿಮಿಷಗಳು ನನ್ನ ನಿಘಂಟು ಸಂಪಾದನ ಕಾರ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಮರೆಯಲಾಗದ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ನೀಡಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃತಜ್ಞತೆಯಿಂದ ದಾಖಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ನಾ ಕಂಡ ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು

ಎಂ.ಎಸ್. ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಯ್ಯ*

ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ನನಗೆ ಹೆಣ್ಣುಕೊಟ್ಟ ಮಾವನವರು. ಅವರು ನನ್ನ ಇಬ್ಬರು ದೊಡ್ಡಪ್ಪನವರ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರು. ನನ್ನ ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬ ದೊಡ್ಡಪ್ಪ ಲೇಟ್ ಪಿ.ಎಸ್.ಅಣ್ಣಾಜಿರಾಯರು (ನಿವೃತ್ತ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಪ್ರಾಧ್ಯಾಪಕರು) ಇವರಿಗೆ ಗುರುಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು (ಬೆಂಗಳೂರಿನ ಸೆಂಟ್ರಲ್ ಕಾಲೇಜಿನಲ್ಲಿ). ನಮ್ಮ ಮಾವನವರು ಊಟಿಗೆ ಕೆಲಸಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಲು ಹೋದಾಗ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಬಟ್ಟೆಬರೆಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ಸಲಹೆ ನೀಡಿದರಂತೆ. (ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು ದಂಡಿನ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತ ದರ್ಜಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅಬುಬೇಕರ್ ಅವರ ಪರಿಚಯಮಾಡಿಸಿದರು). ಇದೆಲ್ಲವನ್ನೂ ನನ್ನ ಮಾವನವರು ನನ್ನ ಮದುವೆಯನಂತರ ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು.

ಅವರ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಗುಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು, ತಮ್ಮ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಕರನ್ನೂ, ಗೆಳೆಯರನ್ನೂ ಒಂದೇ ರೀತಿ ಸಮಾನ ಭಾವನೆಯಿಂದ ಕಾಣುವುದು ಮತ್ತು ಉಪಚಾರ ಮಾಡುವುದು. ತಮ್ಮ ಕೈಲಾದ ಮಟ್ಟಗೆ ಧನ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಕರಿಗೆ ನೀಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಯಾವ ಫಲ ನಿರೀಕ್ಷೆ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ವಯಸ್ಸಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಕೂಡ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಕರ ಮನೆಗೆ ಮದುವೆ ಮುಂಜಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಲ್ಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು (ದೂರವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಕೂಡ).

ಸರ್ವೇ ಸಾಧಾರಣವಾಗಿ ತಂದೆಯಾದವರು ಮಗಳ ಮನೆಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಬರುತ್ತೇನೆ ಅನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇವರು ಮಾತ್ರ ನನ್ನ ಅಳಿಯನ ಮನೆಗೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಬರುತ್ತೇನೆ ಅನ್ನುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರ ಜೀವನ ನಿಯಮದಿಂದಿತ್ತು. ಆಡಂಬರವಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವರಿಗೂ ಮತ್ತು ನನ್ನ ತಾತನವರಿಗೂ ಇದ್ದ ಒಂದು ಸಾಮ್ಯ ಅಂದರೆ ಇಬ್ಬರೂ ಚಿಕ್ಕ ವಯಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯನ್ನು ಕಳೆದುಕೊಂಡರೂ ಪುನರ್ವಿವಾಹವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಚಿಕ್ಕವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ (ಅತ್ತೆಯ ಸಹಾಯದಿಂದ) ತಂದೆ, ತಾಯಿ ಎರಡೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದರು.

ಅವರು ನಿವೃತ್ತರಾಗಿ ನಾಗಪುರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ, ನಾಗಪುರ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ Hon. Professor of Ancient Indian History and Epigraphy ಆಗಿ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಠ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಪಿಎಚ್.ಡಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಗೈಡ್ ಆಗಿದ್ದರು.

ನಾಗಪುರ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ಉಪ ಕುಲಪತಿ ಶ್ರೀ ವಿ.ಬಿ.ಕೋಲತೆ ಮತ್ತು ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿಯಾ ಇಂಡಿಕಾದ ಸಂಪಾದಕ ಶ್ರೀ ವಿ.ವಿ. ಮಿರಾಶಿಯವರು ಮನೆಗೆ ಬಂದು ಸಲಹೆ ಪಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಪೂಜೆ, ಪುನಸ್ಕಾರ, ಗುರುಭಕ್ತಿ ಇದ್ದರೂ ಅವರು ಕರ್ಮಠರಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.

ಚಿರಪರಿಚಿತರು ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಬಂಧಿಕರ ಮಕ್ಕಳುಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವರು ವಿದ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ತೇಜನ ಕೊಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರ ಮಿತ್ರರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ನಾಗೇಶ ಅಯ್ಯರ್, ತಳುಕಿನ ವೆಂಕಣ್ಣಯ್ಯ, ಸಾಲಿ ರಾಮಚಂದ್ರರಾಯರು, ಮತ್ತು ಬಿಹಾರಿನ ಗವರ್ನರ್ ಆಗಿದ್ದ ಶ್ರೀ ರಂಗನಾಥ ದಿವಾಕರರು ಮುಖ್ಯರು. ಅಂಬಿಕಾತನಯದತ್ತ ದ.ರಾ. ಬೇಂದ್ರೆಯವರೂ ಚಿರಪರಿಚಿತರು.

ನಾನು ನನ್ನ ತಾಯಿ, ತಂದೆ, ಮತ್ತು ಅಜ್ಜಿ, ಅಜ್ಜ ತೀರಿಕೊಂಡಾಗ ಹತ್ತಿರವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ನನ್ನ ಮಾವನವರು ತೀರಿಕೊಂಡಾಗ ಹತ್ತಿರವಿದ್ದೆ. ಏನು ಯೋಗಾಯೋಗವೋ ಕಾಣೆ.

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* 'ಶ್ರೀವತ್ಸ', 43/17, ನವಸಹ್ಯಾದ್ರಿ ಹೌಸಿಂಗ್ ಸೊಸೈಟಿ, ಕರ್ವೆನಗರ, ಪುಣೆ-411 052.

ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆ ಶಿಸ್ತುಗಳ ಸಾಕಾರಮೂರ್ತಿ ಈ ಶಾಸನತಜ್ಞ*

ರಾಯ (ಎಚ್.ಎಸ್. ಗೋಪಾಲರಾವ್)*

ಭಾರತೀಯ ಶಾಸನತಜ್ಞರ ಅಗ್ರಶ್ರೇಣಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾನ ಪಡೆದಿರುವ ಶ್ರೀ ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ನಿಧನ (14-1-79)ದಿಂದ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಅದರಲ್ಲೂ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಶೋಧನ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ತುಂಬಲಾರದ ಕೊರತೆ ಉಂಟಾಗಿರುವುದು ಸಹಜ. ಆಗಿರುವ ಕೊರತೆ ಅನಿವಾರ್ಯ. ಹುಟ್ಟಿನ ಜೊತೆಗೆ ಅಂಟಿಕೊಂಡು ಬರುವ ಸಾವು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರನ್ನು 81 ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಸಮೀಪಿಸುವ ಸಾಹಸ ಮಾಡದಿದ್ದುದು ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರ ಸುದೈವ. ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಶೋಧನ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವೂ ರಾಯರಿಂದ ಪಡೆದಿರುವ ಸೇವೆ ಅಪಾರ. ದೀರ್ಘ ಎನಿಸುವಷ್ಟು ಕಾಲದ ಸಾರ್ಥಕ ಜೀವನ ನಡೆಸಿದ ರಾಯರ ಬದುಕು ಮುಂಬರಲಿರುವ ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಶೋಧಕರಿಗೆ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶನವಾಗಬಲ್ಲುದು. ಚೈತನ್ಯ ತುಂಬಬಲ್ಲುದು.

ರಾಯರ 81 ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಬದುಕು ಪೂರ್ಣ ಸಾರ್ಥಕವೇ ಆದದ್ದು ಸೋಜಿಗವೇನಲ್ಲ. ಬಾಲ್ಯದಿಂದಲೂ ಶಿಸ್ತಿನ ಜೀವನವನ್ನೇ ನಡೆಸಿದ ಅವರ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಕಾರ್ಯವೂ ಪೂರ್ವಯೋಜಿತ. ಅರ್ಥಪೂರ್ಣ ನಡೆ ನುಡಿ. ಊಟ-ತಿಂಡಿ ಎಲ್ಲದರಲ್ಲೂ ಕಟ್ಟು-ನಿಟ್ಟು, ಸಂಯಮ. ಇದರಿಂದಾಗಿಯೇ ಅವರ ಬಾಳು ಸಾರ್ಥಕ.

1898ರ ಮೇ 15ರಂದು ಜನಿಸಿದ ರಾಯರು ಚಿಕ್ಕಬಳ್ಳಾಪುರ, ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು, ಮೈಸೂರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿದ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಸ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಎಂ.ಎ. ಪದವಿ ಪಡೆದ ರಾಯರು 1921ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನ ಸಹಾಯಕ ತಜ್ಞರಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ವೃತ್ತಿ ಜೀವನವನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಿ, 1957ರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ಸರಕಾರದ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಶಾಸನ ತಜ್ಞರ ಸ್ಥಾನದಿಂದ ನಿವೃತ್ತರಾದರು. ರಾಯರ ವೃತ್ತಿಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಏರುವಿಕೆ ಸತತ.

ವೃತ್ತಿಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಕಾರ್ಯದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಇದ್ದ ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆ, ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ವಿಧಾನದ ಶಿಸ್ತು, ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯ ನಂತರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸುವಾಗಿನ ನಿಖರತೆ, ಸಂಯಮಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದವರು ಹೆಮ್ಮೆ ಮತ್ತು ಗೌರವಗಳೊಂದಿಗೆ ನೆನಪು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾರೆ.

ರಾಯರ ದೈನಂದಿನ ಜೀವನ ಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಿದ್ದವರಿಗೆ ದಿವಂಗತ ಸರ್ ಎಂ.ವಿ.ಯವರ ನೆನಪು ಬರದಿರಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವೇ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಎಲ್ಲವೂ ಕ್ರಮಬದ್ಧವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು - ಅಚ್ಚುಕಟ್ಟಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಜೆ ಹವಾ ಸೇವನೆಗೆ ಕನಿಷ್ಠ ಒಂದು ಮೈಲಿಯಷ್ಟನ್ನಾದರೂ ನಡೆಯಲೇಬೇಕು. ಕಛೇರಿಗೆ ಅಥವಾ ಮತ್ತೆಲ್ಲಿಗೇ ಆಗಲಿ ಮನೆಯಿಂದ ಹೊರಹೊರಟರೆ ಅಚ್ಚುಕಟ್ಟಾಗಿ ಇಸ್ತ್ರಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಸೂಟನ್ನು ಧರಿಸಲೇಬೇಕು. ಆಗ ಮೈಸೂರು ರುಮಾಲು ತಲೆಯನ್ನು ಅಲಂಕರಿಸಲೇಬೇಕು. ಗಣ್ಯರನ್ನು ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಕಾಣುವಾಗಲೂ ಅದೇ ಶಿಸ್ತು-ಕ್ರಮಗಳ ಅನುಸರಣೆ. ವೃಥಾ ಆಡುವ ಮಾತುಗಳೂ ಬೇಕಿಲ್ಲ. ಎಲ್ಲವೂ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ, ನಿಷ್ಕೃಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಇರಲೇಬೇಕು.

ರಾಯರು ಶಿಸ್ತಿಗೆ ನೀಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರಾಮುಖ್ಯತೆಯನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಅವರ ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದವರು ಈಗಲೂ ನೆನಪು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಒಂದು ಸಂಗತಿ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖನಾರ್ಹ. ಪ್ರಥಮ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯೋತ್ಸವದ ಸಮಾರಂಭ. ಉದಕಮಂಡಲ (ಊಟಿ)ದ ಪ್ರಾಚ್ಯ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಇಲಾಖೆಯ ಕಛೇರಿಯಲ್ಲೂ ಅದರ ಆಚರಣೆಗೆ ಸಿದ್ಧತೆ. ಆಗ ರಾಯರು ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ವಿಭಾಗ ಮುಖ್ಯಸ್ಥರು. ಸಮಾರಂಭದ ಆರಂಭ ಭಾಗ ಧ್ವಜಾರೋಹಣ. ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿಗಳ ಪೈಕಿ ಒಬ್ಬರು ನಿಧಾನವಾಗಿ ಬಂದರು. ಅವರು ಬರುವ ವೇಳೆಗೆ ಧ್ವಜಾರೋಹಣ ಮುಗಿದಿತ್ತು. ಸಮಾರಂಭ ಮುಗಿದ ನಂತರ ಆ ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿಯನ್ನು ಕರೆಸಿ, ಅವರಿಗೆ ಹೊರಿಸಿದ ಹೊಣೆ ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯ ತರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಧ್ವಜಾರೋಹಣ ಸಮಯಕ್ಕೆ ಬರದಿದ್ದುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಅವರು ಮುಂದಿನ 15 ದಿನಗಳು ಪ್ರತಿನಿತ್ಯ ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ 6-30 ಘಂಟೆಗೆ ಬಂದು ಧ್ವಜಾರೋಹಣ ಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ಅವರು ಎದುರಾಡಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಮುಂದಿನ 15 ದಿನಗಳು ಆ ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿ ಬೆಳಿಗ್ಗೆ 6-30ಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ಧ್ವಜಾರೋಹಣ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಆಗ ಪ್ರತಿನಿತ್ಯ ಸಮಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ರಾಯರೂ ಆ ಸ್ಥಳಕ್ಕೆ ಧಾವಿಸಿ ಧ್ವಜವಂದನೆ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಇಂತಹ ಶಿಸ್ತಿನ ಸಿಪಾಯಿಗಳು ಅತಿವಿರಳ.

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* ಕನ್ನಡ ಪ್ರಭ, ಸಾಪ್ತಾಹಿಕ ಪುರವಣಿ, 4-2-1979.

* ಸಂಶೋಧಕ, ಅರಿಸಿನಕುಂಟೆ, ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕು-562 123.

ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ಭಾರತೀಯ ಶಾಸನ ತಜ್ಞರ ಪೈಕಿ ಮರೆಯಲಾಗದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ. ತ್ರಿವಿಕ್ರಮಾವತಾರಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಯರನ್ನು ಹೆಸರಿಸಿದರೆ ಅದು ಅತಿಶಯೋಕ್ತಿಯೂ ಅಲ್ಲ; ಉತ್ಪ್ರೇಕ್ಷೆಯೂ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಎಲ್ಲರಿಂದಲೂ ಗೌರವವನ್ನು, ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಹೆಸರನ್ನೂ ಪಡೆದ ರಾಯರ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗಳು ಅಪಾರ, ನಿಖರ; ಅವರು ಅಧ್ಯಯನ ಮಾಡಿ, ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿದ ವಿಷಯ ಎಂದರೆ ಸರ್ವರಿಗೂ ಮಾನ್ಯ. ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಗಂಗರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಷ್ಟು ಗೊಂದಲಮಯವಾದುವು ಬೇರೆ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಗಂಗರ ಕಾಲ ನಿರ್ಣಯದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ರಾಯರ ತೀರ್ಮಾನವೇ ಇಂದಿಗೂ ಸ್ವೀಕೃತ. ಅತ್ತಿಮಬ್ಬೆಯ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪತ್ತೆ ಮಾಡಿದ ಕೀರ್ತಿ ರಾಯರಿಗೆ ಸಲ್ಲಬೇಕು. ಇವರು ಪತ್ತೆ ಹಚ್ಚಿ, ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿರುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಅಪಾರ. ಸಂಶೋಧಿಸಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿರುವ ವಿಷಯ ಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳೂ ಅಧಿಕ.

ರಾಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ತೀರ್ಮಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದವರಲ್ಲ. ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಹಲ್ಮಿಡಿ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 450) ಶಾಸನವೇ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಮೊದಲ ಶಾಸನ ಎಂಬ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವಿದೆ. ರಾಯರು ಇದನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ಕೊನೆಗಾಲದಲ್ಲೂ ಒಪ್ಪಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಬಾದಾಮಿಯ ಮಂಗಳೀಶನ ಶಾಸನವೇ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಪ್ರಥಮ ಶಾಸನ ಎನ್ನುವ ವಾದ ಅವರದು. ಕಳೆದ (1978)ಜೂನ್ ತಿಂಗಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರನ್ನು ಭೇಟಿ ಆಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಪ್ರಾಸಂಗಿಕವಾಗಿ ಈ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಕೇಳಿದೆ. ''ಬಹಳ ಜನ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಒಪ್ಪಿರುವಾಗ ಅವರ ವಾದದಲ್ಲಿ ತಥ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲವೆ? ನೀವೇಕೆ ಅವರ ವಾದಗಳನ್ನು, ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೊಮ್ಮೆ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿ ಹಲ್ಮಿಡಿಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ನಿಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬಾರದು.''

''ಬಹುಸಂಖ್ಯಾತರ ಒಪ್ಪಿಗೆ-ಅಭಿಮತದ ಒತ್ತಡದ ಅವಶ್ಯಕತೆ ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯದ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗೆ ಬೇಕಿಲ್ಲ. ನನ್ನ ಮನಸ್ಸು ಒಪ್ಪಿದರೆ ಸಾಕು. ಹಲ್ಮಿಡಿಯ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಕುಸ್ಥ ಒಬ್ಬ ಭಟಾರ. ರಾಜವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವನಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗೆ ರಾಜವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವನಾದರೆ, ಆ ಅರ್ಥ ಬರುವ ಒಂದು ಶಬ್ದ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಜೊತೆಗಿರಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಅವೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ಕಕುಸ್ಥನನ್ನು ಕದಂಬ ಕಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮ ಎನ್ನುವುದು ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲ. ನನ್ನ ಈ ಅನುಮಾನ ನಿವಾರಣೆಯಾಗಬೇಕು!''

ಯಾವ ವಿಷಯದ ಬಗೆಗೇ ಆಗಲಿ ರಾಯರದು ಮೊದಲು ಅನುಮಾನ. ನಂತರ ಆಲೋಚನೆ. ಜೊತೆಜೊತೆಗೇ ವಿಶ್ಲೇಷಣೆ. ಅಧ್ಯಯನ-ಕೊನೆಗೆ ತೀರ್ಮಾನ. ರಾಯರು ಸದಾ ಉತ್ಸಾಹದ ಚಿಲುಮೆಯಂತಿದ್ದವರು. ಎಳೆಯರೊಡನೆ ಎಳೆಯರಾಗಿ ಬೆರೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರೊಡನೆ ಗಂಭೀರ ಚರ್ಚೆಗೆ ತೊಡಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಇದು ಅವರ ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದು. ಕಛೇರಿಯ ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿಗಳು ಕಛೇರಿಯ ಕೆಲಸದ ಕಾಲಾವಧಿ ಮುಗಿದನಂತರ ಸ್ನೇಹಿತರು, ಅವರೊಡನೆ ವನವಿಹಾರ-ವನಭೋಜನಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಡ್ಡಿಯಿಲ್ಲ - ಇದು ರಾಯರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ.

ರಾಯರಿಗೆ ಬದಲಾಗುತ್ತಿರುವ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ವ್ಯಥೆ. ಪ್ರತಿನಿತ್ಯದ ವಾರ್ತಾಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಮೂಲಕ ಓದಿಸಿ ಕೇಳಬೇಕು. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿರೋನಾಮೆಗಳ ಪಠನ ಮೊದಲು. ಅವುಗಳ ಪೈಕಿ ವಿಶೇಷವಾದದ್ದು ಮಾತ್ರ ಗಮನೀಯ. ಶಿರೋನಾಮೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೇಳುತ್ತಾ. ''ಸರಿ, ಮಾಮೂಲು'' ಎನ್ನುವ ಅವರ ಉದ್ಗಾರ ನಿಂತು ''ಓದು'' ಎಂದಾಗ ಆ ವಿಷಯ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಎನ್ನುವುದು ವೇದ್ಯ. ನಾವು ದುರಂತದತ್ತಲೇ ಹೆಜ್ಜೆ ಹಾಕುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇವೆ ಎನ್ನುವುದೇ ಅವರಿಗೆ ನೋವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಯಾವ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರದಲ್ಲೇ ಆಗಲಿ ಈಗ ಆಗುತ್ತಿರುವ ಕೆಲಸ ಯಾಂತ್ರಿಕ-ಮಾನವೀಯ ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆ, ಉತ್ಸಾಹಗಳ ಕೊರತೆ ಕಾಡುತ್ತಿದೆ - ಎನ್ನುವ ನೋವಿನ ಮಾತುಗಳು ಅವರಿಂದ ಕೇಳಿ ಬರುತ್ತಿದ್ದವು.

ಬಂಧುವರ್ಗದಲ್ಲೂ ರಾಯರು ಹಿರಿಯ-ಕಿರಿಯರಿಗೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರಿಯರಾಗಿದ್ದವರು.

ರಾಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ವೃತ್ತಿಜೀವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿರುವ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಪುಟಗಳು ಕೆಲವು - ಸೌತ್ ಇಂಡಿಯನ್ ಇನ್ಸ್‌ಕ್ರಿಪ್ಷನ್ಸ್ - ಸಂಪುಟ 9, 10, 11 ಮತ್ತು 18, ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿಯಾ ಇಂಡಿಕಾ - ಸಂಪುಟ 27, 29, 30 - ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾರತದ ಶಾಸನ ವಿಭಾಗದ ವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ವರದಿಗಳು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹ. ರಾಯರು ಆರ್.ಎಸ್. ಪಂಚಮುಖಿಯವರೊಡನೆ ಜೊತೆಗೂಡಿ ಬರೆದ ''ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಅರಸು ಮನೆತನಗಳು'' ಗ್ರಂಥ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಇತಿಹಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಅತ್ಯಮೂಲ್ಯ ಕೊಡುಗೆ. ನಲವತ್ತಕ್ಕೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಲೇಖನಗಳ ಕರ್ತೃ ಅವರು. ಅನೇಕ ಸಂಘ-ಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಶೇಷ ಗೌರವ ಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇವೆ ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿ, ಸನ್ಮಾನಿತರಾಗಿ ಗಣ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಗಣ್ಯರಾದ ನೆಲಮಂಗಲದ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ಕೊನೆಯ ದಿನಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನು ನಿಲ್ಲಿಸಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. 1975ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ಶ್ರೀಪುರುಷನ ಹೊನ್ನುಡಿಕೆಯ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದರು.

ಅವರಿಂದ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶನ ಪಡೆದು ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹಿತರಾದ ಅನೇಕ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರಿಗೆ ರಾಯರು ಮರೆಯಲಾರದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿ - ಶಕ್ತಿ.

ರಾಯರ ಶಿಸ್ತು, ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆ, ಸಂಯಮ, ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯಗಳು ಮುಂಬರುವ ಶಾಸನ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶನ ಮಾಡಬಲ್ಲವು; ಚೈತನ್ಯ ತುಂಬಬಲ್ಲವು.

ಶಾಸನತಜ್ಞ ಎನ್. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು - ಒಂದು ಕಿರು ಪರಿಚಯ

ಸಿ.ಆರ್. ಶ್ಯಾಮಲಾ*

ನೆಲಮಂಗಲ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ೧೫ ಮೇ ೧೮೯೮ರಂದು ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಹೆಬ್ಬೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಜನಿಸಿದರು. ಎಂ.ಎ. ಮುಗಿಸಿದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೯೨೧ರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಪುರಾತತ್ವ ವಿಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಸನ ಸಹಾಯಕರಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ವೃತ್ತಿ ಜೀವನವನ್ನು ಆರಂಭಿಸಿದರು. ೩೬ ವರ್ಷಗಳ ದೀರ್ಘಸೇವೆಯ ಅನಂತರ ೧೯೫೭ರಲ್ಲಿ ಚೀಫ್ ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿಸ್ಟ್ ಆಗಿ ನಿವೃತ್ತಿ ಹೊಂದಿದರು. ತಮ್ಮ ೮೧ನೇ ವಯಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂದರೆ ೧೪ನೇ ಜನವರಿ ೧೯೭೯ರಂದು ತೀರಿಕೊಂಡರು.

ರಾಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ಜೀವನದುದ್ದಕ್ಕೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ - ಸಂಪಾದನೆಯ ಕಾರ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ತೊಡಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇಕಾದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಹಾಗೂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾರತದ ಭಾಷೆಗಳನ್ನು ಅವರು ಬಲ್ಲವರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರು ಲೇಖನ, ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ಬರೆದದ್ದು ತೀರಾ ಕಡಿಮೆ. ಬರೆದರೂ ಎಷ್ಟೋಬಾರಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕಾಣಿಸದಿದ್ದ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳು ಇಲ್ಲದಿಲ್ಲ. ಗ್ರಂಥರೂಪವಾಗಿ 'ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಅರಸು ಮನೆತನಗಳು' ಎಂಬ ಕೃತಿಯೊಂದು ಇದೆ. ಇದರ ರಚನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಡಾ. ರಾ.ಸ್ವಾ. ಪಂಚಮುಖಿಯವರು ಜೊತೆಗೂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರು 'ಸೌತ್ ಇಂಡಿಯನ್ ಇನ್ಸ್‌ಕ್ರಿಪ್‌ಷನ್ಸ್'ನ ಸಂಪುಟ ೯, ೧೦, ೧೧, ೧೮ ಇವನ್ನೂ ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾತ್ಮಕ ಮುನ್ನುಡಿಯನ್ನೂ ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ವಿಶೇಷವೆಂದರೆ ಆಗಿನ ಮುಂಬಯಿ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಚಾರಮಾಡಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಅಭ್ಯಸಿಸಿ ಅವುಗಳ ಸೂಚಿಯನ್ನು ತಯಾರಿಸಿದರು. ಸೌತ್ ಇಂಡಿಯನ್ ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿ ಹೆಸರಿನ ೧೯೨೬-೨೭ರಿಂದ ೧೯೩೪-೩೫ರ ಕಾಲದ ವಾರ್ಷಿಕ ವರದಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಸೂಚಿ ಅಂದರೆ ಇಂಡೆಕ್ಸ್ ತಯಾರಿಸುವುದು ಒಂದು ಪರಿಶ್ರಮದ ಕೆಲಸವೇ. ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿಯಾ ಇಂಡಿಕಾ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯ ಕೆಲವು ಸಂಪುಟಗಳು, ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಹೇಳುವುದಾದರೆ, ೨೭, ೨೯, ೩೦ರ ಸಂಪಾದನ ಕಾರ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅವರ ಅಂಗವಿದ್ದಿತ್ತು. ಅವರ ಬಿಡಿ ಬರಹಗಳು ನಾನಾಕಡೆಯ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಚದರಿಹೋಗಿವೆ. ಅವು ಎಪಿಗ್ರಾಫಿಯಾ ಇಂಡಿಕಾ, ಕ್ಯು.ಜೆ.ಎಂ.ಎಸ್., ಜೆ.ಒ.ಆರ್, ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಮತ್ತು ಇಂಡಿಯನ್ ಹಿಸ್ಟಾರಿಕಲ್ ಕ್ವಾರ್ಟರ್ಲಿ ಈ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಕಂಡು ಬರುವುವು. ಅವರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಲೇಖನಗಳು ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ, ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಕೆಲವು ಸಂಭಾವನಾ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಾಣಸಿಕೊಂಡಿವೆ. ಅವರ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಬರಹಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸುವ ಕೆಲಸ ನಡೆದಿದ್ದು, ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಸುಮಾರು ೪೫ ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷ್ ಲೇಖನಗಳೂ, ೧೫ ಕನ್ನಡ ಲೇಖನಗಳೂ ದೊರೆತಿವೆ. ಐದಾರು ಲೇಖನಗಳು ಉಭಯ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಬಂದಿವೆ.

ಅವರ ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗದ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲ. ತಮಿಳುನಾಡು, ಆಂಧ್ರಪ್ರದೇಶ ಮತ್ತು ಹಿಂದಿನ ಮಧ್ಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳವರೆಗೂ ಹಬ್ಬಿತ್ತು. ಅವರ ಕೃತಿರಚನೆಯನ್ನು ವಿಷಯದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಪ್ರಕಾರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಂಗಡಿಸಬಹುದು.

1. ಹೊಸ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆ.
2. ಈಗಾಗಲೇ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾದ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಮರು ಸಂಪಾದನೆ.
3. ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನೇ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಆಧಾರವಾಗಿ ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡು ಹೊರಹೊಮ್ಮಿಸಿದ ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಅಂಶಗಳಿರುವ ಲೇಖನಗಳು.
4. ನಾಣ್ಯಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಕೆಲವೇ ಲೇಖನಗಳು. ಇವು ಜರ್ನಲ್ ಆಫ್ ನ್ಯೂಮಿಸ್‌ಮ್ಯಾಟಿಕ್ ಸೊಸೈಟಿ ಆಫ್ ಇಂಡಿಯಾದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗಿವೆ. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಹಾಗೂ ಕಲಚೂರಿ ಕಾಲದ ಕೆಲವು ನಾಣ್ಯಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಕೇರಳದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ೩೧ ನಾಣ್ಯಗಳು ಇವುಗಳ ಪರಿಶೀಲನೆ ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿವೆ.

ಇದನ್ನುಳಿದು ಕೆಲವು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗತವಾದ ಚಿತ್ರಣಗಳಿವೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಡಿ.ಎಲ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್, ತೀ.ನಂ. ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಯ್ಯ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಕನ್ನಡ ವಿಶ್ವಕೋಶದ ಸಂಪುಟಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ಕೆಲವು ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಕಿರುಬರಹಗಳನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಗಣನೀಯ ಲೇಖನವೆಂದರೆ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಪಂಗಡದವರ ಮೂಲ ಮತ್ತು ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ಕುರಿತದ್ದು. ರಾಯರು ಸ್ವತಃ ಈ ಪಂಗಡದವರು.

ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ಸಮಗ್ರ ಲೇಖನಗಳನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮಾಲೋಚಿಸುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದಿರುವ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾತ್ರ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸುವ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಮಾಡಿದೆ.

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(೧) ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನಗಳು.

- ಅಜಂತಾದಲ್ಲಿಯ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಹರಿಷೇಣನ ಶಾಸನ.
- ಯಾದವ ಕನ್ನರನ ಅರ್ಜುನವಾಡದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನ.
- ಗದಗ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿಯ ೨ನೇ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಶಾಸನ.
- ಗೋಕಾಕದಲ್ಲಿಯ ದೇಜ್ಜಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಶಾಸನ.
- ಅಣ್ಣಿಗೇರಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ೨ನೇ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನ.
- ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನ. ಇದು ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರದೇಶದ 'ಜುರಾ' ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತದ್ದು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಅರಸರು ಚೋಳರನ್ನು ಸದೆಬಡಿದ ವಿವರವಿದೆ.
- ಕಾಪುವಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕ ಕೆಳದಿಯ ಸದಾಶಿವನಾಯಕನ ಶಾಸನ. ಅದರ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ೧೫೫೦-೧೫೬೨ ಎಂದು ಸಿದ್ಧಪಡಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.
- ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗದೊರೆ ಶ್ರೀಪುರುಷನ ಹೊನ್ನುಡಿಕೆ ಶಾಸನ.
- ಕೊಳಗಲ್ಲಿನ ಶಾಸನ. ಕೊಟ್ಟಿಗನದು. ಇದು 10ನೇ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ್ದು.
- ಆಳುಪ ವಂಶದ ಜಯಸಿಂಹನ ತಲಂಗೆರೆ ಶಾಸನ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ 'ಉತ್ಸಾಹರಗಳೆ'ಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖವಿದೆ. ೧೦ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಷ್ಟು ಹಿಂದೆ 'ರಗಳೆ' ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಕೆಯಾದದ್ದೊಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಅರ್ಥವಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ಡಿ.ಎಲ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರ ನೆರವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

(೨) ಇನ್ನೂ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಇತಿಹಾಸವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತಂತೆ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರು ಅನೇಕ ಹೊಸ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಕಂಡುಹಿಡಿದು ಲೇಖನಗಳನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವಕ್ಕೆಲ್ಲಾ ಶಾಸನಗಳೇ ಆಧಾರ.

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಅರಸು ಮನೆತನಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಅವರ ಗ್ರಂಥವಂತೂ ಸರಿಯೇ. ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದ ಕದಂಬ, ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ, ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ, ಕಲಚೂರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತಂತೆ ಬೇರೆ ಬಿಡಿ ಲೇಖನಗಳೂ ಇವೆ. ಕದಂಬ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನ ಗುಪ್ತದೊರೆಯ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಲೇಖನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ - ಪುಲಕೇಶಿ ಈ ಪದದ ವ್ಯುತ್ಪತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿ ಅದು ಕನ್ನಡದ ರೂಪವೇ ಎಂದು ಸಮರ್ಥಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಬಗೆಯ ಸಮರ್ಥನೆಯನ್ನು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಮಾಡಬೇಕಾಗಿ ಬಂದಿತ್ತು. ಯಾಕೆಂದರೆ ನರ್ಮದೆಯವರೆಗೂ ಅವರ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಹಬ್ಬುಗೆ ಇದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಅವರ ಮೂಲದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಆ ಕಾಲದ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಶಯವಿದ್ದಿತ್ತು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದರೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಭಾಷೆಯಾದ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ವ್ಯವಹರಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು ಎಂಬುದಾಗಿ ರಾಯರು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈಗಲೂ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಅನೇಕ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಹಾಗೂ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರು ತಮ್ಮವರೇ ಎಂದು ಗ್ರಹಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಕಲಚೂರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ರಾಯರು ೩-೪ ಲೇಖನಗಳನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮಂಗಳವಾಡವು ಬಿಜ್ಜಳನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ವಿಷಯ ಮೊದಲಬಾರಿಗೆ ರಾಯರ ಲೇಖದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಅವನಿಗೆ ರಾಜಲ ಎಂಬ ತಮ್ಮನಿದ್ದ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಬೆಳಕಿಗೆ ತಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಕೆಲವು ಕವಿ-ಕಾವ್ಯ ವಿಚಾರ ಅವರ ಲೇಖನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದಿವೆ. ಗೋವೈದ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬರೆದ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮ ಒಬ್ಬ ರಾಜವಂಶೀಯ. ಆತನ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಈಗಿನ ಆಂಧ್ರಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕೊಲ್ಲೂರಿನ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದ ಆಧಾರದಿಂದ ೧೦೮೦ ಎಂಬುದಾಗಿ ನಿಶ್ಚಿತಗೊಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಗಂಡಭೇರುಂಡದ ಕಲ್ಪನೆ ಅನೇಕ ಶಿಲ್ಪಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತದೆಯಷ್ಟೆ. ಆ ಪರಿಕಲ್ಪನೆಯನ್ನು ರುದ್ರಭಟ್ಟನು ತನ್ನ ಜಗನ್ನಾಥ ವಿಜಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಕ್ಷ್ಮವಾಗಿ ತಂದಿದ್ದರ ವಿವರಣೆ ಬೇರೊಂದು ಲೇಖನದಲ್ಲಿದೆ.

(೩) ಇನ್ನೀಗ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾರತದ ಇತಿಹಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಅವರು ಕಂಡುಹಿಡಿದ ಇಲ್ಲವೇ ಮರುಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸುವೆ.

- ವೇಮ, ಅನವೇಮ ಮತ್ತು ಕೊಮಟಿವೇಮ ಎಂಬೀಮೂವರ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾಪವಿರುವ ರೆಡ್ಡಿಗಳ ೩ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನಗಳಿವೆ.
- ತೆನಾಲಿ ರಾಮಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಖಚಿತ ಪಡಿಸುವ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನ, ಅದರ ಕಾಲ ೧೬೩೦.

- ಪೂರ್ವ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರ 'ಕಲಿವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ'ನ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನ.
- ಇಬ್ರಾಹಿಂ ಕುತ್ಬಶಾಹನ ಕಾಲದ ಎರಡು ಶಾಸನಗಳು.
- ಶಿರೋಡ ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಭೋಜ ದೇವರಾಜನ ಶಾಸನವು ಅವನ ಮನೆತನದ ಮೂಲ ಹಾಗೂ ಮೂಲ ಸ್ಥಳದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ರಾಯರು ಬೆಳಕು ಚೆಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ತಮಿಳು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಕೆಲ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕವಾಗಿ ಹೆಸರಿಸಬೇಕು.

- ಪಲ್ಲವ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ಕಾಲದ ನಲಜನಂಪಾಡುವಿನ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನ.
- ಹಳದಿಪುರದ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನ - ಪಲ್ಲವ ಗೋಪಾಲದೇವನದು.
- ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಇತಿಹಾಸವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಬರೆದ ಲೇಖನ ಮಹತ್ವದ್ದಾಗಿದೆ.
- ಮಹಾಕೋಸಲದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಎರಡು ಕಿರುಶಾಸನಗಳು, ಇವುಗಳ ವಿಶೇಷತೆ ಎಂದರೆ ೧೮೫೭ರ ಬಂಡಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಹತರಾದ ಸಿಪಾಯಿಗಳ ವಿಷಯವಿದೆ. ಅವರು ಹತರಾದದ್ದು ದೂರದ ಮಧ್ಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ. ಆದಾಗ್ಯೂ ಅವರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ತಮಿಳಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಆ ಶಾಸನವಿದ್ದು, ತಮಿಳರ ಸ್ವಭಾಷಾ ಪ್ರೇಮದ ಆಧಿಕ್ಯವನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.
- ನೊಳಂಬ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಬೇರೊಂದು ಲೇಖನದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವರವಾಗಿ ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಎನ್. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ಒಟ್ಟಿನ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಕಾರ್ಯದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಕೆಲವು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಮಾತುಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ಒಂದನೆಯದಾಗಿ ಅವರ ಸಮಗ್ರ ಬರವಣಿಗೆ, ಶಾಸನ ಮತ್ತು ಶಾಸನಾಧಾರಿತ ವಿಚಾರ, ಇವನ್ನು ಮಾತ್ರ ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿವೆ. ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಕಂಡುಹಿಡಿದದ್ದಲ್ಲದೆ ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಈ ಹಿಂದೆ ಪ್ರಕಟಗೊಂಡ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಮರು ಸಂಪಾದನೆಯನ್ನು ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕೈಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ನಿಜಕ್ಕೂ ಇದು ಶ್ಲಾಘನೀಯ ಕೆಲಸ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಪ್ರಥಮ ತಲೆಮಾರಿನ ರೈಸ್, ಫ್ಲೀಟ್ ಹಾಗೂ ಹುಲ್ಷ ಮುಂತಾದವರು ಸಾವಿರಾರು ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಸಮಾಲೋಚನೆ ಮಾಡುವಾಗ ಅವನ್ನು ಅರ್ಥವಿಸುವಲ್ಲಿ ತುಂಬಾ ಸಲ ಎಡವಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರುಗಳ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಲೋಪವೆಂದರೆ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದ ಸೀಮಿತ ಜ್ಞಾನ. ಗೊಸಾಸ ಎಂಬ ಪದ ವಿನೇ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಸೊರಟೂರು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಫ್ಲೀಟ್‌ರು ಅದನ್ನು ಗೋವುಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟುವ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ರಾಯರು ಅದು ಗೋಸಹಸ್ರ ಎಂಬುದರ ತದ್ಭವ ಮಾತ್ರ ಎಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ರೈಸರು ಕೆಳದಿಯ ಅರಸರ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನು ರೂಪಿಸಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಸದಾಶಿವನಾಯಕನ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ೧೫೧೩-೧೫೪೫ ಎಂದು ಗೊತ್ತುಪಡಿಸಿದ್ದರು. ರಾಯರು ಅದನ್ನು ೧೫೫೦-೧೫೬೨ ಎಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇಂಥವು ಲೆಕ್ಕವಿಲ್ಲದಷ್ಟು.

ಅವರ ಸಂಶೋಧನಾ ಬರಹದ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ವೈಶಿಷ್ಟ್ಯವೆಂದರೆ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಊಹೆ ಮಾಡಿಹೇಳುವ ಅಂಶಗಳು ತೀರ ಕಡಿಮೆ. ಆಧಾರ ಪುರಾವೆಗಳು ಸಾಲದಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅಂದಾಜಿನ ನಿರ್ಣಯವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇವೆ. 'ಸುಮಾರು' 'ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದು' ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಗಳನ್ನು ಬಳಸುತ್ತೇವೆ. ರಾಯರ ರೀತಿ ಅದಲ್ಲ. "I am unable to suggest a definite date, I am unable to identify" ಎಂಬ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇಷ್ಟಪಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಹೀಗಾಗಿ ಅವರ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಗಳು, ಖಚಿತವೂ, ನಿರ್ದೋಷವೂ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಖಚಿತತೆಗೆ ಒಂದು ಉದಾಹರಣೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮುಗಿಸುವೆ. ಅದು ಹಲ್ಮಿಡಿ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತದ್ದು. ಅದುವೆ ಮೊದಲ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿದಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಅದರ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಕದಂಬ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಮೇಳವಿಸಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೫೦ ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಆದರೆ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವ ಕಕುಸ್ಥ ಒಬ್ಬ ಭಟಾರ, ರಾಜನಲ್ಲ, ಎಂದೇ ಮುಂತಾಗಿ ವಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಇನ್ನೂ ರಾಯರ ಸ್ವಭಾವ ಕಾರ್ಯಪದ್ಧತಿ ಇವುಗಳ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮೂರು ನಾಲ್ಕು ಮಾತು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಅವರ ಸಂಶೋಧನಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸೀಮಿತಗೊಳಿಸಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

INTRODUCTIONS

1

TEN YEARS OF INDIAN EPIGRAPHY (1937-46)*

In this paper the officers of the Epigraphical Branch of the Department of Archaeology summarize the activities of the Branch during the decade when all publications non-essential for war purposes were banned.

The best part of the period (1937-46) under review synchronized with the last world war and its aftermath, which paralyzed all peace-time activity. Indian epigraphy had also its share of the crippling effects of the war, though its progress was not hampered all too seriously. Village-to-village survey and collection of fresh epigraphs were carried on a reduced scale, and the cumulative gain has in fact been more than could be expected under the circumstance.

The departmental publications having been suspended for the duration, it has not been possible to publish the results of the activities periodically as usual. And it might still take some time to get our detailed reports printed. It has therefore been thought expedient meanwhile to bring out a summary account for general information as to what was achieved in the field of Indian epigraphy during these ten years.

The total collection comprises upwards of four thousand inscriptions, those from South India being in predominant numbers as ever. The bulk naturally consists of records that are damaged, fragmentary, or comparatively unimportant. Of the rest, the most outstanding ones are noticed below. They cover a very wide range and add a great deal to our knowledge of Indian history. A couple of them even usher in some royal families that were hitherto unknown.

Some of the important epigraphs discovered earlier in the decade have already been published in the *Epigraphia Indica* and *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,* while some others have been dealt with in other periodicals. These, with a few exceptions, have been excluded from this account.

For the sake of convenience, a chronological order has, as far as possible, been adhered to, the entire material being divided into four groups: copper-plate inscriptions, stone inscriptions, miscellaneous inscriptions, and Muslim inscriptions.

I. COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS

Two sets of copper-plates discovered at Kānukollu in the Krishṇā District and belonging to the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty are of outstanding importance. The earlier of the two records refers itself to the reign of Nandivarman. Its script is Brahmi or the southern alphabet of about the fourth century A.D. The inscription is composed in Prakrit, except for two customary verses towards the end, which are in Sanskrit. It is issued from Vēṅgīpura and registers the grant of the village Piḍiha by Mahārāja Nandivarman, evidently of the Śalaṅkāyana dynasty, to the Chāturvaidya community of the Rathakāra *agrahāra.* The record is dated the 1st day in the 2nd fortnight of the rainy season in the 14th year, presumably of the donor's reign. By the pious gift, the royal donor wishes to ensure longevity and prosperity not only for himself, but also for his grandson Skandavarman who was then a mere child, *bālaka-mahārājakumāra-Khaṁda-pōttassa.* The next charter pertains to this very Skandavarman. It is written entirely in the Sanskrit language and contains the following genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers: Hastivarman (I) - his son Nandivarman - his son Hastivarman (II) - his son Skandavarman. They are all styled Mahārāja. The last one is stated to be a devotee of the Lord Chitrarathasvāmin. This document it also issued from Vēṅgī. It records the gift of the village Kōmpara in the district of Kudrahāra by Skandavarman to the very Chāturvaidya community that figures as recipient in the foregoing charter too. The endowment was made on the 1st day of the bright fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the very 1st year of Skandavarman's reign. It is noteworthy that this charter brings to light the existence of two rulers of the name of Hastivarman in this family. Which of these two is identical with the Hastivarman of the Pedavegi plates[1] is not certain.

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The Wadgāon copper-plates of Vākāṭaka Pravarasēna II add one more charter to a number of similar records already discovered pertaining to this monarch. The present record is important for the geographical data it contains. It was issued from the royal camp on the bank of the river Hiraṇyā, the present Erai. It registers the grant of 400 *nivartanas* of land by Pravarasēna II to one Rudrārya of the Lauhitya *gōtra,* a resident of Ēkārjunaka, modern Arjuni. The land donated lay in the village Vēluaka, included in the Supratishṭha *āhāra.* Vēluaka, it is stated, was situated to the east of Gṛidhragrāma, to the south of Kadamasaraka, to the west of Nīlīgrāma and to the north of the road leading to Kōkilā. These can be identified with Gadeghāṭ, Kosara, Nīljai and Khairī respectively. The *āhāra* or sub-division of Supratishṭha comprised the modern Hinganghāṭ *tahsīl* and parts of the Warora and Yeotmal *tahsīls.*

A hitherto unknown line of kings, namely that of the Pāṇḍavas of Mēkala, is brought to light by a set of copper-plates found at Bamhanī in the Rewa State. No record of this dynasty is previously known. The lineage given in the present charter is as follows:-

1. Jayabala;
2. Vatsarāja or Vatsēśvara (son of 1);
3. Nāgabala (son of 2 from Drōṇabhaṭṭārikā);
4. Bharata or Bharatabala (son of 3 from Indrabhaṭṭārikā; married a princess of Kōsala, Lōkaprakāśa by name).

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Vardhamānaka (to be identified with Bamhanī) in the district of Pañchagartā by Bharatabala to one Lōhitasarasvāmin of the Vatsa *gōtra.* The deed was issued on the 13th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Bhādrapada in the 2nd year of Bharatabala's reign. It was composed by Śiva, son of *Rāhasika* Īśāna, and engraved by Mihiraka, son of the goldsmith Īśvara. There is evidence enough to shows that Bharatabala was a contemporary, and perhaps even a feudatory, of the Vākāṭaka monarch, Narēndrasēna (A.D. 435-70). The characters of the inscription are a perfect specimen of the nail-headed script of the fifth century A.D.

The Banaras plates of Śūravaṁśi Harirāja, which provide yet another specimen of the nail-headed script of the fifth century A.D. are the first record so far known of the Śūra dynasty, about which very little is known even from the *Purāṇas.* The Śūra kings must have ruled in the vicinity of Banaras about this period. It is issued from Śāntanapura and records the grant of land, on a *Mahā-Kārttika-Paurṇamāsī,* to one Sōmasvāmin of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra,* who was proficient in the *Upanishads (samyag- upanishat-siddhāntavid).* Another remarkable thing about this record is that it was issued under the authority of the Council of Administration *(Mahāmātragaṇa),* consisting of several ministers whose names are mentioned in the charter. The ruling king Harirāja and his consort Anantamahādēvī are stated simply to have accorded their consent to the donation. Equally significant are the concluding words: *svastir=astu Mahāmātragaṇasya* || *drishṭam.* ||

From Dhavaḷapēṭa in the Vizagapatam District comes a set of plates of the reign of Mahārāja Umavarman. This charter is issued from Sunagara and registers the gift of the village Kuttupu in the Mahēndra *bhōga* by Mahārāja Umavarman to one Khallasvāmin. The donor was a ruler of Kaliṅga as may be inferred from the mention of the Mahēndra *bhōga.* The script of the inscription is the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet of about the fifth century A.D.

Welcome light on the little known history of the Nala dynasty which ruled in the southern parts of the Central Provinces and thereabout is thrown by the Kēsaribēḍa (Jeypore, Orissa) plates of Nala Arthapathi of the fifth century A.D. The script of the present record is also the box headed variety of the southern alphabet. It is issued from Pushkarī, evidently the capital of the Nalas. It registers the gift of the village Kēsēlaka (apparently the present Kēsaribēḍa) by Mahārāja Arthapati Bhaṭṭāraka to some Brāhmaṇas of the Kautsa *gōtra.* Arthapati is mentioned in the Rithapur plates of his father Bhava[da]ttavarman who had Nandivardhana as his capital.[2] It is noteworthy that the writer of the Rithapur plates, namely Chulla, figures as such also in the present record. Pushkarī is again mentioned in the Poḍāgaḍh stone inscription[3] which is ascribed to [Skanda]varman, supposed to be another son of Bhavadattavarman. Recently a hoard of gold coins of some Nala kings has come to light.[4] Some of them belong to Arthapati also. The combined evidence of the present charter and his gold coins show that he was an independent ruler.

Of the several copper-plate grants of the Pallava dynasty examined during the period, two are worth noticing here. One of them is the Neḍuṅgarāya (Nellore District) grant of Siṁhavarman. Issued from Palakkaḍa by Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa, son of Skandavarman and grandson of Vīravarman, this charter records the gift of the village Neḍuṅgarāya in Muṇḍarāshṭra as *Śāraṇikagrāma* to several Brāhmaṇas. The inscription is dated the 13th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyēshṭha in the 12th year of the reign of the Pallava Mahārāja Siṁhavarman. The relationship of this Siṁhavarman to Yuvamahārāja Vishṇugōpa, the donor, is not known. He may be the elder brother of Vishṇugōpa as Fleet and Dubreuil have suggested while discussing his Uruvapalle grant.[5] The expression, *Śāraṇikagrāma,* which means 'a refugee-village', is noteworthy. The village was apparently created as a place where refugees could take shelter. In this connection, attention may be drawn to a corresponding Tamil expression *añjināṇpugaliḍam,* occurring in certain inscriptions of the Tamil country.

The other remarkable Pallava grant is the Nayadhīramaṅgalam (North Arcot District) grant of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla. It is issued in the 33rd year of his reign and introduces his general Avanichandra-yuvarāja, lord of Vilvalapura, at whose request the king granted the village of Nayadhīramangalam to several Brāhmaṇas. We know of another general of this king, named Udayachandra, who was likewise styled the lord of Vilvalapura. Further, in an inscription of the 17th year of Dantivarman,[6] son and successor of Nandivarman II, mention is made of a certain Avanichandra, who may be identical with his namesake. From this it may be inferred that Avanichandra was a son of Udayachandra. A few more inscriptions of this dynasty which are engraved on stone are reviewed below in the section on stone inscriptions.

Of the dynasty known as kings of Śarabhapura we have a copper-plate record of Mahāsudēvarāja. It was discovered at Kauvātāl in the Rāigarh District of the Central Provinces. It is issued from Śrīpura, and this is significant in as much as most of the hitherto known inscriptions of the dynasty are issued from Śarabhapura. It registers the grant of a village named Suṇikāyā of the [Ḍha]karī *bhōga* to one Bhaṭṭa Puraṁdarasvāmin of the Parāśara *gōtra*. In the present charter the name of Mahāsudēvarāja's father is given as Māhadurgarāja, whereas in some other records it is Mānamātra. This again is a noteworthy point. Possibly both the names refer to one and the same individual. The grant was made on the 10th day of Mārgaśīrsha in the 7th regnal year. It was engraved by one Gōlasiṁha. *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita Mahāsāmanta* Indrabalarāja acted as *dūtaka* to the grant. This individual is sought to be identified with Udayana's son Indrabala, father of the Sōmavaṁśi king Nanna of Mahākōsala.

Among the copper-plate grants of the Eastern Chālukya family two may be noticed in this paper. The earlier of them, obtained from the Collector of the Vizagapatam District, is issued from Kallūra *vāsaka* by Pṛithivī-Jayasiṁhavallabha I of the Eastern Chālukya family. The record is important for the data it affords for fixing the starting point of the chronology of this family. It is dated the 15th day of the 8th fortnight of the Hēmanta season, in the 18th year of the king's reign, when a lunar eclipse occurred. This regularly corresponds to the 13th February, A.D. 659, when there was a lunar eclipse. Thus the initial year of the kings's reign was A.D. 641. His father and predecessor Kubja-Visnṇuvardhana is stated in the records of this dynasty to have had a reign of 18 years. Consequently, the starting-point of the Eastern Chālukya chronology, commencing with the rule of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, the founder of this line, would be A.D. 624. This would settle finally the controversy about the date of accession of Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana which had been fixed by Fleet long ago at c. 615 A.D.[7] and held the field so long.

The other Eastern Chālukya grant refers itself to the reign of Sarvalōkāśraya Vijayasiddhi (Maṅgi-Yuvarāja) and registers his gift of the village of Ēlūru (West Gōdāvarī District) in the Veṅgi *vishaya* to one Śrīdharaśarman of Ayyavōlu, apparently the modern Aihoḷe in the Bījāpur District of the Bombay Province. This would show that the Eastern Chālukyas continued to patronize scholars hailing from their ancestral home. The gift was made in the 10th year of his reign on the occasion of the *annaprāśana* of his son, prince Vishṇuvardhana. The Chēvūru plates of Amma I[8] constitute another Eastern Chālukya grant of the present collection, and register a similar gift made likewise on the occasion of the *annaprāśana* of the donor's son Vijayāditya V.

The Kāṇḍyam (Vizagapatam District) plates, issued by a later ruler of this family, apparently Dānārṇava, register the bestowal of the governorship of the Pottapināḍu-300 division on Malliyarāja and Guṇḍiyarāja of the Mudugoṇḍa-Chālukya *vaṁśa.* References to this family are rare both in inscriptions and in literature. As the fourth plate containing particulars about the donor is mutilated, it is not possible to determine as to who the actual donor was. The part of the record containing the date is also broken, except that the words *dvinava* are preserved. hence, we may not be wrong if we restore it to Śaka[8]92 (=A.D. 970) which falls within the reign of Dānārṇava.

Only one copper-plate inscription of the Western Chālukya dynasty is worth noticing here. It is engraved on a set of plates found at Shiggāon in the Dhārwar District of the Bombay Province. The record is issued by king Vijayāditya, in the Śaka year 630, from his victorious camp at Kisuvoḷal. In other records of this dynasty Raktapura is mentioned as the victorious camp and it has been identified with modern Lakshmesvar in the Miraj State in Bombay- Karnataka. But Raktapura is plainly a Sanskrit rendering of the word Kisuvoḷal, *kisu* meaning 'red' and *voḷal-poḷal,* 'a town'. And as Kishuvoḷal is also stated to be a victorious camp in the present record, Raktapura has to be identified with modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bijapur District of the Bombay Province. The inscription records certain gifts by the king to a Jina-bhavana, erected by the princess Kunkumadēvī. The grant is stated to have been made at the instance of the Āḷupa chief Chitravāhana at the time when the king visited Vanavāsī to meet the Āḷupa ruler. In a late eleventh century record the princess Kunkumadēvī is mentioned as a sister of king Vijayāditya. Her mention in a contemporary record like the present one is thus of great interest. It may be noted that this lady also figures in another record of this ruler.[9] Another inscription of the same king is on stone and its importance is discussed in the next section.

Of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu, we have a copper-charter in the collection. It was found at Dommara-Nandyāla in the Cuddapah District and gives a full genealogy of the family down to Puṇyakumāra, who is given the title of 'Lord of Hiraṇyarāshṭra'. It is issued from the king's residence at Pudoṟūru in the 10th year of his reign on the full moon day of the month of Phalguṇa. The object of the grant was the gift of lands in the village of Nandigāma and Pasiṇḍikuṟu to some Brāhmaṇas. Palaeographically the record may be assigned to abut the eighth century A.D. It may be noted that this is the second known copper-plate grant of this ruler.

The Salem (Salem District) plates of Western Gaṅga Śrīpurusha, dated Śaka 693, give a hitherto unknown genealogy, for three generations, of Śrīpurusha's daughter-in-law Kañchiabbā, wife of Duggamāra. The genealogy is as follows: King Nannappa-his son Śivarāja - his son Gōvindarāja (whose wife was Vinayavatī, daughter of king Vikramāditya) - his son Indaraja whose elder sister was Kañchiabbā. Two of these persons, viz. Śivarāja and his son Gōvindarāja appear to be identical with the Rāshṭrakūṭa princes of the same name figuring as subordinates of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya II in his Narwan plates, dated Śaka 664.[10]

The Narasingapur plate and Jurerpur (Cuttack District) plate of Dēvānandadēva are a welcome addition. They belong to the Nanda dynasty of Orissa, two similar inscriptions of which are already known: Talmul plates of Dhruvānanda[11] and Bāripadā Museum plate of Dēvānanda.[12] The Narasingapur plate is damaged. Its inscription is shorter and the text faulty, but it settles the question of the exact name of the family; it is Nanda and not Nandōdbhava. Both the inscriptions mention the *maṇḍala* of Airāvaṭa, which occurs also in the two previously known records and has been located in the Cuttack District, the name having been identified with Raṭāgarh. The Jurerpur plate was issued from Jayapura, held to be identical with Jaipur in Dhenkanal State.

The Chirāla (Chittoor District) plates of Vīra Rājēndradēva[13] are the only copper-plate record known so far of this king. Besides giving a complete account of the events of the kings's reign up to his 7th year, it states that the Chōḷa king Vīra Rājēndra started on his expedition against the Western Chālukya king Ahavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) on the very day of his coronation and defeated him five times. One of these victories was won at the battle of Kūḍal Saṅgamam. The record is also important in that it helps to fill up the lacunae in the Kanyākumārī stone inscription of the same king[14] which is damaged in some portions. Another noteworthy feature of the inscription is that it contains, besides the regnal year of the king, the Śaka year, a datum that is rare in the Chōḷa inscriptions of the period. The object of the grant is the gift of the village Chērām *alias* Madhurāntaka-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Pulināḍu to three Brāhmaṇas on the occasion of Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa in the Śaka year 991, Saumya (=A.D. 1069). The Sanskrit *praśasti*, written in good *kāvya* style, is stated to have been composed by Chandrabhūshaṇa-Bhaṭṭa. The section on stone inscriptions contains some more important records of this dynasty.

Of the Telugu Chōḍas of the later period a copper-plate record of Bhaktirāja was discovered at Peṇṭapāḍu in the West Godavari District. It is the second known copper-charter of this chief, the other being his Madras Museum plates.[15] The importance of the present record lies in the revelation that he owed his rise to the support of Prōlaya Nāyaka who is known to have rescued the Āndhra country from the hands of the Muhammadans in the fourteenth century A.D. We learn from it that Prōlaya Nāyaka was an associate of Vēṅga-Bhūpati, the maternal uncle of Bhaktirāja. Consequent on the death of Vēṅga-Bhūpati in the fight with the Muhammadans without leaving a heir to his kingdom, Prōlaya-Nāyaka installed Bhaktirāja as the ruler of his uncle's territory which seems to have comprised Vēṅgi and other tracts. Another point of interest in the record is the mention of Vīra Vōbi Nāyaka, the son of Prōlaya Nāyaka, not known hitherto. This prince is stated to have been made the ruler of his father's kingdom by Kāpaya Nāyaka who is described as the paternal uncle's son *(pitṛivyasutaḥ)* of Prōlaya Nāyaka. The object of the present charter is the gift, by the king Bhaktirāja, of the village Pentapadu in the Vengi *vishaya* to several Brāhmaṇas. It bears the date Śaka 1265, Kārttika śu. 15, Thursday, the day of lunar eclipse (=A.D. 1342, 13th November, Wednesday (not Thursday), when there was a lunar eclipse).

An interesting document of Prōlaya Nāyaka referred to in the charter noticed above comes from Vilasā in the East Godāvarī District. It is well-known that he was the cousin of the famous Kāpaya Nāyaka of the fourteenth century A.D., who re-established Hindu rule in Teliṅgāṇa after defeating the Muhammadans who had conquered it from the Kākatīyas. It gives a graphic description of the Muhammadan invasion of the Kākatīya kingdom and narrates the circumstance leading to the death of Pratāparudra, the last of the Kākatīyas. He died on the banks of the Sōmōdbhavā, i.e. Narmadā, while he was being taken to Delhi as a prisoner. This statement combined with the account of his death given in the Kaluvachēru grant of Anitalli[16] that he died of his own free will would indicate that he committed suicide by drowning himself in the river Narmadā, preferring death to ignominy.

Among the copper-plate inscriptions of the Gajapati kings of Kalinga examined during this period, the Chiruvṛōlu grant of Haṁvīra is important inasmuch as it is the only record so far known of this prince. It is dated in Śaka 1383, Vṛisha, Bhādrapada ba. 15, Friday (=A.D. 1461, September 4, Friday) and registers the grant of the village Chiruvṛōlu on the Kṛishṇa clubbed with Mēḻḻamiṟṟu, under the new name of Pratāpa-Haṁvīrapuram. It recounts the campaigns of his father Kapilēśvara against Haṁpā (i.e. Vijayanagara), Dhārā, Kalburga and Dhilli.

II. STONE INSCRIPTIONS

Of the stone inscriptions, the earliest in point of time is the Brāhmī inscription engraved on a boulder of a cavern at Māmanḍūr (North Arcot District) near Kāñchīpuram. It appears to be written in the early Tamil language. As such, it adds one more to the series of early Tamil inscriptions written in Brāhmī characters in South India. As the characters of this inscription bear close similarity to those of the Arikamedu graffiti, its date may be very near to that of the latter which is considered to be of about the first century A.D.

Next in chronological order comes the Brāhmī inscription which is found engraved on the side of a cistern, till recently buried underground, in front of Cave No. II of the famous group of Buddhist caves at Kanheri near Bombay. It is in Prakrit and records the erection of the cistern by one Puṇarvasu, a merchant of Kalyāṇa. The Kanheri caves have already yielded quite a number of similar donative inscriptions.

The Mithouri pillar inscription is another Buddhist record of the pre-Gupta period. It comes from a village called Mithouri in Rewa State. It is engraved on a stone pillar which originally served as shaft of a stone umbrella over a Buddha statue, as revealed by the concluding words of the inscription: *chhatraṁ pratishṭhāpayati,* etc. The record is dated in the year 80 of an unspecified era and refers itself to the reign of a hitherto unknown ruler Bhaṭṭāraka Mahārāja Vaṅgēśvara (?) Jāṅgata (?).

The Bandhogarh cave inscriptions are among the valuable discoveries which add to our knowledge of the history of Central India in the early centuries of the Christian era. Over a score of these inscriptions were copied in rock-cut caverns at Bandhogarh in the Rāmgarh *tahsīl* of Rewa State. The main group of inscriptions introduces three generations of kings of whom very little was known before. They are Mahārāja Vāsiṭhiputa siri Bhīmasēna (year 51), his son Maharaja Kochchiputa Pothasiri (years 86 and 87) and his son Mahārāja Kosikiputa Bhaṭṭadēva or Bhadadēva (year 90). Of these only Mahārāja Bhīmasēna was known so far, from the painted inscription on the Ginja hill.[17] It can now be safely assumed that this Bhīmasēna is identical with the Bhīmasēna of the Bhīṭa seal,[18] as this also gives his metronymic Vāsiṭhiputa. These inscriptions record donations of several cave- dwellings and amenities like wells, gardens and *maṇḍapas,* near these dwellings. One of the records of Pōṭhasiri mentions his Minister of Foreign Affairs, named Māgha, son of the minister Chakōra. Another inscription of the 87th year of the reign of the same ruler mentions Pavata (Parvata) which is apparently identical with *Po-fa-to* noticed by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. This is the earliest epigraphical reference to this place. Two more inscriptions found at Bandhogarh are of equally great interest. One of them is of Mahārāja Śivamagha of whose reign we have only one more inscription from Kosam (Kauśāmbī). The other is of the reign of Rājan Vaiśravaṇa who was the son of the Mahāsēnāpati Bhadrabala. The only other inscription known of him is that found at Kosam.[19] It may be noted, however, that in the latter Vaiśravaṇa calls himself Mahārāja but no mention is made of his father. *Mahāsēnāpati* of the Bandhogarh inscription may have been a title of nobility and need not be taken in the sense of an army-commander. It is just possible that Vaiśravaṇa who gained more eminence than his father, assumed at first the title of *Rājan* which was changed to *Mahārāja* when he became more powerful.

A Brāhmi inscription at Vēlpūru (Guntur District) is of some interest. It is in the Prakrit language and the characters are of about the second or third century A.D. It belongs to the reign of a king (name lost) who is called a Mahārāja and a Hāritīputa. The name of the family to which he belonged appears to be *Aira.* It may be noted that this family-name occurs in the inscriptions of Manchapurī and Hāthīgumphā caves in Orissa of about the same period.

Five Prakrit inscriptions were discovered at the small village of Ghanṭasāla on the east coast, in the Kṛishṇa District of the Madras Province. They are all Buddhist donative records, incised on marble pillars, in Brāhmī characters of abut A.D. 300. They resemble those found in grater numbers of other Buddhist sites in the neighbourhood, such as Amarāvatī, Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. One of the inscriptions mentions a sea-captain (*Mahānāvika*), Sivaka (Skt. Śivaka) by name, indicating thereby that the place was formerly a sea-port. In another, the place is mentioned under its ancient name of Kaṁṭakasōla. An article on these records is under publication in the *Epigraphia Indica* by Professor J.Ph.Vogel, who edited the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.

Another Brāhmī inscription was found at Gaṅgapērūru in the Cuddapah District. It is engraved on the broad side of a pillar broken both at the top and the bottom and shaped into an ellipse with its narrow ends flattened. Its language is Prakrit and characters are of the third to fourth century A.D. It refers to the *chhāyā-khabha* (sculptured memorial stone?) of an individual, named Śivadāsa who died in a fight on the occasion of a cattle-raid. The present is the first known Prakrit inscription in Brāhmī in the Cuddapah District. It may be added that there is a tradition that the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ hailed originally from Gaṅga-Pērūru, the findspot of the inscription.

All the inscriptions so far discovered at the Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa (Guntur District) are in Prakrit. Recently, however, a couple of fragmentary Sanskrit inscriptions have come to light there. The extant portion of one of them speaks of a *dharmmakathika,* 'reigious preacher', whose name is lost. He is described as *śuddh-āchāra-vṛitta* and *āgama-vinay-ōpadēśa-prakaraṇ[āchā]ryya.* The script of the inscriptions is Brāhmī of about the fourth century A.D.

The Rewa State in which the Bandhogarh inscriptions noticed above were found has yielded yet another important record. It is engraved on a pillar at the village Supiā. It is dated in the

Gupta year 141 and refers itself to the reign of the Gupta monarch Skandagupta. The genealogy given in the record begins with Ghaṭōtkacha. Curiously enough the family is referred to as Ghaṭōtkacha *vaṁśa.* This is perhaps the first record where so much importance is given to this member of the royal family. Another interesting feature of this inscription is that Chandragupta II is mentioned only by his surname, Vikramāditya, which is of common occurrence on his coins. The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the pillar by one Chhandaka, son of the banker Hari and grandson of the banker Kaivarta, a resident of Avaḍara.

An inscription of Pallava Sīhavammā was found in an ancient site at Manchikallu in the Guntur District, Madras Province. It is written in early Brāhmī characters of about the third century A.D. and in the Prakrit language. This mutilated record refers itself to the reign of Sīhavammā (Siṁhavarman) of the Palava (Pallava) dynasty and the Bhāradāya (Bhāradvāja) *gōtra* and mentions a *dēvakula* to which a gift seems to have been made. In point of palaeography this inscription appears to be earlier than the earliest Pallava records hitherto known, viz. the Mayidavōlu and Hirahaḍagalli plates of Śivaskandavarman.[20] Sihavammā of the inscription under review must therefore be considered an earlier member of the dynasty. It is not unlikely that he is the same as Mahārāja Bappasāmi (bappa means 'father') of the Hirahaḍagalli record. It may be noted, however, that in the present stone inscription he does not bear any title indicative of suzerainty. Probably he was, at the time of this record, still a subordinate of the Ikshvākus who were then ruling over that part of the country and whose inscriptions are found in the neighbourhood.

An inscription of Pallava Siṁhavarman, in Pallava-Grantha characters of about the seventh century A.D. and written in the Sanskrit language, comes from Sivanvāyal, Chingleput District. It states that the Pallava king Siṁhavarman, described as the performer of the *Daśāśvamēdha* and *Bahusuvarṇa* sacrifices, made a gift (details lost). The palaeography of the inscription would suggest that this ruler was Narasiṁhavarman I, the conqueror of Vātāpi. If so, this would be the third known record of this king, the other two being those at Bādāmi (Bijapur District) and Tirukkaḻukuṉṟam (Chingleput District).[21]

To Nṛipatuṅgavarman, a later member of this dynasty belongs the Maṭhavalam (Chittoor District) inscription. It is important in that it is dated in the 41st year of his reign, for the latest regnal year known for him so far is 26. The present record thus extends his reign by 15 years. This would help in re-considering the dates assigned to the later Pallava chiefs.

The earliest stone epigraph in Telugu language written in characters resembling the Pallava-Grantha comes from Tippalūru in the Cuddapah District. It refers itself to the reign of Puṇyakumāra whose dynasty is not specified. It registers a grant of *panāśa* at Tippalūru by the king to *pāradāya* (Bhāradvāja) Kiḷevura Kattiśarman of Tarkkapuḷōlu. The king is here given the titles *Madamudita, Marunṛa-piḍuku,* etc. which bear a close similarity to the birudas of some of the early Chōḷa kings of Rēnāṇḍu.

From Māchelra in the Palnad taluk (Guntur District) comes an inscription of the Eastern Chālukya king Jayasiṁhavallabha (II). It is dated in the 8th year (c. A.D. 714) and records a gift of land to the god Arahanta-Bhaṭāra by certain officers of Paḷḷināṇḍu. It is noteworthy that as early as the eight century A.D. this region of Palnāḍu was called Paḻḻināṇḍu. Several views have been put forward regarding the derivation of the geographical name Palnāḍu. The form Paḻḻināṇḍu is composed of the words *paḻḻi* and *nāṇḍu.* In Tamil *paḻḻi* means 'a Buddhist or Jaina settlement' in which sense it appears to have been used in the present inscription. As for *nāṇḍu* (or *nāḍu),* it obviously stands for a territorial division in all the Dravidian languages. This derivation is supported by the fact that in olden days the Palnāḍu region actually abounded in Buddhist and Jaina settlements whose ruins lie scattered in the region to this day.

A Kannaḍa inscription of the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vijayāditya deserves special mention on account of its value for reconstructing the later Pallava chronology. It was found in Uḷchaḷa in the Kurnool District. It is dated in the 35th year of the king's reign corresponding to A.D. 730-1. We learn from it that Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) while returning after conquering Kāñchī and levying tribute from the Pallava king Paramēśvara made a gift of the village Uḷchaḷu and Pariyaḷu to Durvinīt-Ereyappa of the Koṅguṇi (i.e. Western Gaṅga) family. Vikramāditya II, as specifically stated in the Vakkalēri and Kendūr plates of his son, Kīrtivarman II, after his accession to the throne, defeated the Pallava king Nandipōtavarman. The Uḷchaḷa record gives us the additional information that even at the time when he was Yuvarāja he had once defeated the Pallava king Paramēśvara, who is evidently Paramēśvaravarman II, the predecessor of Nandivarman. It follows therefore that at the time of this record, namely A.D. 730-1, the contemporary Pallava ruler was Paramēśvaravarman II and that Nandivarman II had not yet come to the throne. Hence the starting-point of the later Pallava chronology beginning with the reign of Nandivarman II has to be placed subsequent to A.D. 730-1.

An inscription of Jayasiṁha II of the later Chālukyas who had their capital at Kalyāṇi is preserved in the Hyderabad Museum. It is dated Śaka 949, Prabhava (=A.D. 1027), and mentions Sōmaladēvī, a hitherto unknown daughter of Jayasiṁha II. We already know of another daughter of this king named Āvalladēvī, the queen of the Yādava prince Bhillama III. Sōmaladēvī is stated to have made a grant to a *basadi* at Piriya-Mosaṅgi (modern Māski). The grant was made when the princess was camping at Pulipodaṟu.

Three records of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed may be reviewed here. The first is the Arshinaguppi (Dhārwar District) inscription of Amōghavarsha, dated Śaka 781, which mentions the place-name Kiṟuguppudūr. Now, the name of the village granted in a copper-plate inscription of Kadamba Kṛishṇavarman II[22] is Kiṟukupputūr, which may as well be read as Kiṟuguppuḍūr. This has been identified with Kubṭūr in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State. But the mention of Kiṟuguppadūr in the present stone record helps us to identify the Kiruguppudur of the Kadamba plates with modern Arshinaguppi in the Hangal *taluk* of the Dhārwar District.

The second Rāshṭrakūṭa record is the Kamalāpuram (Cuddapah District) inscription of Indra III which is noteworthy as it helps in carrying forward the reign of this king to at least the end of A.D. 925. Till recently the last date of Indra III was taken to be A.D. 917 on the basis of the Daṇḍāpur record of his successor Gōvinda IV, dated Śaka 840 (=A.D. 918).[23] Records later than this date mentioning the king merely by the title of Nityavarsha were considered to belong to the reign of Gōvinda IV, on the assumption that both Indra III and Govinda IV had this title. But the record under review, referring itself to the reign of Nityavarsha Indranarēndra and dated

Śaka 848, Pārthiva, establishes definitely that Indra continued to rule till at least A.D. 925 and that the Daṇḍāpur record should be considered to have been issued by Gōvinda in his capacity as Yuvarāja. It may be observed in passing that a record of the reign of Nityavarsha from Haḷeritti, Dhārwar District of the Bombay Province, is dated Śaka 850 (=A.D. 927) and thus extends his reign by two more years, i.e. up to A.D. 927.

The Hulgūr (Dhārwar District) record of Khoṭṭiga is the third record of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty. It is in Kannada and is issued in Śaka 893, Śukla (=A.D. 971). It records a gift by Abbarasi, wife of the Gaṅga chief, Guttiya-Gaṅga, i.e. Mārasiṁha II. She is stated to be the daughter of a certain Dānapa *(Dānapātmaje).* Abbarasi was not known so far either from literary or epigraphical sources. Dānapa, her father, cannot now be identified. It may, however, be noted that the Eastern Chālukya king, Dānārṇava (A.D. 970-973) who was a contemporary of Mārasiṁha II, was also known by the names of Dānapa and Dānapēśa.

Of the reign of Veṅkaya-Chōḷa Mahārāja, a scion of the family known to historians as the Telugu-Chōḍas, we have an inscription at Doṅgalasāni in the Cuddapah District. It is dated in the 41st regnal year of the king and is written in Telugu characters of the ninth to tenth century A.D. Among the members of this dynasty, this is the earliest chief to bear the epithet Teṅkaṇāditya, two of the later members who bore this epithet being Nannichōḍa, the author of the Telugu work *Kumārasambhavam,* and Oppili-Siddhi II who was a contemporary and probably a subordinate of Kākatīya Gaṇapati.

An inscription at Vēmulavāḍa in the Nizam's Dominions is of the reign of Baddega of the little known family of the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa. It consists of two Sanskrit verses and records the construction of a *Jinālaya* by Baddega for Sōmadēvasūri of the Gauḍa *Saṁgha.* Baddega is stated to be the fifth in descent from Yuddhamalla, the ruler of Sapādalaksha country. Sōmadēvasūri of the record is evidently identical with the author of *Yaśastilakachampū,* in the colophon of which it is stated that his patron was Vaddega, son of Arikēsarin of the Chālukya family.

Two Pāṇḍya records from Śālaigram (Ramnad District), written in Vaṭṭeḻuttu charters of the tenth century A.D., are engraved on the door-jumbs of the temple of Varaguna-Īśvara at the place. One of them is dated in the 2nd+1st(3rd) year of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Kōch-Chaḍaiya-Māṟar and the other is of the 15th+5th(20th) year of the reign of Śōḻaṉṟalaikoṇḍa Vīra-Pāṇḍyar, i.e. Vīra-Pāṇḍya 'who took the head of the Chōḷa'. As the characters of both the records resemble each other very closely, it is probable that they were caused to be incised by the two kings who were not far removed from each other in point of time.

In the Sundarēśvara temple at Madurā were found two Tamil inscriptions of Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara which register gifts of land as *jīvita-kāṇi* to the musicians belonging to the temple. One of the musicians who is given the title of *Vallāṇai-Veṉṟa-Pāṇḍya-Vādyamārāyaṉ* (=the chief-master of instrumental music to the king Vallāṇai-Veṉṟa-Pāṇḍya) is apparently the royal musician. In the other inscription are mentioned the following musical instruments: (1) *Vīra-maddaḷam,* (2) *maddaḷam,* (3) *timilai,* (4) *śēmakkalam,* (5) *kāśai,* and (6) *tiruchchiṇṇam.* These records are assignable to the thirteenth century A.D.

Śrīraṅgam (Tiruchirappalli District) inscription of Chōḷa Kulōttuṅga I is a Kannada record, dated in the 29th year of Kulōttuṅga I. It records a gift for lamps by an officer bearing the titles of *Kannaḍa-sandhi-vigrahi* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. The inscription seems to throw light on the friendly relations that existed between the two great dynasties, once hostile, the Chōḷas and the Chālukyas, towards the end of the eleventh century A.D. Another inscription of the same Chōḷa ruler in Telugu is at Guḍimūla in the West Godāvarī District. It gives the name of the king as Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana Mahārāja and is dated Śaka 1017 (= A.D. 1095-6) in the 35th year of the kings's reign. The date cited here would show that the king counted his regnal years from A.D. 1061, which is known to be the last date of his father Rājarāja who ruled at Vēṅgī. This fact is important since it is held that Vijayāditya VII, the paternal uncle of Kulōttunga I, seized the throne of Vēṅgī at the time of his brother's death and placed his son Śaktivarman on it. The present record, on the other hand, would show that Kulōttuṅga I succeeded his father on the throne of Vēṅgī in A.D. 1061, thus disproving the view that Śaktivarman usurped the throne.

The Kōni (Bilāspur District) inscription of Kalachuri Pṛithvīdēva II is a long *praśasti,* dated in the Chēdi year 900 (= A.D. 1148- 9). The village of Kōni is near Bilāspur in the Central Provinces. The inscription records the erection of a Śiva temple, Śivapañchāyatana, by a Brāhmaṇa called Purushōttama, who is credited with many other similar religious acts. It also registers the grant of the village Salōnī to the said Brāhmaṇa by the Kalachuri king Pṛithvīdēva II.

One record of Yādava Siṅghana dated Śaka 1156 was copied at Mantravāḍi in the Dhārwar District of the Bombay Province. It is important as it provides the earliest epigraphical reference to the *vachana* or saying of the famous Liṅgāyat saint Siddha-Rāmanāthadēva.

An inscription from Chingleput District of the time of Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla, a king of Kāñchī (c. A.D. 1250), gives the interesting information that Karikāla-Chōḷa settled at Mayilāppūr 70 families including that of Ēlēlasiṅgaṇ. Ēlēlasiṅgaṇ's association with Mayilāppūr is noteworthy as he is known to have been the merchant friend of Tiruvaḷḷuvar, also of Mayilāppūr, author of the famous Tamil classic, the *Kuṛaḷ.*

A Hoysaḷa record from the Tiruchirappalli District, of the 19th year of Rāmanāthadēva (= A.D. 1273-74) states that a goldsmith made a gift of a forehead-plate to the god of the village Peruṅguḍi (Tiruchirappalli District) in gratitude for the restoration of the eye-sight of his son who had lost it while he was young.

The interest evinced in the formation and maintenance of libraries by philanthropic persons is revealed in the Śrīraṅgam (Tiruchirappalli District) inscription of Pāḷappaḷḷi Nīlakaṇṭha Nāyakar. It records the founding of a library in the *maṇḍapa* of the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple at Śrīraṅgam by the chief. From another inscription at Jambukēśvaram near Śrīraṅgam, this chief is known to have flourished in the fourteenth year of the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Rāmanātha (=A.D. 1268). The inscription also mentions the installation, in the very *maṇḍapa,* of the images of Hayagrīva, Sarasvatī and Vyāsabhagavān, the presiding deities of learning, by the same person.

It is thus noteworthy that inscriptional evidence to the existence of libraries in prominent temples, as laid down in the *Āgamas,* is found as early as the thirteenth century A.D.

Another inscription from Śrīraṅgam written in Grantha script and Telugu language is of the time of Kākatīya Pratāparudradēva and is dated in Śaka 1239. It states that the king's commander Dēvari Nāyaka marched with an army to the south against the five Pāṇḍyas, defeated Vīra-Paṇḍya and the Malayāḷa Tiruvadi Kulaśēkhara at Tiruvadikuṉṟam and established Sundara-Pāṇḍya at Vīradhāvaḷam. The inscription is important in that it reveals the part played by the Kākatīya king in the internecine wars among the Pāṇḍyas and in establishing Sundara-Pāṇḍya at Vīradhāvaḷam.

The benefactions of the Vijayanagara king, Virūpāksha II (fourteenth century A.D.) to the principal deity of Śrīraṅgam, are recorded in two Sanskrit verses engraved on one of the walls of the temple at the place. The first of these is the same as the opening verse in the drama *Nārāyaṇīvilāsa* in which the *sūtradhāra* introduces king Virūpāksha as the author of that play. As this verse is apparently copied from the drama it may be surmised that the king took keen interest in popularizing his composition.

That the raids of the Gajapatis of Orissa in the south extended as far as Śrīraṅgam is borne out by the Śrīraṅgam inscription of Gajapati Hambīra Mahāpātra. As no inscriptions of this family are found further south it may be taken that Śrīraṅgam was the utmost limit of their incursions into the south. The record is dated Śaka 1386, Subhānu (–A.D. 1464), and states that this chief endowed the Śrīraṅgam temple with a gift of cows.

From Rāmgaḍh in the Sandur State (Bellary District) comes an inscription mentioning Kumāra-Rāmanātha, the hero of the Kannaḍa poems *Kumāra-Rāmanāthana-Sāṅgatya* and *Paradāra-sōdara-Rāmana-Charite.* It is dated Śaka 1450 in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Kṛishṇadēvarāya and records the construction of a temple for the deity Rāmanāthadēva at Hosamaleyadurga in memory of Vīra-Rāmanātha Oḍeya of Hosamale and other heroes who fell in battle along with him. Rāmanātha Oḍeya is stated to be the son of Khaṇḍērāya Kampilarāya and Vīra-Gujjala Hariharadēvī and grandson of Mummaḍi Siṅgaṇa. This record, though removed in point of time by about two centuries from time of Rāmanātha Oḍeya, is interesting in asmuch as it reveals the love and esteem with which this hero's memory was cherished for generations. Rāmanātha Oḍeya was famous as Kumāra-Rāma who valiantly fought against the Muslims just prior to the foundation of the Vijayanagara kingdom. The inscription affords epigraphical confirmation to the account found in the Kannada literary works mentioned above that he was the son of Kampilarāya. The place Hosamale, where the temple was erected in memory of Rāmanatha, is evidently the present Ramgadh, formerly known as Rāmanmalai (Sandur State, Madras presidency), the findspot of the inscription. It may be noted that Rāmgaḍh contains traces of a fortification.

A *Nishidhi* inscription from Sonda (North Karnataka District) records the death of the Jaina teacher Bhaṭṭākalaṁkadēva who may be identified with the famous author of the Sanskrit grammar of the Kannaḍa language. It is dated Śaka 1577.

III. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

Twenty potsherds discovered in the excavations at Arikamedu near Pondicherry (South India) bear graffiti. Though brief and mostly fragmentary, they are very important inasmuch as they supply specimens of the ancient Drāviḍī script, allied to Brāhmī, as also of the earliest writing in the Tamil language. A detailed and illustrated account of them has already been presented in *Ancient India,* no. 2 (July, 1946), pp. 109-114.

Twenty-four potsherds from the Peshawar Museum were examined and found to contain portions of short dedicatory records of names in Kharōshṭhī characters of about A.D. 200. Only in one case the writing is engraved, while in the rest it is painted in black. The engraved one reads *Budhamitrasa,* 'of Budhamitra', and seems to be a complete record.

From Sunet in the Ludhiana District of the Punjab came a collection of twenty-eight terracotta sealings, mostly containing personal names like Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa, Vishṇudāsa, etc., in the Gupta script assignable to c. fifth century A.D.

A copper tray was received from the Rajasaheb of Jamkhandi State in the Bombay Province, bearing an inscription in Hebrew on its inner side. It gives a descriptive account of the history of Solomon's throne and greatness.

IV. MUSLIM INSCRIPTIONS

During the decade under review about 200 inscriptions were collected, of which the important ones refer to the Sulṭāns of Delhi, Bengal, Gujarat and Mālwā; the Nizām Shāhs of Ahamadnagar; the 'Ādil Shāhs of Bījāpur; the Bahmanīs of Gulbarga; the Barīd Shāhs of Bidar; the Qutab Shāhs of Golconda; and the Mughul emperors of India. They mostly deal with political, economic and religious history of the Muslim period and also shed some light on important personages otherwise unknown to history. Some of them are very interesting both from the palaeographic and historic points of view inasmuch as they represent exquisite styles of *Naskh, Thulth* and *Nasta'līq,* give new regal titles of kings and even correct dates known from other sources. The more important of them are briefly noticed below in chronological order.

Mathurā, although plentifully rich in remains of the early Buddhist and Brahmanical periods, was commonly believed to possess no Muslim building of pre-Mughul time.[24] An old Persian inscription, in verse, discovered in the tomb of Makhdūm Shāh Walāyat at Mathurā, however, refers to a Muslim structure built at Mathurā long before the reign of Akbar. It is unfortunately only fragmentary and the event referred to therein is not clear. Nevertheless, it mentions Sultan 'Alāu'd-Dīn Khaljī with his title 'Sikandar-i-Thānī' (Alexander II), Gujarat and the mosque of Ulugh Khān. Since 'Alāu'd-Din Khaljī's brother, Almās Beg, entitled Ulugh Khān, was deputed to conquer Gujarat[25] in A.H. 697 (A.D. 1297-98), it is reasonably inferred that the record alludes to the Gujarat expedition and the erection of a mosque at Mathurā by that noble. Also, early Muslim inscriptions in India are generally in prose and rarely in verse; hence the importance of the epigraph under notice.

Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Ilyās Shāh of Bengal was the first independent king of Bengal, but his chroniclers are at variance about the exact year of his accession. Ghulām Husain, author of the *Riāzu's-Salāṭīn,* and Charles Stewart, author of the *History of Bengal* (London, 1813), maintain that he became king in A.H. 746 (A.D. 1345-46), while others are inclined to place his accession about A.H. 740 (A.D. 1339-40) on numismatic evidence. But the recent discovery of an Arabic inscription in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, mentioning the construction of a mosque in A.H. 743 (A.D. 1342-43) for a saint, named 'Alāu'l-Haq, in the reign of Sulṭan Ilyās Shāh, conclusively contradicts the date given by Ghulām Husain and Stewart and tends to support the other view.

A Persian inscription from Bheṭ Dwārkā, a small island in the vicinity of Okha Port in Kāthiāwāḍ, records the erection of a mosque in the reign of Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh Tughuluq of Delhi in A.H. 777 (A.D. 1375-76) at the instance of Shamsu'd-Dīn Dāmaghānī. It obviously corrects the date of Dāmaghānī's appointment as Governor of Gujarat which, according to the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,*[26] was A.H. 778 (A.D. 1376-77), or a year later.

An inscribed slab, found lying at Holsingī in the Indi Taluqa of the Bījāpur District, deserves notice. Although undated, it bears the words 'the boundary of Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shaḥ' and is rightly supposed to have served as a boundary-mark of the king. Its historical significance lies in the facts that it establishes the tradition of the Muslim rulers of India to fix stone slabs carved with their names of the boundary of their territories and that Bījāpur formed part of the Bahmanī kingdom in the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Shāh II (A.H. 839-62 = A.D. 1435-57).

An Interesting stone record of the time of Ghayāth Shāh Khaljī of Mālwā (A.H. 880-906 = A.D 1475-1500) has been recently discovered near the main gate of the Bhonrāsa Fort in the Gwalior State. The inscription is bilingual-Persian and Hindī-and contains a royal mandate sanctioning relief to his subjects in the form of remission of some taxes including the jizya and revival of usual worship, forbidding the slaughter of cows declared here as a 'sin', and preventing acts of vandalism possibly in respect of some temple. The inscription is fragmentary but sheds some light on the relations of the ruler and the ruled during the sovereignty of the Muslim rulers of Mālwā.

Briggs, in his English translation of the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,*[27] gives A.H. 914 (A.D. 1508-09), in the reign of Mahmud Shah Bigarha of Gujarat, as the date of completion of the Jāmi' Masjid at Chāmpāner in the Pānch Mahal District of the Bombay Province. In support of this he quotes three Persian couplets of a contemporary poet, the last hemistich of which contains the chronogram *Khuṭba-wa-mimbar* (lit. Sermon and pulpit) yielding A.H. 914. Eminent modern scholars have accepted his views.[28] But a Persian epigraph, in verse, above the minor *miḥrāb* of the Jāmi' Masjid, which so far passed for a Qurānic verse on account of its intricately interlaced letters of the *Thulth* style of Arabic script, clearly records the completion of the mosque in A.H. 924 (A.D. 1524), or ten years later, in the reign of Muzaffar Shāh II, the son and successor of Mahmūd Shāh Bīgaṛha. This epigraph settles once and for all the date of completion of the mosque, while the date A.H. 914, hitherto accepted on the authority of Briggs, may now be considered to relate to the installation of the pulpit in the elaborately ornamented central *miḥrāb* with a view to starting religious service in the mosque as early as possible pending the completion of other parts of the building.

In the historical city of Fatehpur Sīkrī, where Bābur staked his all on the bloody battle against Rāṇā Sāngā in A.D. 1527 and gave Sīkrī a new appellation 'Shukrī' ('Thanks-giving') to commemorate his hard-won victory over the Rana,[29] no monument of that Emperor's time was so far identified with certainty. But a much worn-out inscription in *Thulth* characters, recently discovered from the steening of a well in an out-of-the-way place near the Ajmerī Gate, helps to assign the construction of the well to Bābur in A.H. 933 (A.D. 1527) on his return from the battle against Rāṇa Sāngā.

Near the Takya Masjid at Dīdwāna in the Jodhpur State stands a pillar which is the only remnant of a majestic gateway that existed there in the past. To it is fixed a marble slab bearing a Persian inscription in verse composed by the eminent poet, Ni'matu'llāh Rasūlī of Akbar's reign, and calligraphed in *Nasta'līq* style by one Jān Muḥammad. The epigraph is chronogrammatic, yielding A.H. 1000 (A.D. 1591-92), and contains 'Abu'l Ghāzī' as the *Kunniyat* of Emperor Akbar instead of his usual epithet 'Abu'l-Fatḥ'.

In the Khānqāh of Hazrat Tārikīn at Nagaur in the Jodhpur State there are four Persian inscriptions in *Nasta'līq* letters in relief concerning Mir Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm Nāmī, a well known inscription-writer of Akbar's reign. One of them is written by Nāmī and the rest by his son, Mīr Buzurg, who, like his father, was a good calligraphist. Of these, two are of sufficient historical value. Nāmī's own epigraph speaks of his deputation to 'Irāq in A.H. 1010 (A.D. 1601-02) as a Chamberlain of Minister, a fact not traceable in contemporary records. The other inscription by Mir Buzurg mentions Nāmī's compilation of a collection of five poems, entitled *Khamsah*, from which specimens of verses have been quoted, and also records Nāmī's return from the embassy to Īrān in 1013 A.H. (A.D. 1604) corroborating the date given in the *Akbarnāma.*[30]

Two inscriptions, one in Persian and the other in Marāṭhī, have been discovered from a well at Āshtūr in Bidar assigning the construction of the well to a royal officer, named Jagapat Rao, during the reign of Mīrzā Walī Amīr Barīd Shāh at Bidar in 1018 A.H. There is a difference of opinion among the historians about the title of this king: according to Haig,[31] 'Alī Barīd Shāh was the title of the last king of Bidar who ruled from A.H. 1018 (A.D. 1609-10), whereas the *Tārīkh-i-Firishta* and Basātīnu's-*Salāṭīn* are united in calling him as 'Mīrzā Walī Amīr Barīd Shāh' and the latter view is supported by these two epigraphs which are also beautiful specimens of *Thulth* style of writing so highly prized in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is also interesting to note that Marāṭhā officers wielded much influence at the court of the Barīdī kings of Bidar with the result that there had been extensive use of Marāṭhī in official documents and epigraphical records of that period.

Two inscriptions dated A.H. 1045 (A.D. 1636) and one dated 1046 A.H. (A.D. 1636) have been found engraved on rocks in the ancient Sātmālā hill-forts in the Nāsik District of Bombay Province. They contain the names of fourteen hill-forts built by Nizām Shāhī kings of Ahmadnagar to defend their territory against the encroachments of neighbouring States and assign their conquest to Allāh Vardī Khān Turkmān in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. One of them gives the 12th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1045 (20th March, A.D. 1636) as the date of the fall of Chandor fort and thus corrects the date of the event (16th of the same month of the same year) as recorded in the court-chronicles of Shāh Jahān.[32] These are important records containing elaborate historical data which are generally corroborated by the court-chronicles of Shāh Jahān.

Along the frieze of the outer porch of the Dīwān-i-Khāṣ in the Agra Fort is a long inscription in elegant Persian verse inlaid in *Nasta 'līq* characters. It is of considerable interest not only on account of its elegnt composition by Mīrzā Tālib Kalīm, the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān, and its exquisite penmanship, but also because it brings to light an important fact otherwise not known to history. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*[33] (or the Memoirs written by Jahāngīr) mentions the installation of a gold chain, called the Chain of Justice, by that emperor in his palace in such a way that the other end of it was kept hanging outside the Agra Fort on the riverside to enable the oppressed to pull it unobstructed. The emperor would thus call the aggrieved immediately to his presence and redress their grievances. It was commonly believed that the above practice probably did not survive Jahāngīr. But the fifth and sixth couplets of the inscription under notice clearly suggest that the Chain of Justice continued to exist also in the reign of Shāh Jahān, as they say, 'The path of tyranny is absolutely closed (and) by his Chain of Justice oppression is stopped. I am proud of the Chain inasmuch as, by the King's equity, it is ever ready to do justice to those who seek it.'

Two Persian inscriptions of the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb discovered from the Golconda fort in the Hyderabad State deserve notice inasmuch as they not only refer at some length to the first siege of Golconda by Prince Muḥammad, son of Aurangzīb, in A.D. 1656 but also hint at the chief reason, not otherwise known to history, of the Mughals raising the siege and concluding a treaty with 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh of Golconda. 'Among the nobles of the king (Aurangzeb),' says one of the epigraphs, 'there was one, Mīr- i-Mīrān, who had promised to conquer the fort and make it over to the king within three days .... By the Divine decree a gun-shot struck the body of Mīr-i-Mīrān in such a manner that he expired in that very entrenchment (from where he was bombarding the fort). Three days after his death a treaty was concluded......' This shows that the Mughals had to come to terms with 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh because they could not afford to prolong the siege on account of the death of their able general.

A Persian epigraph fixed to the *miḥrāb* of Shāh Changī Madārī's mosque at Dīdwāna in the Jodhpur State mentions the completion of the mosque on the 7th of Zil-ḥajja, 5th regnal year of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mua'zzam Shāh Bahādur 'Ālamgīr. The inscription is of much historical value inasmuch as history is silent about Sultan Muhammad Mua'zzam Shāh Bahādur ever assuming his father's title 'Ālamgīr ('the Conqueror of the World'). Only two coins in the coin cabinet of the Central Museum at Lahore[34] style him as 'Ālamgīr II, but the authenticity of this view was doubted. This epigraph, however, supports the numismatic evidence and makes an interesting contribution to our knowledge.

The Ailuru (Krishna District) inscription of Mīr Jumla is an interesting record written in Sanskrit, which testifies to the tolerance and respect shown by the Muslim rulers for the religious practices of the Hindus. It states that Mīr Jumla Muḥammad Syed Nawāb who was an officer under 'Abdu'llāh Quṭb Shāh (of Golconda) of the seventeenth century A.D. had a *sarvatōmukha-yajña* performed by Vēmuri Anantanārāyaṇa Sōmayājin and granted him an *agrahāra* for the teaching of the *Vēdas* and *śāstras* and for extending hospitality to strangers. The merit of the gift is assigned to the Sulṭān.

In the Khānqāh of Hazrat Tārikīn at Nagaur is a large stone slab bearing a Persian quatrain inscribed in ornamental *Thultho-Naskh* characters in relief. Although not of historical value, it is of some palaeographic interest and is a good specimen of pre-Mughul ornamental calligraphy. The letters which must, as a rule, stand alone have been so joined to the succeeding ones merely for ornamental purposes that they baffle the reader at the outset. The quatrain pathetically requests the visitor to offer a prayer for the supplication of the dead.

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11. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,* XVI (1930), p. 457.
12. *Epigraphia Indica,* XXVI (1941-42), p. 74.
13. *Ibid.,* XXV (1939-40), p. 241.
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15. *Journal of Oriental Research,* V (1931), p. 128.
16. *Bhāratī,* XXI (1931), part I, pp. 553-567.
17. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind. Rep.,* XXI (Calcutta, 1885), p. 119
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20. *Epigraphia Indica,* VI (1900-01), p. 84; I (1892), p. 5.
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24. F.S. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir,* 3rd ed. (Allahabad, 1883), pp. 33-34.
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26. Briggs, *Tārīkh-i-Firishta,* English translation (London, 1829), I, pp. 455-56.
27. *Ibid.,* IV, p. 70.
28. J. Burgess, *Muhammadan Architecture in Gujarat,* II (Arch. Surv. Ind., New Imperial Series, XXIII, London, 1896), p. 42; *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* (Bombay, 1879), III, p. 309; *Cambridge History of India* (Cambridge, 1928), II, pp. 612-13.
29. *Akbarnāma,* Persian text (Calcutta, 1877), I, p. 105.
30. *Akbarnāma,* III, pp. 825, 836.
31. *Cambridge History of India,* III, p. 709.
32. Mullā 'Abdu'l-Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshānāma* (Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1867), I, p. 146.
33. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī,* Persian text (Aligarh), pp. 3-4.
34. *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum* (Oxford, 1914), II, pt. II, pp. 273, 276.

2

BOMBAY-KARNATAK INSCRIPTIONS*

INTRODUCTION.

The Part which is now placed before the scholars comprises texts of 118 inscriptions secured from the Dharwar and Bijapur districts of the Bombay-Karnatak during the years 1925-30. Of these one belongs to the Pallavas of Kāñchī, four to the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi, thirty-nine to the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Māḷkhēḍ while the remaining seventy-four refer themselves to the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa up to the end of the reign of Bhuvanaikamalladēva Sōmēśvara II. Most of these inscriptions are not previously noticed or published by that pioneer scholar Dr. Fleet whose dynasties of the Kannarese District published in Part II of Volume I of the *Bombay Gazetteer* remains even to-day, though out of date, a monumental work on the historical account of the ruling dynasties of the Kannaḍa districts. The discoveries of fresh epigraphs made in recent years by myself and Messrs. R.S. Panchamukhi and N. Lakshminarayana Rao, furnish some new and important details in connection with a few kings of the families represented in them.

THE PALLAVAS

The earliest important epigraph in this volume is the Bādāmi Rock inscription (No. 1), engraved in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the 7th century A.D. The record is unfortunately mutilated owing to the effects of wind and rain to which the rock is exposed. But from what remains of it, it may be made out that Mahāmalla [Nara?]siṁha who is described in the last 3 lines as the foremost Pallava king [Nara]simhavishṇu of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra occupied Vātāpi and (probably seized) a pillar of victory standing in that place, in the 13th year of his reign. It is to be regretted that the next two lines which are in the Chālukyan alphabet of the period, and contained the *Śaka* year combined with the regnal year of the king are completely damaged except the portion *'Śakavarshē shashṭyu'* i.e., *Śaka* year ...(increased by) sixty ... This date, to fall in the 7th century A.D. may be interpreted to range from *Śaka* 560 to 569 in which case the *lacuna* may be supplied as *shashṭy-uttara-pañcha-śata-tamē ēkā* (up to *navā)dhikē.* This would definitely place the occupation of Vātāpi by Narasimhavarman I sometime before or within the period *Śaka* 560-69 (= A.D. 638-647), which must have corresponded to the 13th year of his reign. Since the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsiang visited Mahārāshṭra when Pulakēśin II was at the zenith of his power, i.e., in about A.D. 639, the above mentioned event must have taken place only after that date. Fleet has, on the strength of the non-mention of the sovereign power in the Kaira grant of Vijayavarma-rāja, assigned the Pallava occupation of Vātāpi to sometime before A.D. 643 and this apparently receives directly support from the expression *shashṭy-utta[ra],* etc., occurring in lines 7-8 of the present epigraph.

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Another important point deserving notice in this inscription is that Narasimhavarman who is called in line 5 by the name.. Simhavishṇu evidently [Nara]simhavishṇu is stated apparently to have seized (?) a pillar of victory *(jayastaṁbha)* at Vātāpi. In the Vēlūrpalaiyam plates of Nandivarman III, he is similarly described as having seized the pillar of victory standing in the centre of Vātāpi *(Vātāpi-madhyē vijit-āri-varggaḥ sthitañ = jaya- stambham = alaṁbhayad = yaḥ).* It is, however, worth noticing that in no inscription of his family is this king called Narasiṁhavishṇu, whereas his name is specifically mentioned as Narasiṁhavarman. This pillar appears to have been planted by the Chālukyas at Bādāmi after having conquered the Kadaṁbas of Banavāsi to whose sway, the Bādāmi region belonged. It may be noted that Mayūraśarman, the progenitor of the Kadaṁbas, was placed, by the Pallavas, in charge of the country bounded by Śrīśaila in the east and Prēhāra (?) in the west and as such the Pallavas appear to have claimed allegiance from the Kadaṁbas from the beginning of the latter's political career. The Kadaṁbas are, however, stated in their inscriptions to have waged constant wars with the Pallavas (cf. *Pallava-pralayānalaḥ* applied to Mṛigēśavarman in his Halsi plates). When the Kadaṁba power was on the decline at the end of the 5th century A.D. the Pallavas might have attempted to establish their authority once again in that region which was apparently resented by the Chālukyas who were probably the growing subordinate chiefs ruling over the Vātāpi region under the Kadaṁbas. The Chālukyas then meted out a crushing blow to their nominal overlords the Kadaṁbas and other enemies, and as a signal of their unchallenged victory, planted the *jayastaṁbha* in the heart of Vātāpi. That the Pallavas had attempted to nip in the bud the rise of the Chālukyas is explicitly mentioned in the expression *ākrāntātma-balōnnatim Pallavānām patim,* i.e., "the Pallava king who had opposed the rise of his (i.e., Chālukya king's) power" occurring in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II. This must refer to the conflict of the two powers before the compaign of Pulakēśin II against the Pallava king as recorded in the Aihole inscription. This is supported by the statement in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Kīrtivarman I that the king had vanquished the Dramiḷa, among the several chiefs of South India, who must be no other than the Pallava. The *jayastambha* mentioned in the rock inscription must therefore be taken to refer to the commemoration of the victory won by the Chālukyas over their enemies the Kadaṁbas and Pallavas and it is but meet to infer from the sequence that the Pallavas attempted to recover their original territory by capturing the pillar of victory planted in their enemies' capital.

THE CHĀLUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

Only three kings are represented in the inscriptions published here. viz., Vijayāditya-Śatyāśraya, Vikramāditya II and Kīrttivarman II. No. 2 which belongs to the reign of Vijayāditya comes from Kurtakōṭi in the Gadag taluk, Dharwar district, and states that the king's officer Lōketinimmaḍi was administering Kuṟuttakuṇṭe, i.e., modern Kurtakōṭi where the inscription is found. The name Lōketinimmaḍi is made up of *Lōketi* and *immaḍi* of which the first component word is apparently a corrupted from of Lōkāditya. If this surmise is correct Lōketinimmaḍi would be a male officer. This receives an indirect support from similar names of officers, i.e., Lōkaṭe of Lokaṭe occurring in *Mysore Archaeological Raport,* 1911, page 38, and in the Byāḍgi inscription of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II wherein Lōkaṭe is mentioned as the son of Baṅkeya. The suffix *irummaḍi* or *immaḍi* appears to have been applied to the names of female persons also as in the case of Rēvakanimmaḍi and Siṅgaṇṇanimmaḍigaḷ. No. 3 refers to the siege of Jakkili by king Vijayāditya-Bhaṭāra but does not mention the circumstances under which the event occurred. The Aṇṇigēṛi inscription (No. 5) of Kīrttivarman recounts that a Jaina temple *chēdiya* was constructed by Gāmuṇḍa Kaliyamma at Jēbuḷagēri evidently a suburb of Aṇṇigēri, in the 8th year of the king's reign and that a *kīrttana* (sculpture or more probably a statue) was set up in front of it by Koṇḍiśulara Kuppa alias Kīrttivarma-gōsāsi. This incidentally testifies to the practice, then in vogue, of erecting statues in public places which is a common feature of perpetuating the glory of great persons, in modern times.

THE RĀSHṬRAKŪṬAS

The earliest inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty is the Belhod record (No. 6) of Prabhūtavarsha Jagattuṅga, i.e., Gōvinda II or III both of whom bore that epithet. It records a gift of *gōsahasra* made by Echamma and Eṛevāsa at Beḷhoḍe. *Gōsahasra* is mentioned in Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa* as one of the 16 great gifts such as *Tulāpurusha-dāna, Hiraṇyagarbha-dāna*, etc., and does not necessarily mean 'thousand cows' though the chief object of the gift was a particular number of cows. While editing the Guḍigere inscription of Mahārāja Māṛasaḷba Fleet suggests that *gōsahasra* is different from *gōsāsa* which meant 'a cowpen, a station of cowherds.' It may, however, be noted that the Chiñchli inscription (No. 15) which he quotes in support of his opinion does not use the word *gōsahasra* at all whereas the term *gōsāsa* is used twice in line 3 of the same record. Further the word always governs a predicate meaning 'give, grant, etc." as *koṭṭōn, iḷdōn,* etc., indicating thereby that *gōsahasra* was a kind of gift. In some places *gōsāsa* is substituted for *gōsahasra* from which we have to deduce that *sāsa* is a variant Kannaḍa *tadbhava* of *sāhasra* though according to Kannaḍa grammarians the latter should become *sāsira*. In any case, *gōsāsa* cannot be considered as an amplified from of *gōshṭha* as suggested by Fleet but is in all probability a variant Kannaḍa rendering of *gōsahasra* as suggested by Mr. N. Lakshminarayana Rao in his article on the 'Two Stone Inscriptions of Kṛishṇa II': *Śaka* 805 *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXI, page 207).

The son and successor of Gōvinda III was Amōgharvarsha I who ascended the Rāshṭrakūṭa throne in A.D. 814. He is represented in this volume by 12 inscriptions ranging in date from *Śaka* 759 (= A.D. 837). to *Śaka* 796 (= A.D. 874). The earliest date is furnished by the Kesarbhāvi inscription (No. 7) which, though badly damaged, seems to record details of some skirmish in *Śaka* 759. This record reveals for the first time that the king had a daughter named Rēvakanimmaḍi who was administering Eḍedoṛe district under her father. It is interesting to note that royal ladies were enjoying a good share in the administration of the country as early as the 9th century A.D. The Eḍedoṛe country over which Rēvakanimmaḍi was ruling, is evidently identical with the Eḍedoṛe-nāḍu of the Yēwūr inscription of A.D. 1077 (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XII, page 269) which is specified as Eḍedoṛe-2000 in an inscription of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI, dated in A.D. 1084 and in the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha II bearing a date in A.D. 1024 *(ibid.* page 303). Fleet has identified this district with "a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛishṇā on the north and Tuṅgabhadrā on the south comprising a large part of the present Raichur district." The village Kēsarbhāvi where the present inscription is secured, seems to have been included in this district though it does not find mention in the body of the record. For, there would, otherwise, be no relevancy in the inscribed stone being set up outside the limits of the Eḍedoṟe country which Rēvakanimmaḍi was administering. Further Karaṭikallu-300 which was a subdivision of Eḍedoṟe-2000 *(ibid.* page 304) must have extended into the interior of the Hungund taluk up to at least Kēsarbhāvi which is situated within fifty miles from Karaḍikallu in the Lingasgur taluk of the Raichur district after which the division Karaḍikal-300 was named. In this case the south-western limit of the Eḍedoṟe country would be pushed back by a few miles to the west of 76° 15′ which according to Fleet was the boundary of the Eḍedoṟe country on the south-western side.

Rēvakanimmaḍi is a hitherto unknown daughter of Amōghavarsha I who, as stated in the inscription, had been married to a certain Eṟega[ṅga]. It is tempting to identify this Eṟegaṅga with the Western Gaṅga chief of that name, son of Rāchamalla I, who flourished during this period. But this is rendered impossible by the fact that Amōgavarsha I had married his another daughter Chandrobbalabbe to Guṇaduttaraṅga Būtuga, son of the above-mentioned Eṟegaṅga and brother of Rāchamalla II. (Circa A.D. 870- 90). It is therefore not certain who the Eṟegaṅga of the present inscription was. It is probable from the name of the prince, that he was a member of the Western Gaṅga family, but in what way he was related to the main ruling line, remains to be determined by future discoveries. It is worthwhile to mention here that the queen of Būtuga II was also known as Rēvakanimmaḍi who happens to be the daughter of Amōghavarsha Baddega. Since the date and palaeography of the Kēsarbhāvi inscription are indisputably to be assigned to the reign of Amōghavarsha I, there would be absolutely no justification to connect the princess Rēvakanimmaḍi of the present record with the daughter of Amōghavarsha III. The latter princess appears to have been named after her great-grand-aunt Rēvakanimmaḍi, sister of Kṛishṇa II.

The next inscription in chronological order hails from Huvina-Hippargi (No. 8) in the Bāgevāḍi taluk of the Bijapur district. It is dated in *Śaka* 784 during the reign of Amōghavarsha I whose genealogy is traced for four generations from Kannarasa, i.e., Kṛishṇa I. of the Yādava family. The donee Gōleya-Bhaṭṭa who received a gift of the whole village Pipparage in Kannavuṟi-vishaya, for his ability in the science of augury, is described as the son of Mārama-Bhaṭṭa, grandson of Bēneya-Sōmayāji and great-grandson of Kannapeṟa. It is not unlikely that Gōleya-Bhaṭṭa's family enjoyed a special privilege of being State astrologers to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family for three generations previously and now himself received this royal gift in the presence of the *Mahāsāmantas* and the *Maṇḍalikas* which fact bears testimony to the high status which the donee must have enjoyed in the court of Amōgavarsha I. From the description of the gift as *Raṭṭamāṉtaṇḍana-datti* in the record, it may be presumed that Amōgavarsha bore a hitherto unknown *biruda* Raṭṭamārttaṇḍa. In the fragmentary inscription of this king found at Aihoḷe (No. 18), reference is made to his 'new administration' in the expression' *navarājyam geyye* which perhaps suggests his abdication of the throne through renunciation and re-assumption of the reins of Government, as otherwise there would be no propriety in making a specific mention of the 'new administration' soon after his accession to the throne. This surmise receives confirmation from a verse[1] in the *Ratnamālikā* or *Praśnōttararatnamālikā* which states that Amōghavarsha composed the *Ratnamālikā* after he had abdicated the throne 'in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him'.

The *biruda* Raṭṭamārttaṇḍa applied to the king calls for a few remarks. The name *Raṭṭa* given to the family or race to which the king belonged, appears to be a Dravidian word and must have been sanskritised into Rāshṭrakūṭa not *vice versa.* If the contrary is the fact, the *tadbhava* or the corrupt form of Rāshṭrakūṭa should have been not *Raṭṭa* but *Rāshṭrauḍha* which latter is still preserved in the name of the *Rāshṭrauḍhābhyudaya,* a Mahākāvya describing the achievements of the Rāshṭrauḍha chiefs of Rajputana. Fleet has in a lengthy paper on this subject arrived at the same conclusion on quite different grounds *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII, pages 214 ff.). Hence Raṭṭa must have been the original family name of the kings of Māḷkhēḍ. This further points to the family being Dravidian in stock or at any rate to have been subject to Dravidian influence for a number of centuries. That their home was the Kannaḍa country is suggested by the Kannaḍa poem *Kavirājamārga* of Nṛipatuṅga Amōgavarsha I wherein the author shows his bias for the chaste Kannaḍa language current in the territory between Muduvoḷal and Kupaṇanagara, and by the sign-manual of the princes of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa branch wherein the Kannaḍa script-the alphabet of the Kannaḍa country where the main branch ruled-is used in preference to the Gujarāt or Valabhī script in which the whole record is engraved.

The records of Amōghavarsha in the volume show that Purigeṟe-nāḍu was under the administration of Āhavāditya Kuppeyarasa of the Yādava family - also spelt as Ādava in the Soraṭūr inscription *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIII, page 77) - in A.D. 865-67 and that Beḷvola-nāḍu was held by Dēvaṇṇayya in A.D. 869-73. During the reign of Kṛishṇa II the same divisions were respectively governed by Indapayya in A.D. 883 and by Maṅgatōraṇa in A.D. 892. From an undated inscription of Kṛishṇa II at Mēvuṇḍi we find again Mahāsāmanta Kuppeyarasa holding charge of Puligeṟe-300 in addition to Kōgaḷi-500 and Māsavāḍi-140, while in his other inscription at Mēvuṇḍi dated in *Śaka* 818 the chief is introduced as the governor of Kōgaḷi-500 and Māseyavāḍi-140 only. After Maṅgatōraṇa the Beḷvola country appears to have passed into the hands of Mahāsāmanta Mahāśrīmanta or Mahāsirivanta who held it from A.D. 901 to 909.

The latest year for king Amōghavarsha known from the inscriptions under publication is *Śaka* 796 (= A.D. 874). That his reign extended for over three more years is learnt from his Kanheri inscription, dated in *Śaka* 799 without details *(Ind., Ant.* XIII, page 135) and from the *Jayadhavaḷaṭīkā* of Vīrasēna which was finished on Phālguṇa śu. 10 of Śaka 799 which fell in March 878 A.D. This must have been the last year of Amōghavarsha, for his son and successor Kṛishṇa II's earliest known record secured recently at Hirebidri in the Ranebennur taluk of the Dharwar district *(Bombay Karnatak List* for 1935-36, No. 100) bears a date in *Śaka* 800. The last year of Kṛishṇa II is furnished by the Kavajagēri inscription in the volume, which has the *Śaka* date 834. Among his officers, Indapayya, Maṅgatōraṇa, Mahāsirivanta, Vatsayya and Māyirma are brought to light for the first time. His Veṅkaṭāpur inscription applies to the king, curiously enough, the epithet Amōghavarsha which was borne by his father Nṛipatuṅga. If this is not a mistake, we have to suppose that the epithet had been assumed by both father and son just as Indra III and his son Gōvinda IV had borne the distinguishing epithet Nityavarsha (A.R.Nos. 277 of 1918, 235 of 1937-38 and *Arch. Sur. Report* for 1929-30, page 173, ibid. 1930-34, Part I, pages 235 and 244) which is actually applied to the king in a record from Asuṇḍi, dated in *Śaka* 847 falling in the reign of Gōvinda IV. Similarly, Kṛishṇa III and his father Baddega are known to have borne the *biruda* Amōghavarsha *(Arch. Sur. Report* for 1937-38).

It may therefore be concluded that the *birudas* or surnames such as Amōghavarsha, Nityavarsha, etc., were not personal titles of the respective kings of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family as hitherto supposed and so the mention of mere *biruda* in a record cannot be accepted as a criterion to fix its period or king as suggested by Fleet in his discussion on "The appellations of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Māḷkhēḍ" *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, pages 167 ff.).

A well-preserved record of Gōvinda IV at Kavajagēri (No. 35) who is introduced by the *biruda* Suvarṇavarsha mentions a number of temples such as those of Bhaṭāri, Vinaka (Vināyaka), Maṭavamadēra (?) Kēśavāditya, etc., built by Baḷḷajja, the Gāvuṇḍa of Kovujageṟe. It also states that Baḷḷajja constructed stone (tombs) for his grandfather and his two sons who were evidently dead and also got a *gavi-kallu* prepared for himself. This testifies to the practice of erecting stone chambers in memory of the dead in the 10th Century A.D. The inscription further makes an interesting reference to the coins *gadyāṇa* and *dharaṇa* which must have been current in the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominion. Though *gadyāṇa* or *gadyāṇaka, suvarṇa* and *dramma* are met with in the records of this period, *dharaṇa* is of rare occurrence and as such deserves to be noted. The weight and value of the several coins are, however, not definitely known. It is unfortunate that not a single coin which can be indisputably ascribed to the Rāshṭrakūṭa mintage is discovered so far. Mention of the temple of Āditya (Sun-god) and of the images of Nandi and Makara in this record is noteworthy.

The next king after Suvarṇavarsha represented in this volume is Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa III, who is introduced in the Rōṇ inscription (No. 36) with the epithets *Samastabhuvanāśraya* and *Pṛithvīvallabha* which were subsequently adopted by the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and became the characteristic terms in the latter's inscriptions.

The Rōṇ inscription introduces the Gaṅga subordinate Mahāmaṇḍalika Būtayya as the governor of Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000, Beḷvola-300, Puligeṟe-300 provinces in *Śaka* 864 (= A.D. 942) while his Kurtakōṭi inscription mentions the chief as holding charge of the same provinces in *Śaka* 868 (= A.D. 946). In the Narēgal inscription of *Śaka* 873 (= A.D. 950) Būtayya Permāḍi is stated to be ruling over the Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000 province extending as far as Peḻdoṟe. The river Peḻdoṟe is generally identified with the river Kṛishṇa but the Gangavāḍi territory is never known to have extended up to the Kṛishṇa. It is therefore plausible that the Peḻdoṟe of this record represented the river Tuṅgabhadrā which was the northern limit of the Gaṅgavāḍi-96,000 province. From the inscriptions cited above, it appears that Būtuga was in possession of Beḷvola and Purigeṟe divisions as early as A.D. 942 and 946 in contradiction to the statement made in the Ātakūr inscription *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 55) that Kṛishṇa III was pleased with the valour of Būtuga displayed in the killing of Rājāditya and presented to his Gaṅga subordinate the districts of Banavāse, Beḷvola, Purigeṟe, Kisukāḍu and Bāgenāḍu. Since we know that Rājāditya was killed by Būtuga in the battle of Takkōlam in about A.D. 947-48, the above mentioned districts must have been conferred on the Gaṅga chief subsequent to that date. We, however, learn from the Hebbāḷ inscription of A.D. 975 *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IV, p. 350) that Būtuga received from Baddega these provinces except Banavāse, as dowry *(baḻivaḻi)* at the time of his marriage with Rēvaka or Rēvakanimmaḍi. The marriage must evidently have taken place before A.D. 942 since Būtuga is mentioned in the records quoted above as the *Bhāva* (brother-in-law) of Kannaradēva. Būtuga must have held these districts unobstructed till A.D. 946; but in the interval between A.D. 946 and 948-9, when he received them again as presents from Kṛishṇa III (see the Ātakūr inscription), he must have been deprived of this portion of his territory by his enemies, probably, his elder brother Rāchamalla, who according to the Deoli plates of A.D. 940 *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, pp. 188 ff) had been ousted from Gaṅgavāḍi and in his place Būtuga had been set up on the Gaṅga throne. Rāchamalla's attempt to recover the territory permanently (though he might have held it for a short while) must have ended in his disaster; for he is stated, in the subsidiary inscription on the top of the Ātakūr stone *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 55) dated *Śaka* 872 (= A.D. 949-50), to have been killed by Būtuga evidently sometime before A.D. 949. From the way in which this incident has been introduced, it appears that it was an event of recent occurrence. It is therefore not unlikely that Rāchamalla's death at the hands of Būtuga happened sometime between A.D. 946 and 949.

The Rōṇ inscription mentioned above records an interesting historical fact that Būtayya laid seige to Rōṇa for collecting certain incomes such as *bhattāya, perōhi* (?) and for establishing the right of using the village threshing floor *(kaṇa)* and that at the instance of the Mahājanas of the place, he was opposed by Paṁpayya of Vāji-kula who in the tumultous fight lost his life. It is not known under what circumstances Būtuga had to attack Rōṇa and whether the disaffection at Rōṇa had any origin in the unsettled political conditions due perhaps to the quarrel between the rival claimants to the throne, viz., Būtuga and Rāchamalla. The Narēgal inscription of A.D. 950 reveals for the first time that Būtuga had another wife Padmabbarasi besides Rēvakanimmaḍi mentioned above. She is stated to have constructed a *basadi* (Jaina temple) at Narēgal to which a *dāna śālā* (charity house) had been attached. In the Soraṭūr inscription of A.D. 951, Kannaradēva is given the *birudas* ; *Ānevedaṅga, Madagajamalla* and *Chalakenallāta* and his body-guard *(aṁgaraka)* Ruddapayya is stated to be administering the village Saraṭavura. Another important record for the political history of the period comes from Narasalgi according to which Chālukya-Rāma Āhavamalla Tailaparasa of the Satyāśraya family was governing the Taddevāḍi-1,000 district as *aṇuga-jīvita* in *Śaka* 886 (= A.D. 965). Tailaparasa is evidently Āhavamalla Taila II who is stated in the fragmentary inscription at Gadag of the time of Vikramāditya VI to have destroyed some Raṭṭas, killed Muñja, taken the head of Pañchaladēva, possessed himself of the Western Chālukya territory and begun to rule from the year Śrīmukha which fell exactly 10 years after the date of the Narasalgi record. This is the first and the only record that establishes the subordinate position of the Chālukyas under the Rāshṭrakūṭas before the former recovered their ancestral territory under Taila II.

Koṭṭigadēva the last king of the family is represented in the volume by four inscriptions ranging in date between *Śaka* 891 and 893. The Nāgāvi inscription of *Śaka* 891 mentions his subordinate Satyavākya-Permānaḍigaḷ, i.e., Mārasiṁha II and the latter's officer Bōḷuga who is described as the crest-jewel of Pāpakalla-kula. The record was composed by poet Sāmiyaṇṇa 'in sweet and chaste Kannaḍa'. His Savaḍi inscription refers to the same Gaṅga chief and records a gift to the temple of Bhagavatī made by Suṅkada-Ballayya. The record was composed by the 'born poet' Nāraṇa and engraved by Nāgaṇārya 'in swift hand'. Sāmiyaṇṇa and Nāraṇa were two early Kannaḍa poets not hitherto known, who flourished in the reign of Koṭṭigadēva, but whether they were the authors of any literary works is not disclosed.

THE WESTERN CHĀLUKYAS OF KALYĀṆA

The earliest inscription of the Western Chālukya dynasty in the volume comes from Kurhaṭṭi (No. 45) in the Navalgund taluk of the Dharwar district. It refers itself to the reign of Āhavamalla (Nūrmaḍi-Taila II) and is dated in *Śaka* 902, Vikrama (= A.D. 980). We have seen above that Āhavamalla Taila figured as a subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III in *Śaka* 886 (= A.D. 965). This state is pushed back by seven years in a record recently found at Kārjōḷ (B.K. No. 178 of 1933-34) which introduces the chief as an officer of Kṛishṇa III in *Śaka* 879. The latest year for Taila II is contained in the Hosūr inscription of *Śaka* 915 which shows that his political career lasted for at least 36 years though it is possible that he should have commenced to rule some time before *Śaka* 879 and that his last year should have terminated sometime before *Śaka* 924, the earliest known date of his son and successor Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya. The Kurhaṭṭi inscription mentioned above records an interesting historical fact that the local chief Kāḷidhurandhara had pleased Kannaradēva by his valour. This Kannaradēva is apparently Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III under whom Taila was an officer. This shows that the subordinates of the Rāshṭrakūṭas transferred allegiance to their new masters, i.e., the Chālukyas, without resistance, on the overthrow of the former. Koṛalgunda, the *Manneya* of Muḷugunda-12 and a scion of the Sinda race and Kunnala family was a subordinate officer under Taila II (No. 47). The districts of Beḷvola and Purigeṛe were, during his rule, subject to the administration of Śōbhanarasa who according to the Nīlgund inscription of *Śaka* 904 succeeded his elder brother Kannapa sometime before that date. When exactly the latter event took place is not certain though it is known that Śōbhanarasa was already a governor of the provinces in *Śaka* 902 (No. 45). Śōbhanarasa was succeeded by Daṇḍanāyaka Kēśavarasa sometime between *Śaka* 926 the latest known year for the former and *Śaka* 934 the earliest known date for the latter (Kōṭavumachgi inscription). While editing the Kōṭavumachgi inscription of *Śaka* 934, Mr. R.S. Panchamukhi has shown that the Beḷvola and Purigeṛe districts were successively held by Kannapa, his younger brother Śōbhanarasa, Kēśavarasa and his son Vāvaṇarasa in the 10th and the 11th centuries of the Christian era, under the Chālukyas. *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, page 64). It may be noted that Śōbhanarasa whose territory originally consisted of three provinces, viz., Banavasi, Two-Six hundreds and Kōgaḷi *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IV, pp. 206 ff), is described in the Gadag inscription of *Śaka* 924 as the governor of the Beḷvola-300, Purigere-300, Kundūr-500 and Kukkanūr-30 (No. 49), while the Yaliśirūr inscription of *Śaka* 926 adds Halasige- 12,000 but omits to specify the Kundūr and Kukkanūr divisions (No. 50).

Taila II was succeeded by his son Iṛivabeḍaṅga Satyāśraya for whom the earliest record in the volume bears a date in *Śaka* 924 (No. 48). The Yaliśirūr inscription (No. 50) contains an interesting information that this charter which had been conferred in *Śaka* 926 having been broken away, was renewed in the 13th year of the reign of Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III showing thereby how the charitable endowments of the previous kings were maintained during the period of the Western Chālukyas. The renewed charter is called a *pratiśāsana.*

Another important inscription of the reign of this king is found at Lakkuṇḍi. It is dated in *Śaka* 929 and states that *Dānachintāmaṇi* Attiyabbe preferred a request to the king soon 'after the latter's conquest of the entire Gūrjara (country)', for endowing a gift to the Brahmajinālaya which she had constructed at Lokkiguṇḍi. This is the first epigraphical reference to the conquest of the Gūrjaras by Iṛivabeḍaṅgadēva which from the wording of the inscription appears to have taken place a little before *Śaka* 929, when the gift recorded therein was made. Attiyabbe is credited with having constructed one thousand and five hundred Jaina temples in different parts of the territory. Her charity and generosity are highly extolled in the inscription. She was the daughter of Mallapayya and the wife of Nāgadēva, son of Dhalla of the Vāji family and her son was Paḍevaḷa Taila who at the time of the record was governing the Māseyavāḍi-140 division. These details are happily corroborated by the classical poems *Ajitapurāṇa* and *Gadāyuddha* of the poet-laurate Ranna who flourished in the Chālukya court towards the end of the 10th century A.D. The *Ajitapurāṇa* which, as the author declares, was composed at the instance of Attiyabbe, the homonymous lady of the present inscription, narrates that Mallapa evidently Mallapayya mentioned above, was the general of Taila II, and had two of his daughters namely Attimabbe and Guṇḍamabbe married to Nāgadēva, son of the great minister Dhalla. To the former was born Paḍevaḷa Taila whose proper name was Aṇṇigadēva. On the death of Nāgadēva, Guṇḍamabbe ascended the pyre of her husband and died by the rite of *sahagamana* while Attimabbe spent the rest of her life in piety by installing 1,500 Jaina images and, by her pious gifts, acquired the title *Dānachintāmaṇi.* The *Gadāyuddha* describes the valour of Iṛivabeḍaṅga in scaring away the army of the elephants of the Gūrjara king, in verse 16 of the first *āśvāsa,* which fact is mentioned in the present inscription by the expression *Śakaḷa-Gūrjara-vijaya* (1.52). The Lakkuṇḍi record was copied by Bāhubali, son of Siripāḷa-Śeṭṭi. Its author, by the spontaneity, diginity and the majesty of style, must have been no mean poet of his time and could very well be classed in the rank of poets like Ranna, the author of the *Gadāyuddha.* It may be noted that in the eulogy of Attimabbe given in the present record, occurs a verse beginning with *'Unnata-Kukkuṭēśvara-Jinēśvaranam',* which is *verbatim* found in the *Ajitapurāṇa (āśvāsa* I, verse 61). Since this poem had been completed, as recorded in it, by *Śaka* 915, the composer of the inscription must have been greatly influenced by the works of his contemporary poet Ranna and copied *in toto* the verse referred to above, from the *Ajitapurāṇa.* The epithet *Koṅkaṇa-bhayaṅkara* applied to Śōbhanara, in the Hosūr record of *Śaka* 915 has perhaps a reference to the defeat by Iṛivabeḍaṅga of Aparādita[2] a coastal chief, evidently of Konkan (Thānā), *(Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, Part II, *History of the Konkan,* p. 15) described in Chapter I, vv. 22-28 of the *Gadāyuddha.* It is noteworthy that Iṛivabeḍaṅga is given in this record the epithet Āhavamalla which clearly shows that it was not a distinguishing *biruda* of Taila II as supposed hitherto but was borne by more than one king of the family.

After Iṛivabeḍaṅga, his nephew Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya V succeeded to the Chālukya throne. He is represented by two inscriptions dated in *Śaka* 932 and 934, respectively. He was succeeded by his younger brother Jayasiṁha II whose inscriptions in the volume range in date from *Śaka* 941 to 964. They disclose the names of the several officers of the king ruling over different parts of his kingdom, of whom mention may be made of the following :- Nāgavarmayya, a trusted servant of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Bhīmadēva of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family who was the governor of the Banavāsi, Sāntaḷige and Kisukāḍu districts (No. 57) - the family name of Bhīmadēva had hitherto not been known; Mahāsāmanta Dāsarasa governing Māseyavāḍi-140 in *Śaka* 944 (No. 88); Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa apparently Iṛivanoḷaṁbādhirāja Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa, who according to the Ālūr inscription of *Śaka* 933 had married a daughter of Iṛivabeḍaṅgadēva *(Ep.*

Ind., Vol. XVI, p. 27) governing Noḷambavādi and Karividi-30; her name is given here (No. 61) as Mahādēvi who in *Śaka* 946 was administering Maravoḷal; Vāvaṇarasa, son of Daṇḍanāyaka Kēśava governing the Beḷvola and Purigeṟe districts in *Śaka* 950 (No. 65); Mahāsāmanta Nāgavarmarasa called also Yādavanārāyaṇa in *Śaka* 957 (No. 66); Mahāsāmanta Maḷiarasa administering Pagalaṭṭi in *Śaka* 954 (No. 67); Eṟeyamma of the Raṭṭa family (No. 74) in *Śaka* 962 and Jagadēkamalla Noḷaṁba-Pallava Permānaḍi governing five villages in Māseyavāḍi-140, in *Śaka* 964 (No. 75). In one of the records (No. 68), king Jayasiṁha is given the epithets Trailōkyamalla and Vikramasiṁha, not known hitherto as having been borne by him. We know that his son Sōmēśvara I assumed the *biruda* Trailōkyamalla and the present application of it to Jayasiṁha II only confirms the remark already made that the so-called distinguishing *birudas* were assumed by more than one king of the family and that the occurrence of mere epithets could not be considered as a criterion in fixing the period of undated records (see above under Rāshṭrakūṭas, p. V).

Of the 29 records belongings to the reign of Trailōkyamalla Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I), the earliest bears the *Śaka* date 966 while the latest is dated in *Śaka* 989. The following important points are gathered from these epigraphs. The Mugad inscription (No. 78) of Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Chaṭṭayyadēva of the Kadaṁba family extends the period of the chief's rule up to at least *Śaka* 966 (= A.D. 1044), i.e., nearly 36 years beyond the latest known date for him, i.e., A.D. 1008 (Fleet's *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 565). The Bāgēvāḍi inscription (No. 93) mentions the king as ruling from Vagghapura in Karahaḍa-nāḍu and introduces Maiḷaladēvī as his senior queen in *Śaka* 971, i.e., A.D. 1048-49. Since Chandrikādēvi was the chief queen of the king till A.D. 1047-48, it is possible that Mailaḷadēvī was raised to that position on the death of the former which must probably have taken place in about A.D. 1048. An inscription (No. 85) at Sīrūr in the Bagalkot taluk of the Bijapur district, dated in *Śaka* 971 opens with the praise of the goddess of Mahālakshmī at Koḷāpura (Kolhapur) and describes the deity as riding over the lion-vehicle. It introduces a hitherto unkown queen of Traiḷōkyamalla by name Līlādēvī and states that her mother's *guruvara* (probably father) was Mārasiṅgha-prabhu, a decendant of Prabhu Rājavarman who was a votary of the goddess Mahālakshmī. Thus Trailōkyamalla had five wives of whom four are already brought to our notice, viz., Bāchaladēvī, Chandrikādēvi, Maiḷaladēvī, and Kētaladēvi *(Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts,* p. 438). Whether Mārasiṁgha was her grandfather or a preceptor *(guru)* of her mother is not clear though the latter alternative is precluded by his description as an administrator *(prabhu)* and not as a spiritual personage. He also figures in another mutilated and damaged epigraph of the same place, dated in *Śaka* 985 (No. 99).

The Nandavāḍige inscription of this king (no. 103) introduces a chief with the epithets Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara and *Bhāvana-Gandhavāraṇa* and states that the latter constructed several temples and *basadis* in different parts of the Chālukya Empire, of which mention may be made of the Mahāśrīmanta-basadi which was apparently constructed to perpetuate the memory of Mahasrimanta or Mahāśirivanta, an officer under Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II mentioned above. It is worthy of note that the inscription records among other gifts, an endowment of 40 *mattar* of land to Dhōrōja for *pañchamahāśabda.* From this, it is evident that the *pañcha-mahāśabda* was a rare privilege enjoyed by persons of high rank and office and that it consisted in the sounding of five great sounds by pipers, etc., corresponding to the modern 'salute of guns' enjoyed by Chiefs, Governors, Governor-General, etc. Accordingly Dhōrōja who, as the context suggests, was a piper, was given land to maintain this honour for the chief.

Among the records of Bhuvanaikamalladēva published here it may be mentioned that the Paṭṭadakal inscription (No. 110) discloses the fact that the early Chālukya kings celebrated their *paṭṭa-bandha* ceremony at the town of Kisuvoḷal in cosequence of which the place became famous. It thus explains the modern appellation of Paṭṭadakal given to it. The Niḍgundi inscription (No. 117) which is dated in the last year of his reign, i.e., *Śaka* 998 reveals the existence of a Chālukya princess named Suggaladēvī, the daughter of Ahāvamalla Sōmēśvara I and younger sister Bhuvanaikamalla, who was married to Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Siṅgaṇṇadēva, the Governor of Kisukāḍu-70 division. Suggaladēvi is introduced as administering the *agrahāra* Niḍugundi in Kisukāḍu-70.

In this brief historical introduction, attention has been drawn only to the main political and historical details referred to in the inscriptions. Though the important points connected with these inscriptions have already been placed before the scholars in the *Archaeological Survey Reports* for the years 1926-30, there is still a wide scope for the study of these records in regard to the religious, social and educational activities that were current in the early period and it is hoped that the scholarly public will derive benefit by a careful and detailed study of these epigraphs.

REFERENCES

1. Vivēkāt = tyakta-rājyēna rājñ = ēyaṁ Ratnamālikā |
   Rachit = Amōghavarsheṇa sudhiyām sad alaṁkṛitiḥ
   Praśnōttararatnamālikā.

2. Mr. M.A.Ramanuja Aiyangar thinks that Aparādita was a Chōḷa chief Aparājita. But no Chōḷa chief of this name is known to have existed at this period nor was he ruling on the west coast as recorded in the poem. See his Introduction to the *Gadāyuddha,* Kāvyakalānidhi edition.

3

INTRODUCTION*

As stated in the Preface, all the inscriptions published in this Part belong to the reign of a single ruler, namely, the Western Chālukya king, Tribhuvanamalladēva Vikramāditya VI. They do not add very much to our knowledge of the political history of the reign of this great emperor. Nevertheless, some of them throw welcome light on a few problems of chronology pertaining to his reign besides disclosing some new facts about the feudatories who flourished under his patronage. A review of these facts would, it is hoped, serve as a useful introduction of the part now being placed before scholars.

Two records of Vikramāditya VI, one from Amminbhāvi, Dharwar District (No. 121) and the other from Uṇachgēri, Ron taluk of the same District (No. 122) are dated *Śaka* 993, Virodhikrit and *Śaka* 994, Paridhāvin. These dates correspond to A.D. 1071-72 and 1072 respectively. Other records of Vikramāditya VI issued independently in A.D. 1071[1] and 1073[2] have also been found. On these dates, it should be remembered, Sōmēśvara II was still on the throne, which he occupied till A.D. 1076. An inscription bearing the date *Śaka* 994, i.e., A.D. 1072, and issued in the name of Sōmēśvara II is found at Kuṇṭōji[3] in the Ron taluk. It has also to be observed that according to an inscription at Nīralgi in the Hangal taluk,[4] Vikramāditya VI was only a Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara under his brother Sōmēśvara II in A.D. 1074. It would thus appear that Vikramāditya VI virtually assumed independence as early as A.D. 1071 although he did not succeed in finally overthrowing his elder brother Sōmēśvara till A.D. 1076. No 206 of the present collection coming from Sirur mentions Tribhuvanamalla-Bhāgalamahādēvi, a queen of Tribhuvanamalladēva (i.e., Vikramāditya VI). This princess is not known from any other source.[5]

No. 124 from Morab dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 3 introduces the king's younger brother *Yuvarāja* Jayasiṁha who is given the string of titles, Trailōkyamalla Vīra-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi. The adoption of these Noḷamba titles between *Śaka* 986 (=A.D. 1064)[6] and *Śaka* 990 (= A.D. 1068),[7] for the first time by a Chālukya prince, who was none other than this Jayasiṁha, would indicate, that after the Noḷambas ceased to exist as a ruling power, Jayasiṁha was made the viceroy of that region and held the tract of territory which had till then been the patrimony of the Noḷambas. As far as is known, this prince seems to have been *Yuvarāja* up to A.D. 1082 (No. 127) when he rebelled against his brother Vikramāditya VI and after this date nothing more is heard of him.

Some facts concerning *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna, son of Vikramāditya VI, gleaned from the present collection may be set out here. When Fleet wrote on the history of the later Chālukyas in his Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts he was not aware of the existence of this prince who was the eldest of the four sons of Vikramāditya VI, the other three being Jayakarṇa, Sōmēśvara

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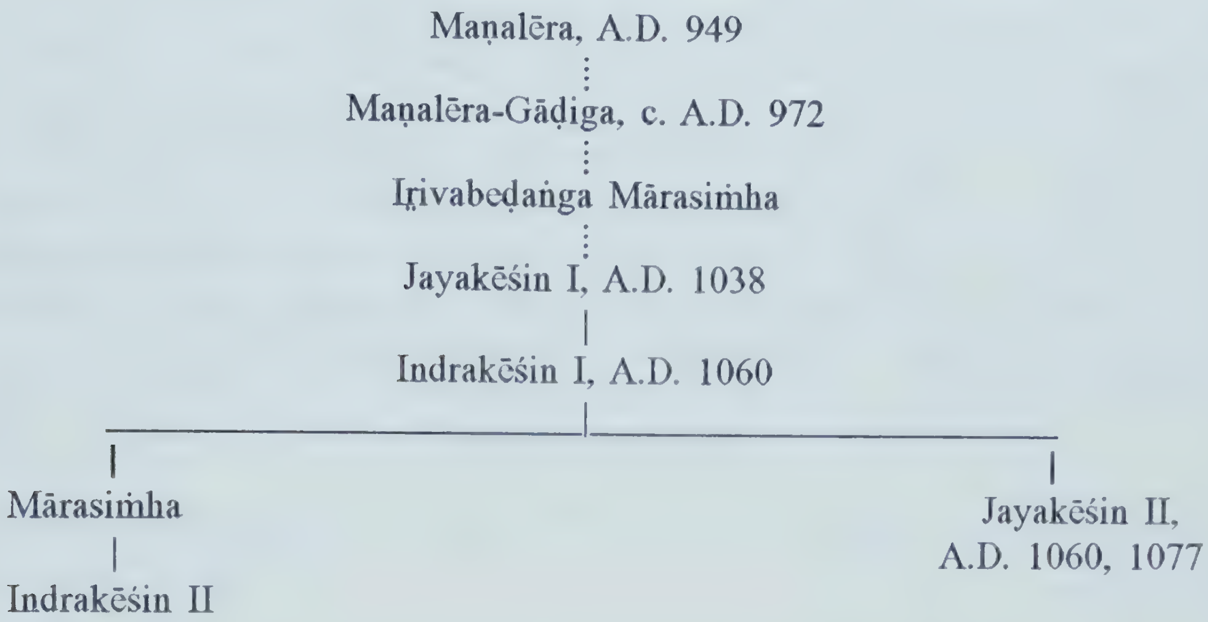
III and Tailapa.[8] A doubt has arisen in minds of some scholars[9] as to whether Mallikārjuna and his uncle Jayasiṁha were both holding the office of *Yuvarāja* at the same time, somewhere about A.D. 1079. The Mutgi inscription of Vikramāditya VI published by Dr. Barnett[10] is supposed to lend support to this possibility. For, this record which bears two dates, viz., Chālukya-Vikrama year 4 (= A.D. 1079) and 35 (= A.D. 1110) mentions *Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna.* It is known that on the earlier date Jayasiṁha was the *Yuvarāja* because, as stated in the previous paragraph, records applying to him the designation of *Yuvarāja* are found up to A.D. 1082. However, on a careful examination of the Mutgi record, it will be seen that the two dates cited in it relate to transactions that took place separately on these dates and that *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna is mentioned only in connection with the later transaction of A.D. 1110. Hence it would be erroneous to suppose that he was already a Yuvarāja in 1079 A.D. when actually it was Jayasiṁha who was holding this position; in this capacity he functioned, as stated already, till probably A.D. 1082. It must be observed, however, that on an identical date in A.D. 1082 i.e., Sunday, 25th December, both Jayasiṁha and Mallikārjuna are described as *Yuvarāja* in two records, one, of the former, at Kurtakōṭi in Dharwar District (No. 127), and the other, of the latter, at Aland in Hyderabad State.[11] It is rather difficult to account for this anomalous state of affairs of two persons of the same family holding the position of *Yuvarāja* on one and the same day. A possible explanation that might be offered to clear up this difficulty is to suppose that though Jayasiṁha had been removed from the office of *Yuvarāja,* on or before 25th December 1082, the earliest date found for Mallikārjuna as *Yuvarāja,* the news had not reached distant parts of the kingdom like the Dharwar region. The records of prince Mallikārjuna discovered so far, including those in this collection (Nos. 139, 162) range from A.D. 1082[12] to 1123.[13] Attention may also be drawn here to the titles *Māḷava-baḷa-balāhaka-samīraṇaṁ* (No. 139) and *Vīsaḷa-rāya-kuvara-javadaṇḍam* (No. 162), borne by him. Evidently the Vīsaḷarāya referred to here is to be identified with prince Vīsala of the Jālor branch of the Paramāra dynasty since he was the only prince of that name who was flourishing in this period.[14] It is well-known that Vikramāditya VI conducted one or more campaigns against Mālwa which was at this period ruled by the Paramāras. It is not impossible that the two epithets of *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna refer to this conflict with the rulers of Mālwa and that this prince also took part in one of them and that Vīsaladēva of the Jālor family was his adversary. From the available records of the Paramāra family no information is, however, forthcoming regarding Vīsaladēva's conflict with the Chālukyas. The Mutgi inscription referred to above, describes the chief Vikramādityadēva, lord of Vardhamānapura, as the son-in-law of Mallikārjuna. Dr. Barnett has suggested that Vardhamānapura was probably to be identified with Waḍhwan in Kathiawar. A more likely place would be Waḍhaman in the Mahbubnagar District of the Hyderabad State; this area was not far from Kalyāṇa, the capital of the Chālukyas, and must have formed the core of their kingdom whereas Waḍhwan in Kathiawar was rather too far away from Mutgi, the centre of the chief's activities. In all likelihood this was also the Vardhamānanagarī which the Kākatīya ruler Rudradēva is stated to have burnt.[15] A record of Mallikārjuna, now preserved in the Bijapur Museum,[16] contains certain verses which bear close resemblance in purport, diction and style to those found in the Kannada work *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa* of Nāgachandra *alias* Abhinava-Pampa. On account of this similarity it has been conjectured that this poet flourished during the reign of Vikramāditya VI.[17] It is not unlikely that the poet was the protege of *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna himself.

Four of the records (Nos. 128, 160, 177 and 211) edited here mention the Kadamba chief Gūvaladēva, the feudatory of Vikramāditya, and range in date from A.D. 1082 to 1125. This Kadamba prince is to be identified with Gūvaladēva, the elder of the two sons of Jayakēsin I mentioned in the Narēndra inscription of the time of Vikramāditya VI and Jayakēśin II, dated *Śaka* 1047, Viśvāvasu (= A.D. 1125).[18] The earliest date for this prince, known so far, is Chālukya Vikrama year 3, Siddhārthin (A.D. 1079) furnished by an inscription in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[19] Nos. 177 and 211 of the present collection, both coming from Mugad, Dharwar taluk, give him the surname of Tribhuvanamalla. That this Gūvaladēva had the surname of Tribhuvanamalla is important as it helps us in identifying a prince of this family called merely by the title of Tribhuvanamalla and described as the son of Jayakēśin in a recently discovered copper-plate grant[20] of this very prince bearing the date *Śaka* 1028, Vyaya (A.D. 1107). It can now be affirmed that this latter was identical with Gūvaladēva, son of Jayakēśin I. The date of the Mugad record (No. 177) of Tribhuvanamalla Gūvaladēva which corresponds to A.D. 1125, December 25, is also of particular significance, for the above-mentioned record from Narēndra, of Jayakēśin II, son of Vijayāditya, the younger brother of this Gūvaladēva, contains details of date which regularly correspond to A.D. 1125, August 28, i.e., about 4 months earlier than the Mugad record. This raises the question as to whether the accession of Jayakēśin II took place even while his uncle was alive and whether his father Vijayāditya did not rule at all. The records of the family discovered so far do not state explicitly that Vijayāditya ever ruled. This fact combined with the existence of Jayakēsin's records of A.D. 1104,[21] 1119,[22] 1122[23] and 1125[24] might show that Vijayāditya pre-deceased his elder brother, that Jayakēśin was nominated the latter's successor even during the uncle's lifetime and that they, uncle and nephew, probably ruled jointly for a long time. An epigraph from Amminbhāvi (No. 121), dated *Śaka* 993, Virōdhikṛit, i.e., A.D. 1071-2, says that *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Jayakēśin, apparently of the Kadaṁba family of Goa, was ruling over Palasige and Koṅkaṇa. This appears to be the latest date for this prince, i.e., Jayakēśin I, the other dates known for him being A.D. 1052 and 1059 provided by the Guḍikatti inscription of Sōmēśvara I[25] and the Panjim plates of Jayakēśin.[26]

No. 129, dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 7, Dundubhi (i.e., 1083 A.D.) mentions a certain Bhūlōkamalla Permāḍi, son of Āchugi. Though these names are common in the house of Sindas, on the date quoted in the inscription, however, there was no chief of the name of Permāḍi among the chiefs of this family. It is therefore not certain whether these chiefs belonged to this lineage at all though the territory over which they held sway is usually associated with the Sindas. Further, the identity of Bhūlōkamalla, as whose *pādārādhaka* Permāḍi of the present record describes himself, is not easy to establish. If the date of the inscription has been recorded correctly, it may be surmised that this title was also borne by Vikramāditya VI. None of the predecessors of this monarch had the *biruda* of Bhūlōkamalla and the only known Bhūlōkamalla of this dynasty was the son and successor of Vikramāditya VI, who came to the throne much later than the date of the inscription under review. An inscription (No. 155) mentioning the Sinda chiefs Āchugi II and his son Permāḍi born of Mahādēvi confronts us with a chronological difficulty. The record bears the date *Śaka* 1028, Tāraṇa, i.e., A.D. 1104-5. On this date it would be impossible for Permāḍi to have been old enough to be able to transact any business as recorded in the inscription since the earliest known date even of his father is A.D. 1113.[27] Consequently in the introduction to this inscription, it has been stated that the date cited in the record is not admissible for the Sinda chief, Permāḍi. A careful examination, however, of this record would show that the apparent inconsistency between the contents and the date of the record can be explained. It may be assumed, as in many cases, that while the original gift registered in the inscription was made on the date cited, the record itself was actually engraved and set up much later, perhaps in the time of Sinda Permāḍi. The text of the record does not militate against this possibility.

A family of local chiefs describing themselves as of the *Sagar-ānvaya* and *Maṇalērānvaya* figures in a record from Gadag, the date of which is lost (No. 201). Three generations of this family are mentioned here, viz., Indrakēśin (I), his son Mārasiṁha and the latter's son Indrakēśin (II). This last named chief is stated to be a subordinate of Tribhuvanamalla (i.e., Vikramāditya VI). A record in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,[28] names three persons of this same family, viz., Jayakēśin (I), his son Indrakēśin and his son Jayakēśin. The record which is dated Śaka 982 (= A.D. 1060) in the reign of Sōmēśvara I says that *Mahāsāmanta* Indrakēśiyarasa made a grant of land. Another inscription at Kuyibāḷ,[29] also of the reign of this king (Trailōkyamalla), dated *Śaka* 980 (= A.D. 1058) mentions Indrakēśiyarasa of the Maṇalēra family as administering Purigeṟe-300. Apparently, the Indrakēśiyarasa of this record and Indrakēśin (I), father of Mārasiṁha of the Gadag record cited above, are to be considered as identical. The reason is this: Indrakēśin I most probably flourished in the reign of Sōmēśvara I (like the Indrakēśiyarasa of the Prince of Wales museum inscription) since his grandson bearing the same name was a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI according to the present Gadag record. If so, Indrakēśin (I) must be supposed to have had two sons, Mārasiṁha and Jayakēśin (II) or in the alternative Jayakēśin (II) and Mārasiṁha are to be regarded as one and the same. The same three chiefs mentioned in the Prince of Wales Museum record appear in another inscription at Shiggaon belonging to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI.[30] The date of the record is lost, but what is made clear by the inscription is that Jayakēśin II was actually the feudatory of Vikramāditya VI. This is also borne out by the Hulgur inscription[31] of Vikramāditya VI, dated *Śaka* 999 (= A.D. 1077) which tells us that Jayakēśiyarasa was a subordinate of that king and therefore this chief may be identified with Jayakēśin II. Thus it would appear that both Indrakēśin II of the Gadag record and his uncle or father (?) Jayakēśin II were feudatories of Vikramāditya VI and that the latter was already a grown-up youth in 1060 A.D. in the reign of Sōmēśvara I as evidenced by the Prince of Wales Museum inscription of the time of his father. The Hulgur inscription of the reign of Jayasiṁha, dated *Śaka* 960 (= 1038 A.D.) mentions a Jayakēśin of the same Maṇalēra family and one of his predecessors is called Iṟivabeḍaṅga Mārasiṅgadēva.[32] It is not improbable that this Jayakēśin and Jayakēśin (I) of the Prince of Wales Museum inscription and the Shiggaon record are identical. Maṇalēra, after whom this family is named, is evidently not different from the homonymous chief who, we learn from the Ātakūr inscription,[33] was an officer under the Gaṅga prince Butuga, a feudatory of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. Another chief Maṇalēra-Gāḍiga is stated to have been the *nāḷgāvuṇḍa* of Purigeṟe in an undated record at Shiggaon[34] of Amōghavarsha who may be identified with Amoghavarsha IV or Kakka, since the characters of the record are definitely assignable to the 10th century A.D. This Maṇalēra-Gāḍiga may be regarded as an almost immediate descendant of Maṇalēra of the Ātakūr inscription which would be only about 20 years earlier than the Shiggaon inscription of Amōghavarsha (IV). It is noteworthy that all the members of the family who came after him were connected with the division of Purigeṟe of which Gāḍiga was the *nāḷgāvuṇḍa.* The foregoing discussion would enable us to draw up a tentative genealogy of these chiefs as follows:-



Besides Abhinava-Pampa mentioned in the paragraph on *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna above, poets whose names occur in the records published below may be noticed here. One of them was Nāgadēva of Pomboḷal (Hombaḷ near Gadag) who composed the Kurtakōṭi inscription of A.D. 1082 (No. 127). Apparently it is this same poet who composed another record of A.D. 1087 (No. 134) found at the place. His composition, though of the conventional type, is elegant. Mādhavabhaṭṭa described as *Vāk-Śrī-lalāṭa-maṇi-maya-paṭṭam* was another poet who claims the authorship of an inscription at Soratur of A.D. 1091 (No. 137). A poet called Chandrabhaṭṭa-Kavi is stated to have composed the inscription of A.D. 1099 at Kōṭavumachigi (No. 146). It may not be wrong to suggest that he might be identical with Chandrabhaṭṭa who corrected the composition of the poet Rājavallabha, the writer of the Hoṭṭūr inscription[35] of the time of Trailōkyamalla Āhavamalla (i.e., Sōmēśvara I), dated *Śaka* 988 (= A.D. 1067). Nāgarjuna-Paṇḍita was yet another to whom is ascribed an inscription (No. 177) at Mugad of A.D. 1125. As in the case of many other authors of inscriptional poems, the literary works, if any, of these poets have not come to light.

Now, a few words may be said on some points of general interest gathered from the inscriptions of this collection. One of them relates to the minting of coins during the 12th century A.D. This record which comes from Sūḍi (No. 153) states that Uttavōja described as the goldsmith *(akkasāle)* of Tribhuvanammalla made a gift to the temple of Kammaṭēśvara at Sūḍi. The details pertaining to the gift reveal that gold coins were struck by this goldsmith at Sūḍi with a die bearing a royal seal. This Uttavōja was evidently the royal mint-master at Sūḍi who was in charge of the die *(kammaṭad-āṇi)* containing the royal seal *(uṇḍige)* for striking coins. The god Kammaṭēśvara of the record no doubt takes his name after the *kammaṭa,* i.e., the mint, at Sūḍi. We know of a coin called *Lokki-gadyāṇa* from many inscriptions (e.g., No. 136) and we may not be wrong if we connect this coin with the town Lokkiguṇḍi (modern Lakkuṇḍi near Gadag) where it was probably struck. It is common knowledge that the names of towns where the coins were minted find a place on the coins along with other legends and symbols. They are generally indicated by the initial letter of the place name, if not by the entire name. The relation of a *paṇa* to a *gadyāṇa* in value is ascertainable from a record at Niḍugundi (No. 189). This inscription, while giving a list of several donations in gold, specifies each donation in terms of *gadya* and *paṇa* and reckons the total endowment as 6 *gadyāṇas.* When the details mentioned in terms of the two coins are added up they work out to 5 *gadyāṇas* and 10 *paṇas.* The total sum being stated to be 6 *gadyas,* it becomes clear that 10 *paṇas* make one *gadya* (5 *gadyas* + 10 *Paṇas* = 6 *gadyas).* Incidentally this very record gives an idea of the rate of interest *(vriddhi)* obtaining at the time. It is laid down that the rate was two *paṇas* on one *pon* per year, and at this rate 12 *paṇas* were to be realized and utilized for *Vēdapārāyaṇa* and *pavitrārōhaṇa* of the god Kēśavāditya of the place. Accordingly, a *pon* meant a *gadya* or *gadyāṇa.*

REFERENCES

1. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, Nos. 135 and 136. (The date of the latter inscription is printed wrongly as 1078.)
2. *Ibid.,* No. 138.
3. *A.S.R.,* 1927-28, p. 140; *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, part I, p. 112.
4. *A.S.R.,* 1927-28, p. 140; *Bom, Gaz.,* Vol. I, part II, p. 444.
5. *A.S.R.,* 1927-28, p. 140.
6. B.K. No. 23 of 1936-37; *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, part II, p. 440 and n. 5.
7. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No. 133.
8. Fleet has not mentioned this prince either.
9. Introduction to *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa-Saṅgraha* (Mysore University edition, 1936), p. XIX, n. 13; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol XXVIII, p. 32.
10. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XV, pp. 26-28.
11. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 33. The published text gives the *tithi* on which the grant was made as *su.* 5 but the correct reading is *su.* 3.
12. *Ibid.,*
13. B.K. No. 120 of 1940-41.
14. *History of the Paramara Dynasty* by D.C. Ganguly, p. 344.
15. Anmakoṇḍa Inscription of Rudradēva: *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, p. 18; text-lines 100-I. This Waddaman lies about 150 miles S.W. of Warangal. The late Mr. Krishna Sastri had suggested *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 261 and n.) two places answering this name, viz., Vardhanapet, 20 miles S.W. of Anmakoṇḍa and Waddamarri, about 50 miles from Anmakoṇḍa in the same direction.
16. B.K. No. 143 of 1933-34.
17. For a fuller discussion of this topic see pp. X to XXI of Mr. D.L.Narasimhachar's Introduction to *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa-Saṅgraha* (Mysore University edition, 1936).

18. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIII, p. 299.
19. *A.S.R.,* 1936-37, p. 99.
20. C.P. No. 55 of 1949-50.
21. B.K. No. 455 of 1926; No. 154 of this part.
22. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, part II, p. 568.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIII, p. 300.
25. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, part II, p. 567.
26. This copper-plate inscription is being reviewed in the *An. Rep., on Indian Epigraphy* for 1951-52.
27. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, p. 114.
28. *A.S.R.,* 1936-37, p. 98.
29. B.K. No. 91 of 1938-39.
30. *Karnatak Inscriptions,* Vol. I, p. 30.
31. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, p. 329.
32. *Ibid.,* p. 333.
33. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, p. 54.
34. B.K. No. 42 of 1943-44: *Karnatak Inscriptions,* Vol. I, No. 14 of 1939-40.
35. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, p. 82.

4

INTRODUCTION*

Practically all the important dynasties that ruled the Kannaḍa country are represented in this volume of inscription. Though there are no inscriptions here which can be called startling discoveries making us radically alter our existing views, there are still some epigraphs which reveal on close study, some additional information. Moreover, some of these inscriptions compel us to revise our notions to some extant, with regard to date, chronology and genealogy in a few cases. The main points that have been gathered from these 462 inscriptions are given below dynasty-wise. The section on geographical division will given an idea of a large number of such divisions that used to exist in order day for about five centuries (viz., 9th to 13th) in the modern districts of Bijapur, Dharwar, North Kanara, Shimoga and parts of Bellary and Belgaum districts in Mysore State. Some points of general interest from these epigraphs are also touched upon practically all the important dynasties.

RULING DYNASTIES

The Early Chālukyas

The earliest dynasty of which we have inscriptions in this volume is that of the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi. Inscription No. 1 which is of the reign of Vikramāditya of this dynasty is not dated but may be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the 7th century A.D. Consequently the Vikramāditya of this record is probably Vikramāditya I who ruled from A.D. 655 to A.D. 681. This record mentions a chief named **Kali Sinda** who was apparently a feudatory of the king. He does not seem to have been known hitherto.

Of Vikramāditya's grandson **Vijayāditya**, we have three records. Of these, No. 4 is of some interest as it mentions a person named [Siri]sāgara. Names ending in *sāgara,* such as Raṇasāgara, Pṛithvīsāgara and Guṇasāgara are common in the family of the Āḷupas of the West Coast. It is also well known that the chiefs of this family were subordinates of the Chālukyas from the time of Vinayāditya and that the two families were matrimonially connected.[1] Consequently it may not be wrong if we surmise that the Sirisāgara of the present record was a scion of this family. If so, he will have to be regarded as a hitherto unknown Āḷupa chief.

Another Chālukya inscription which deserves notice is from Dēvagēri (No. 6). Though the name of the king and the date of the inscription are not preserved, its characters are assignable to about the 7-8th century A.D. It states that a hero fought with Eṛiñchōḷarasa and died at Chendūr. The name Eṛiñchōḷa is closely allied to Eḷañchōḷa-Mahārāja,[2] Eḷañchōḷa-Mahādēvi[3] and Eḷañjōḷa[4] of the family of the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. On account of the mutilated condition of the inscription, it is not possible to say under what circumstances the fight referred to therein took place or who the contending parties were. It is not improbable however that the death of this hero occurred in one of the series of battles that took place at this time between the Pallavas and the Chālukyas, for, we know that the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu were originally the subordinates of the Pallavas and were subjugated later by the Chālukyas and acknowledged their supremacy.

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* Introductory portion published in *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XVIII, pp. i-xxx.

A record (No. 7) mentioning two chiefs **Vāṇasatti-Arasa** and **Kundasatti-Arasa,** whose relationship to each other is not specified, may be appropriately noticed under the Early Chālukyas. Palaeographically this inscription may be assigned to about the 6- 7th century A.D., during which period, the Chālukyas were the paramount rulers of this part of the country. The name Vāṇasatti and Kundasatti bear a close resemblance to those borne by the Sēndraka chiefs such as Bhānuśakti, Ādityaśakti and Bhīmaśatti. It is also known that some of the chieftains of this family owed allegiance to the Chālukya kings and one of them, viz., Sēnānanda had even family relationship with them. He was the maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II. **Vākkaṭakaṇadēvi** who figures in this record probably belonged to the Vākāṭaka family, as suggested by her name.

The Rāshṭrakūṭas

Among the inscriptions of this dynasty, No. 10, which refers itself to the reign of **Jagattuṅga**, mentions a feudatory named **Dantiga**, who was ruling the *nāḍu.* In the Deoli plates of Kṛishṇa III one Dantiga is stated to have been killed along with Vappuka by Kṛishṇa III. But the present inscription is not dated and has to be placed on grounds of palaeography in the 9th century A.D. So it is not likely that he was a contemporary of Kṛishṇa III. As the record is of the 9th century A.D., the Jagattuṅga to whose reign it belongs may be Gōvinda III.

An inscription (No. 14) from Dēvagēri, which belongs to the reign of **Amōghavarsha** but which is not dated is assignable, on palaeographic grounds, to the 9th century A.D The only Amōghavarsha who ruled in this century is Amōghavarsha I. In this record, **Inda,** i.e., **Indra,** who is described as the *priya-tanay-ātmaja* of the king, is stated to be governing **Banavāsi** Twelve-thousand. If the expression *priya-tanaya-ātmaja* is taken in its ordinary sense of 'son's son,' Indra would be the grandson of Amōghavarsha. But from no other source do we know of any Indra who was the grandson of Amōghavarsha. We know however that Kṛishṇa II had a grandson called Indra (Indra III). But Kṛishṇa II is usually given in his inscriptions, the distinguishing epithet of *Akālavarsha* and not *Amōghavarsha.* The only exception however is the Veṅkaṭāpur inscription which applies to him the epithet of Amōghavarsha. As has been suggested by the editor of the Venkaṭāpur inscription,[5] the epithet Amōghavarsha used in it- if it is not a scribal error - should be taken to have been borne by Kṛishṇa II as well as by his father. If that be so, and if we consider that the title Amōghavarsha applied to the ruling king in the record under review to be a title of Kṛishṇa II then the Indra mentioned here as the governor of Banāvasi Twelve-thousand would be the grandson of Kṛishṇa II and therefore Indra III. Otherwise the epithet Amōghavarsha will have to be taken as a mistake for Akālavarsha. Another interesting fact disclosed by this inscription is that this Indra had a wife named Gōvindabbe who was administering the village (i.e., Dēvagēri). If, as surmised above, Indra of the record is identical with Indra III, Gōvindabbe would be a hitherto unknown wife of his. It may be noted however that Jagattuṅga III, the grandson of Amōghavarsha I, had a queen called Gōvindāmbā of the Kalachuri family.

In two records of **Kṛishṇa II**, Lōkaṭe is mentioned as the governor of Banavāsi. One of them (No. 17) bearing no date, states that **Kaliviṭṭa** was the son of Lōkaṭe and was administering the group of villages called **Punnavanti Twelve**. These persons are apparently identical with the homonymous chiefs of the **Chellakētana** family. This relationship between Lokate and Kaliviṭṭa is disclosed for the first time by the record under review.

Another governor of Banavāsi, named **Rājāti (Rājāditya)** figures also in a record (No. 16) of Kṛishṇa II and it is dated *Śaka* 829 (A.D. 907-08). Lōkaṭe or Lōkāditya of the Chellakētana family is known to have been governing Banavāsi under Kṛishṇa II until at least A.D. 904-05. The only date known hitherto for Rājāditya is A.D. 907-08. In A.D. 913-14 Kaliviṭṭa was the governor of this province and in A.D. 915, we find a certain Dhōra governing the same region. So Rājāditya must have been placed in charge of this region sometime after A.D. 904-05 and continued to hold it till some date before A.D. 913, probably even after the reign of Kṛishṇa II. Now the question is whether this Rājāditya was also a Chellakētana. In his account of the Chellakētana family Dr. Fleet expressed a doubt whether he (Rājāditya) belonged to this family.[6] But **Rājāditya of a collateral line of the Chālukyas** who might be placed in this peiod has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant published in the *Mysore Archeological Report,* 1935, No. 40. This Rājāditya is, according to that record, the great grandfather of the donor of the grant, who was also called Rājāditya and for whom the record furnishes the date A.D. 951. In other words, two generations intervened between this Rājāditya (Rājāditya II) and his great grandfather of the same name (Rājāditya I) Allowing an average of twenty-five years to each generation, the period of Rājāditya I would be approximately between A.D. 875 and 900. He would then be a contemporary of Kṛishṇa II. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that Rājāditya I had married a daughter of Akālavarsha, who in all probability is Kṛishṇa II. Consequently it is not improbable that he is identical with Rājāti of the record under review (i.e., No. 16).

This leads us to the problem whether **Rājāditya** mentioned as the governor of Banavāsi in another Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription (No. 36) is identical with Rājāti (Rājāditya), the subordinate of Kṛishṇa II (mentioned in the previous paragraph). This inscription refers itself to the reign of a king, of whose name only the first letter *Ja* is preserved. The characters of this record are asignable to the 9th century A.D. The only name or title beginning with *Ja* among the rulers of this region in this period (the Rāshṭrakūṭas) is Jagattuṅga. Hence the full name of this king is in all likelihood Jagattuṅga. This conclusion is borne out by another inscription of the same period, which clearly refers itself to the reign of Jagattuṅga, under whom Banavāsi province was being governed by a chief whose name is partially preserved as *ditya* which may most probably stand for Rājāditya (No. 34). Now in the Rāshṭrakūṭa family there were four Jagattuṅgas, viz., Gōvinda II, Gōvinda III, Jagattuṅga, the son of Kṛishṇa II, who may be called Jagattuṅga III, and Jagattuṅga (IV), the younger brother of Kṛishṇa III. Since we do not know of any Rājāditya as being the governor of Banavāsi under Gōvinda II, this record may have to be referred to the time of either Gōvinda III or Jagattuṅga, the son of Kṛishṇa II (i.e., Jagattuṅga III). Jagattuṅga is stated in both the records noticed above, in unequivocal terms to be 'ruling' *(rājyaṁ-geyye).* If we consider the Jagttuṅga of these inscriptions to be Jagttuṅga III the statement that he was reigning comes into conflict with the accounts of the reigning kings found in records of this dynasty which say that he did not rule at all.[7] Therefore there are two possible ways of explaining this discrepancy. One is that Jagattuṅga, son of Kṛishṇa II, is to be taken as having reigned, though for a short period. The last date known for Kṛishṇa II is A.D. 912[8] and the earliest date known for Indra III is A.D. 915. In this short interval between A.D. 912 and 915, Jagattuṅga might have ruled. The other explanation would be that Rājāditya of these records is different from his name sake who was the subordinate of Kṛishṇa II and that he was a subordinate of either Gōvinda II or Gōvinda III. But palaeographically these inscriptions are too late for the period of Gōvinda II; and in 907-08, he could not have been a subordinate of Gōvinda III, the last year of whose reign is A.D. 813, though we know of a Rājāditya who was also his subordinate.[9]

One of the inscriptions (No. 19) of Indra III, dated *Śaka* 837, Yuva (A.D. 915-16) tells us that a certain Dhōra was governing Banavāsi-nāḍu though it does not say to which family he belonged. The governorship of this province seems to have passed soon after this date into the hands of Baṅkeya; for in No. 20, dated *Śaka* 837 (A.D. 916), he is stated to be governing Banavāsi-nāḍu. Another inscription of A.D. 928 (No. 23) of this sovereign states that Baṅkeya of the Chellakētana family was the governor of the same province. This would show that Baṅkeya who was governing this very province in A.D. 916 (No. 20) is not different from the Chellakētana Baṅkeya (No. 23). The date of this record (A.D. 928, December 24)[10] is the latest date found hitherto for Indra III, thus reducing the duration of the reign of his successor Amōghavarsha II to barely seventeen months, i.e., from December 928, to May 930 when Gōvinda IV came to the throne. Another subordinate of Indra (III) figuring in this collection is Mahāśrīmanta who was administering Beḷvola Three-hundred (No. 22). We know that he was administering this division in A.D. 901 and 907 also under Kṛishṇa II. In this connection it may be pointed out that this officer is also mentioned in the Muḷgund inscription of Kṛishṇa II of A.D. 902-03 from which it would appear that his proper name was Vinayāṁbudhi and *Mahāśrīmanta* was only his title.[11]

An inscription (No. 27) of Kṛishṇa III dated *Śaka* 879 (A.D. 957) gives the important information that while Kṛishṇarāja was reigning from his camp at Mēlpāṭi his subordinate Tailapayya was carrying on the administration of the country *(nāḍu).* This Tailapayya is evidently the Chālukya chief who later snatched his ancestral dominions from the Rāshṭrakūṭas and restored the Chālukya sovereignty in A.D. 973. We know from other sources also that Kṛishṇa was camping at Mēlpāṭi for a considerable time in connection with his southern campaign. Evidently Taila took advantage of this absence of his master to strengthen his own position. In fact, we find him some years later (i.e., in A.D. 965)[12] assuming such *birudas* as *Chālukyarāma* and *Āhavamalla* which were usually borne by the paramount sovereigns of his family. Another inscription (No. 29) of this king (Kṛishṇa III) is worth noticing here. From the context it would appear that he had the title *Vikramāditya.* This epithet however is not found applied to him in any other record.

One of the subordinates of Kṛishṇa who was known only from two records so far, figures in a third one (No. 32). He is **Garvindara** who in this record, as in the other two, is spoken of as governing Banavāsi-dēśa. This inscription is not dated but the other two are of A.D. 961 and A.D. 968.[13]

Now we may try to trace the genealogy and the order of succession of the chiefs of the **Chellakētana** family, who were the governors of the province of Banavāsi for about two centuries. **Eṟakori** the first known member of this family is mentioned in the Koṇṇūr inscription of Amōghavarsha I.[14] His son was **Dhōra,**[15] lord of Kolanūra. To him was born (from Vijayāṅkā) **Baṅkeya** (also called Baṅkēśa or Baṅkeyarasa) who was the governor of the province of Banavāsi under Amōghavarsha I, in A.D. 860, which is the date of the Koṇṇūr inscription. He had two sons, **Kundaṭṭe** and **Lokāditya** (also known as Lokaṭe and Lōkaḍe). The former is known from a single undated record, as administering Niḍuguṇḍage Twelve.[16] For the latter we have dates ranging from A.D. 896[17] to A.D. 904-05 (No. 15 of *S.I.I.,* Vol XX).

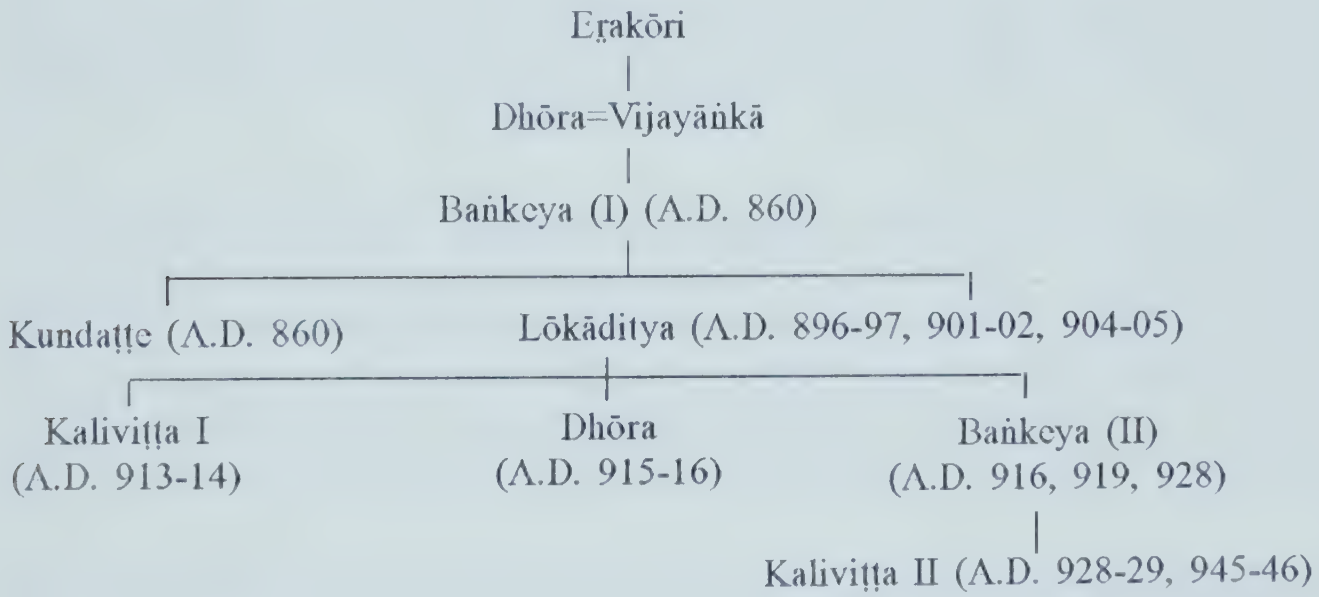
One of Lōkāditya's sons, named **Kaliviṭṭa** is known to have been (No. 17) administering Punnavanti Twelve under his father. A second **Baṅkeya** is known to be the governor of Banavāsi from inscriptions of A.D. 916 (No. 20), 919[18] and 928 (No. 23). In the last mentioned record, he is stated to belong to the Chellakētana family. As his date is later by about eleven years than that of Lōkāditya he must have lived later than Lōkāditya. Since Lōkāditya's father was also called Baṅkeya it is likely that this Baṅkeya (Baṅkeya II) is the son of Lōkāditya, and was named after his grandfather according to the Hindu custom. We have already seen that Kaliviṭṭa, the son of Lōkāditya was governing the division of Punnavanti Twelve under his father. A Kaliviṭṭa of the Chellakētana family was governing the province of Banavāsi in A.D. 913-14.[19] It is not at all improbable that Kaliviṭṭa who was administering the smaller unit of Punnavanti Twelve earlier is the same as Kaliviṭṭa who was governing Banavāsi in A.D. 913-14.

Lōkāditya, as observed before, was in charge of Banavāsi in A.D. 904-05 and his son Kaliviṭṭa (I) was governing the same province in A.D. 913-14. Between these two dates we find a person named Rājāditya as the governor of the same province in A.D.907-08 which is the only date so far known for him. As we have taken this Rājāditya to be a scion of the Chālukya family he need not be included among the Chellakētanas, though we cannot say as to why he was appointed governor of this province after Lōkāditya to the exclusion of the members of the latter's family who, except for a short break after A.D. 904-05, held the governorship of this region for successive generations.

In A.D. 915-16, i.e., immediately after **Kaliviṭṭa (I)** this province was under the administrative control of a certain **Dhōra** (No. 19). We may not be wrong if we suppose that he was also a Chellakētana for the following reasons. In the first place the name Dhōra was, as we have already seen, borne by an earlier member of the family i.e., the grandfather of Lōkāditya. So it is quite likely that he was named after his ancestor. Secondly this Dhōra comes immediately after Kaliviṭṭa (I) and just before Baṅkeya (II), who was governing the Banavāsi province in A.D. 916. He may therefore be considered to be the younger brother of Kaliviṭṭa (I) and the elder brother of Baṅkeya (II) or in other words, one of the sons of Lōkāditya. The last date we have for Baṅkeya (II) as the governor of Banavāsi is A.D. 928.

A Kaliviṭṭa of this very family figures as the governor of the same province in A.D. 945-46, under Kṛishṇa III.[20] But we find a Kaliviṭṭa (whose family is not specified) administering the division of Beḷvola Three-hundred in A.D. 928-29 (No. 24). The point of interest here is that Kaliviṭṭa happens to come immediately after Baṅkeya II whose last known date is A.D. 928. Further this Kaliviṭṭa is found to be administering the division of Beḷvola before the other Kaliviṭṭa who was the governor of Banavāsi in A.D. 945-46. These facts would indicate that the two Kaliviṭṭas were identical. It would therefore follow that Kaliviṭṭa was incharge of the smaller division of Beḷvola prior to his being entrusted with the government of Banavāsi. As he comes after Baṅkeya (II) he may be tentatively taken to be his son and called **Kaliviṭṭa II**.

The general genealogy then would stand as shown below:


Eṟakōri
Dhōra=Vijayāṅkā
Baṅkeya (I) (A.D. 860)
Kundaṭṭe (A.D. 860)
Lōkāditya (A.D. 896-97, 901-02, 904-05)
Kaliviṭṭa I (A.D. 913-14)
Dhōra (A.D. 915-16)
Baṅkeya (II) (A.D. 916, 919, 928)
Kaliviṭṭa II (A.D. 928-29, 945-46)

The Later Chālukyas

Of Taila II, who restored the Chālukya sovereignty after overthrowing the Rāshṭrakūṭas, we have two records in this volume. One of them (No. 40) dated Śaka 915 (A.D. 994) says that he was ruling from his capital **Mānyakhēḍa**. This would show that Mānyakhēḍa (modern Mālkhēd), which was formerly the capital of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, continued to enjoy that position for some time after the Chālukyas made Kalyāṇa their capital. The second inscription (No. 41) which is dated *Śaka* 918 (A.D. 996) indicates that the title *Bhuvanaikamalla* was applied to the prince Daśavarma who, we know, was a son of Taila. This title was not known to have been given to him so far.

In the inscriptions of Jayasiṁha II three wives of **Kundarāja**, who is described as 'the son' of Iṛivabeḍanga, are mentioned. They are **Jōgabbarasi, Kundaladēvi and Pampādēvi.** Jōgabbarasi is stated to have been managing the village of Ajjaḍi in *Śaka* 941 (A.D. 1019) (No. 44). Kundaladēvi was governing Banavāsi Twelve-thousand and Payve-nāḍu conjointly with her husband in *Śaka* 950 (A.D. 1028) (No. 47). No. 52, the date of which is lost, states that Pampādēvi was administering the village of Jiḍugūr. It is interesting to observe that while one of the ladies was sharing the governance of the province with her husband, the other two were independently administering two villages.

Another inscription of Jayasiṁha which gives some new information regarding the chiefs of the Māṭūra family may be noticed here. This record (No. 43) of A.D. 1017, gives the names of the chiefs of this family for five generations. But their relation with one another is not definite in all cases on account of the damaged condition of the record. They are: **Dōsi, Sinda, Śāntivarma, Payyara,** his wife **Chārakabbe** and their son **Siriyāgara.** We know that two members of this family namely, Māchiyarasa and Śāntivarma, were holding responsible positions under the Rāshṭrakūṭas in the 10th century A.D. Since Śāntivarma's dates range from A.D. 972 to 992, it is not improbable that he is not different from the Śāntivarma of the present record. It may not be out of place to mention here another member of this family, namely, Vijayāditya, who was a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI in A.D. 1088 (No. 93). In addition to Vijayāditya this record speaks of a Siriyāgaradēva who by his name appears to be also of the Māṭūra family. The earliest notice of this family seems to be found in a record of 9th century A.D. of a Rāshṭrakūṭa king, whose name and date are lost (No. 38). The name of this family is spelt as Māṭṭara in that record.

Among the exploits of Kundarāja recounted in one of the inscriptions (No. 44) the following are noteworthy. He is stated to have undertaken to burn the (city of) Muggēri, to humble the pride of Mummuni and to force the lord of Kanyakubja to flee to the Himālayas. It is difficult to identify the Mummuni mentioned here. The earliest date we have for the only Mummuni we know of, is A.D. 1049. He is the Śilāhāra prince of Northern Konkan. Since the record under review is of A.D. 1019, it cannot be ascertained if the two Mummunis are identical.

Of the inscriptions of **Sōmēśvara I,** No. 68, dated *Śaka* 985 (A.D. 1062), mentions **Indrakēśiyarasa** of the **Maṇaleyara** lineage as a *manneya.* Evidently he is identical with Indrakēśi, who is stated in the Prince of Wales Museum record[21] to have made a grant of land in A.D. 1060. Thus the present record would extend his period by two years.

Another feudatory of a well-known family is referred to in No. 66. He is *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tōyiladēva of the **Kadamba** dynasty (of Hāngal), who was governing Banavāsi Twelve-thousand and Pānungal Five-hundred in *Śaka* 984 (A.D. 1062). Though this name is not found among the already known members of this family, it is not improbable that he is the same as Tōyimadēva, the son of king Sōmēśvara's aunt Akkādēvi, for he (Tōyimadēva) was governing the same divisions in A.D. 1064.[22] It may be noted here that at the time of making the grant recorded in this inscription, Tōyiladēva was residing in the camp *(irke-vīḍu)* of Payiṭṭhāṇa. This information is interesting as it would show that Payiṭṭhāṇa (Pratishṭhāna) which was the capital of the Sātavāhanas as early as the 1st century B.C. continued to be an important place even in the 11th century A.D.

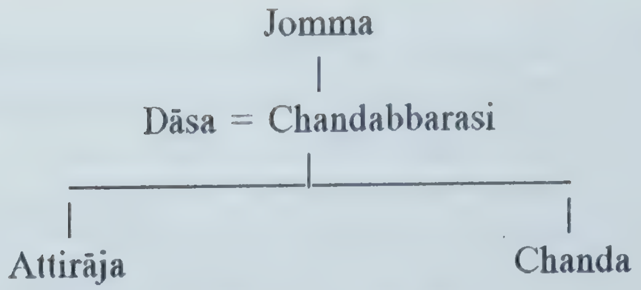
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Mārarasa who was governing Beḷvola Three-hundred from Aṇṇigeṟe, as a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I, bore the title Chōḷaṅgoṇḍa (No. 70). From another undated record[23] of the same reign, it is seen that one of the deities at Aṇṇigeṟe had the name of Chōḷaṅgoṇḍa-Traipurushadēva, apparently because it was installed by Chōḷaṅgoṇḍa-Mārarasa. This title *Chōḷaṅgoṇḍa* no doubt refers to one of the victories gained against the Chōḷas by Sōmēśvara during a series of encounters that took place in his reign between him and the Chōḷas.

The inscriptions of Sōmēśvara II published in this volume do not add much to our knowledge of his reign. However one of them (No. 74) contains one or two items of useful information. It introduces an officer named Madhuvarasa who was the *Kannada-sandhivigrahi* and *Daṇḍanāyaka* of the king. He bears a number of epithets among which *Vīsaḷar-aṅkuśa* is noteworthy. Evidently he acquired the title after success in some conflict with his adversary, named Vīsaḷa. We know that a ruler named Vīsaḷa of the imperial Chāhamāna dynasty flourished about this period. He may be placed in A.D. 1070 since we have a record of his successor Pṛithvīrāja I dated Vikrama-Saṁvat 1162 (A.D. 1105) and since he had married Rājādēvi, a daughter of the Paramāra king Bhōja[24] (circa. A.D. 1010-1055). From one other epithet of Madhuvarasa., viz., *Chālukya-rajy-ābhyudaya-kāraṇa* it may be gathered that he played an important part in firmly establishing the Chālukya suzerainty, apparently by quelling the disturbance which, we know, occurred during this period.

Udayāditya Gaṅga-Permāḍi, who is known to have been the governor of the province of Banavāsi Twelve-thousand and the district of Sāntaḷige Thousand in 1112-13 under Vikramāditya VI is found to be in charge of these regions as early as A.D. 1074 as a subordinate of Sōmēśvara II (No. 78). Another feudatory of this king, viz., Mārasiṁha of the Śilāhāra family is stated to be governing Kūṁḍi Three-thousand and Miriṁje Three-thousand districts in A.D. 1074 (No. 79). Evidently he is to be identified with Mārasiṁha of this family for whom A.D. 1058[25] is the only known date. The present record would therefore extend his period by sixteen years.

The inscriptions of Vikramāditya VI are, as usual, the largest in number but only a few of them are of some value. In one of these inscriptions (No. 88), dated Chālukya-Vikrama year 5 (A.D. 1080), *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Channa, who is described as the subordinate of *Yuvarāja* Jayasiṁha is credited with the subjugation of Goggi of Paive and Malapa Nāgavarma. Though these two names occur among the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkaṇ and the Kadambas of Hāngal respectively, the period in which they flourished is too early for that of Channa. Jayasiṁha is stated to be holding sway over the extensive territory which was bounded by Perdoṟe (i.e., the river Kṛishṇa) on the north and the ocean in the other three directions.

Some chiefs of Jaṭāchōḷa lineage are described in an undated inscription (No. 112) of this reign, as the *hṛiday-āvalaṁbi* (who were favoured by affection, i.e., favourite subordinates) of the Guttas. The following genealogy of these chiefs is given in this record:-



Owing to the fact that the Gutta Chief Mallidēva is spoken of as the subordinate of *Mahāpradhāna* Gōvindarsa, a well-known officer of Vikramāditya VI, Fleet has assigned this inscription to circa. A.D. 1115.[26] This Jaṭāchōḷa, from whom the family mentioned above traces its descent, may in all probability be the same as Jaṭāchōḍa who is mentioned as the eponymous ancestor of the Teluga Chōḍas in their inscriptions.[27] In some of these, Karikāla is mentioned as the son of Jaṭāchōḍa. This Karikāla is considered by scholars to be identical with Karikāla famous in Tamil literature of the Śaṅgam age. He is placed by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri in *circa.* A.D. 190[28] and by the late Rai Bahadur V.Venkayya in the end of the 5th century A.D.[29]

That Mallidēva of the Gutta family referred to above had a younger brother named Jōma is revealed from an inscription at Honnatti (No. 124) dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 48 (A.D. 1124). In the genealogical lists of this family which have so far come to light the name of this Jōma has not been found. The date A.D. 1124, now discovered for him, would show that A.D. 1115, the date which Fleet suggested for his elder brother Mallidēva (cf. No. 112) is not wide of the mark. The chieftain Jōma is stated to be holding the *manneya* of Ponnavatti Twelve, Beḷuhuge Seventy and Bennevur Twelve, when *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Siṁhaṇadēva was governing Sēguṇa-dēśa, Paḷiyaṇḍa Four-thousand and the *agrahāra* of Honnavatti. Though the family of this Siṁhaṇa is not specified in the record, it can be safely surmised that he was a Yādava chief, as he was governing Seuṇa-dēśa. We know from the Vrata-Khaṇḍa of Hēmādri that a Siṁharāja of the Yādava family "brought an elephant of the name of Karpūratilaka from Lañjipura and thus did a piece of service of Paramardin".[30] This Paramardin has been identified with the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. It is therefore clear that Siṁhaṇadēva of the present record is the same as Siṁharāja mentioned by Hēmādri.

Some scholars thought that Ayyaṇa, the younger brother of Vikramāditya V, did not rule;[31] but one of the inscriptions of the reign of Vikramāditya VI (No. 89), dated Chālukya-Vikrma year 5 (A.D. 1080) states distinctly that he did rule. According to that record the kings Taila, Sattimadēva, Vikramāṅka, Ayyaṇa, Jayasiṁha, Āhavamalla and his son Sōmēśvara ruled in regular succession (kramadiṁde). This statement would support the view expressed by Dr. A. Venkatasubbaiah that Ayyaṇa ruled, though for a short time, and the present inscription is an addition to the list of records already noticed by him as mentioning Ayyaṇa as a reigning king.[32]

Among the more important officers under Vikramāditya VI, not included in the list given by Fleet[33] and Dr. Venkatasubbaiah,[34] the following may be noted:

Name	Territory governed or office held	Date
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Channa	Beḷuhuge Seventy and other divisions extending upto Haive, from his headquarters Banavaseya-kōṭe	A.D. 1080

Daṇḍanāyaka Īśvaradēva of Maṇḍeya family	*Rāyabhāri* of *Yuvarāja* Jayasiṁha	A.D. 1080
Dāsimarasa	In charge of *perjuṅka* and *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* taxes of Tardavāḍi Thousand	A.D. 1083
Daṇḍanāyaka Śivarāja	In charge of *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* taxes	A.D. 1087
Daṇḍanāyaka Sōmēśvarabhaṭṭa	Banavāsi Twelve-thousand and the two Six-hundreds.	A.D. 1087-88, 1099
Paṭṭasāhaṇi Daṇḍanāyaka Chāvuṇḍamayya	Pattiya-Mattavura as *aṇugajīvita*	A.D. 1088-89
Mahāpradhāna Manavergaḍe Kannapayya	....	A.D. 1089
Mahāpradhāna Daṇḍanāyaka Ācharasa	Banavāsi Twelve-thousand	A.D. 1092

Name	Territory governed or office held	Date
Pontarasa (brother-in-law of Ācharasa)	Bāsavura Hundered-and-forty	A.D. 1092
Mahāsāmantādhipati Kāḷidāsa-Daṇḍanāyaka	....	A.D. 1112
Śrīpati-Daṇḍanāyaka	Puligere Three-hundred and Beḷvola Three-hundred	A.D. 1115
His brother Īśvara-Daṇḍēśvara	....	A.D. 1115
Mahāpasāyita Baṅkeyarasa	Beḷuhuge Seventy, Iṭṭage Thirty and other *kampaṇas*, from the head-quarters Agaṇḍe	A.D. 1116
Mahāsmantādhipati Manevergaḍe Īśvarayya (probably the same as the Īśvara-Daṇḍēśvara above)	Banavāsi Twelve-thousand and Belvoḷa Two six-hundreds	A.D. 1121, 1123
Manevergaḍe Sōvarasa	In charge of the *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* and *perjuṅka* taxes of Beḷuhuge Seventy	A.D. 1123
Daṇḍanāyaka Mallarasa	In charge of the *vaḍḍarāvuḷa* taxes	A.D. 1123
Bhāyila-Daṇḍanātha	Officer of *Yuvarāja* Mallikārjuna	(Date lost)

There are only a few noticeable inscriptions of the time of Bhūlōkamalla Sōmēśvara III. Of particular interest is the one (No. 135) mentioning *Mahāprachaṇḍa-Daṇḍanāyaka* Holakēsidēva. It will be easily recognised that this name Holakēsi is a variant of Polekēśi (Pulakēśi). The meaning of this name, which was borne by two illustrious rulers of the Chālukya dynasty has baffled scholars. Various explanations have been offered in deriving the etymology of this word. Most of these explanations take the first half of the word to be *puli,* meaning "tiger" in Kannaḍa and the second half to be Sanskrit *kēśin* meaning "haired", the two halves making the meaning "tiger-haired" or " having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of a tiger".[35] A verse in the Kauṭhēm grant of Vikramāditya V would suggest that the name signifies "one by hearing whose name the hair of the hearers stand on end as with joy," by connecting the first part of the name with the Sanskrit word *pulaka* (horripilation).[36] One scholar derives the first half of the word from the Sanskrit root *pul* meaning "to grow" or "to be great" and takes *kēśi* to mean a lion and explains the whole word as "the great lion".[37]

But the earliest form of the name is Polekēśi and, as suggested by Fleet',[38] is in all probability the original form. And it is worth noting that it is this form which even Kielhorn has adopted.[39] So an attempt is made here to interpret this original form Polekēśi: *Pole* in Kannaḍa means impurity of child-birth, i.e., of the natal chamber, and in Kannaḍa the word *Kesi* as a shortened form of Kēśava is found not only in literature but also in inscriptions. For example, the author of the famous Kannaḍa grammar *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* is Kēśirāja and he also calls himself Kēśava. In one of the inscriptions[40] an officer of the Kaḷachurya monarch Bijjala is called by the alternative names of Kēśava, Kēśirāja and Kēśimayya. An inscription of the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I mentions a general named Kēśava-gavuṇḍa, who is also referred to therein as Kēśi-gavuṇḍa and Kēśi-rāja.[41] So the expression Polekēśi can be taken to mean "he who was like Kēśava, i.e., Lord Kṛishṇa (in his prowess) even in the natal chamber". And we know that according to the *Purāṇas* Lord Kṛishṇa exhibited his superhuman qualities even in the natal chamber. So evidently this ruler was given the name Polekēśi because he showed extraordinary qualities like Lord Kēśava or Kṛishṇa even from the time of his birth. Accordingly we are led to the conclusion that this name is a Kannaḍa word meaning "one who resembled Kṛishṇa in prowess from babyhood".[42] And this name Polekēśi, as explained here, is quite appropriate in the case of one who was the real founder of the Chālukyan kingdom and even more appropriate in the case of his famous grandson, the great Pulakēśin II, who struck terror even into the heart of the mighty monarch of the North, Harshavardhana.

The other inscriptions of Sōmēśvara III that deserve to be reviewed here relate to the Kadamba chiefs of Hāngal and they will be discussed in the section dealing with those chiefs.

An inscription (No. 145) of **Perma Jagadēkamalla,** the successor of Sōmēśvara III, supplies a date which would show that the initial year of Jagadēkamalla's reign commenced sometime before 10th march A.D. 1138. This inscription cites the date as the 4th year of the reign of Jagadēkamalla, Durmati, Chaitra su. Pāḍiva, Monday, solar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris,* these details regularly correspond to A.D. 1141, March 10, Monday. But the initial year fixed by this record would push back the date suggested by Fleet[43] for the commencement of the reign of this king. It is, however, difficult to reconcile this with the latest known date for his predecessor Sōmēśvara III falling in November-December 1138. But it may be pointed out that Dr. Venkatasubbaiah is of the opinion that Jagadēkamalla began to reign on 23rd December 1137.[44] A scion of the Bāli family, named Boppagavuṇḍa is stated in one of the inscriptions of this reign (No. 149) to have made, along with his brothers, gifts to god Boppēśvara of Mākanūr. Apparently this Bāli family is the same as the one mentioned in some of the Sudi inscriptions, while editing which Dr.Barnett has discussed the origin of this family.[45]

As there is noting of special interest to be discussed in the inscriptions of **Taila III**, we may pass on to the reign of the next Chālukya King i.e., **Sōmēśvara IV**. One of his inscriptions (No. 161) dated *Śaka* 1106 and the third year of his reign shows that he began to count his regnal years from some time before 5th November 1182. This would advance the beginning of his reign by a few months before the date suggested for this event by Fleet.[46] Dr. Venkatasubbaiah, however, considers that this king ascended the throne in A.D. 1184. This inscription is of further interest on account of the fact that in it figures a **Yādava chief named Gōmadēva** as making a gift to god (name lost). Among the early Yādavas of Sēvuṇadēśa mentioned by Hēmādri a **Gōvindarāja** is included. He is the great grandson of Siṁharāja who was a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI and for whom we have the date A.D. 1124.[47] It is therefore not improbable that Gōmadēva of the present record is the same as Gōvindarāja. The god to whom Gōmadēva made a gift is stated in the same inscription to have been installed by another Yādava chief called **Hemmāḍidēva** in the 10th year, Prabhava, of a king whose name is not fully preserved; but he is in all likelihood Jagadēkamalla (II), the tenth year of whose reign is usually coupled with the cyclic year Prabhava. We do not seem to have come across this Hemmāḍidēva before. Though it was known that Barmadēva, the *mahāpradhāna* of Sōmēśvara was instrumental in restoring the Chālukya sovereignty by defeating the Kaḷachuryas, the inscription under review says clearly that the Kaḷachurya king who suffered defeat was Siṁghaṇa.

One inscription (No. 169) which belongs to the Chālukya period, but which does not refer itself to the reign of any particular king, is of some interest. It is dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 60 (A.D. 1135) and it discloses the fact that **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Biṭṭiyarasa** attacked Hāhanūr (modern Havanur on the bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra). The name Biṭṭiyarasa would suggest that he may be the Hoysaḷa prince Vishṇuvardhana who was also called Biṭṭidēva and Biṭṭiga, and whose dates range from A.D. 1111 to 1141. This surmise gains strength by the fact that we find Vishṇuvardhana as a *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* under the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara III in A.D. 1137. If this identification be accepted then the fact that he made himself bold enough to attack Hāhanūr leads to the conclusion that this prince was trying even as early as A.D. 1135, to declare himself independent of his suzerain, the Chālukya king.

A family of some local importance which held the office of *nāḷgāmuṇḍa,* practically throughout the Chālukya period and even earlier, finds mention in some of the records in this volume. The members of this family which was called the **Chikkaṁba-kula** (or-anvaya) were the *nāḷgāmuṇḍas* of the sub-division of Sattaḷige Seventy from about the 9th century A.D. to the 12th. This office was apparently hereditary and the following persons figure in this capacity in the records published below:- Kuḷuga-gāmuṇḍa who flourished sometime during the 9th century A.D. is mentioned in an undated Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription (No. 38). Bijja was the *nāḷgāmuṇḍa* under Kṛishṇa II in A.D. 901-02 (No. 15). Uttavayya was a subordinate of Chālukya Jayasiṁha II in A.D. 1033 (No. 48). *Mahāsāmanta* Gōyimmarasa was holding this office in A.D. 1066 (No. 71) in the reign of Sōmēśvara I and in A.D. 1074, during the reign of Sōmēśvara II (No. 78). No. 133 belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara III mentions *Mahāsāmanta* Bammarasa as enjoying this position in A.D. 1127.

The Kaḷachuryas

There are a few noteworthy inscriptions of the Kaḷachuryas who usurped the Chālukya throne for a short time. One of them (No. 176) is rather intriguing in as much as it would seem to fix the initial year of the reign of Bijjaḷa in A.D. 1150 though according to all other records which reckon his regnal years, the first year of his reign has been held to be A.D. 1156-57. In this record the date is given as follows: First year of the reign of Vīra-Tribhuvanamalla Bijjaḷa, Pramādīcha, the full-moon day of the month of Śrāvaṇa, Thursday. But the cyclic year Pramādīcha coincided with A.D. 1133 by which time Bijjaḷa could not have come to power, for the earliest date known for him even as a subordinate of the Chālukyas is A.D. 1142.[48] The details of the date also do not work out correctly for this cyclic year. On the other hand, if the cyclic year Pramādīcha is regarded as a mistake for Pramōdūta (Pramōda) the given details would correspond regularly to A.D. 1150, August 10, Thursday. If this was the intended date, Bijjala should be considered to have been independent on this date and as this year is cited as the first year of his reign, it follows that he usurped the Chālukya throne before this date. But, as stated above, he seems to have counted his regnal years from A.D. 1156-57 in which year he is believed to have thrown of the yoke of Chālukya subordination. We have however no means of verifying the statement of the present record.

Another inscription (No. 180) declares that he was on the throne in A.D. 1168. However, as remarked by Fleet, Bijjaḷa should have abdicated the throne in favour of his son Sovidēva in A.D. 1167. But as indicated by the Baḷagāṁve[49] inscription as well as the present one he should have continued to take an active part in the governance of the country even after abdication. This view is further corroborated by an inscription (No. 186) of the time of Sōvidēva himself wherein Bijjaḷa is spoken of as being engaged in putting down the insurgents.

Before Bijjaḷa's son Sōvidēva ascended the throne, Maiḷugi and Karṇa ruled for a short while. According to one of the records under publication (No. 296) this Karṇa was the grandson of Maiḷugi and Karṇa's uncle (*Kiriyayya* i.e., younger paternal uncle) was Sōma, i.e., Sōvidēva. But in some other records of this family the name of the predecessor of Sōvidēva is given as Kandāradēva[50] and Kalidēva;[51] and while Sōvidēva is stated to be the paternal uncle *(anu-tāta)* of Kandāra who was the grandson of Bijjaḷa, Kalideva is termed the grandson of Maiḷugi, who was the younger brother of Bijjaḷa. It would therefore appear that Karṇa, Kandāradēva and Kalidēva are identical. But the apparent discrepancy in Kaṇdāradēva being called the grand-son of Bijjaḷa, and Karṇa or Kalidēva being called the grandson of Mailugi, the younger brother of Bijjaḷa, can easily be explained, for it is a common Hindu practice to call a brother's grandson as "grandson". It cannot be definitely said, however, whether Karṇa was actually the grandson of Maiḷugi or Bijjaḷa.

The Hoysalas

Two inscriptions of Vīra-Ballāḷa II of this dynasty may be reviewed here. One of them (No. 193) gives the date as the 16th year of his reign, cyclic year Plavaṅga, without any further details. The cyclic year Plavaṅga during his reign coincided with A.D. 1187-88. This would show that the first year of his reign was counted from A.D. 1172-73 and since we know that he was crowned in A.D. 1173, the reckoning found in this record should be considered to have started from the date of his coronation. The second record (No. 195) however shows a different reckoning. The date found in this record is his 13th regnal year, Dundubhi, Vaiśākha śu. 15, Monday, Saṁkrānti, corresponding to A.D. 1202, April 8. Accordingly the commencement of his reign should have taken place sometime before 8th April, 1190. This date would show that Ballāḷa established a second reckoning of his own, after acquiring the sovereignty of the Western Chālukyas, a year earlier than the date fixed for this event by Fleet.[52] Thus there were two reckonings current for the commencement of this king's reign.

The Yādavas (Sēuṇas)

One outstanding feature of the records of the reign of king Siṁghaṇa of this dynasty is that they fix various dates for the commencement of his rule. In fact, they show that the initial year of his reign was reckoned from six different dates. It is however difficult to explain this unusual phenomenon or connect the various starting points with particular events of his reign. For easy reference these dates are given below in tabular form:

Nos.	Regnal year and equivalent		Initial year
200	2	A.D.1200	A.D.1198-99
201	3	A.D.1201	
203	10	A.D.1208	
224	39	A.D.1245	A.D.1206-07
205	19	A.D.1226	A.D.1207-08
206	19	A.D.1227	A.D.1208-09
212	22	A.D.1230	
213	25	A.D.1233	
225	38	A.D.1246	
207	28	A.D.1228	A.D.1210-11
218	26	A.D.1236	
215	18	A.D.1234	A.D.1216-17

Among the notable achievements of this king are mentioned the conquest of Maṇḍava and the destruction of the hill-fort of Bhambhēri (No. 227). Maṇḍava is evidently Māṇḍu in Rājasthan though the ruler whom he vanquished is not specified. Bhambhēri is modern Bhāmēr in West Khandesh as suggested by Prof. Mirashi.[53] The spelling of this place-name found in the present record further supports Prof. Mirashi's identification. From another inscription (No. 230) of his reign it appears that Siṁghaṇa had a queen named Jētādēvi, for he is therein described as *Jētādēvīi-manōramaḥ.*

Coming to the reign of his successor Kannara, we are confronted with a passage in an inscription (No. 237) which seems to say that in *Śaka* 1177 (A.D. 1255) both Kannara and his younger brother Mahādēva were ruling. The passage in question reads: *Kanharadēva-Mahādēva-vijaya-rāiyam-uttarōttaram,* etc. Unless Mahādēva is meant to stand for *Mahārāja* or a similar expression denoting paramountcy, it will have to be considered that both he and his brother were ruling jointly. But this supposition goes against the known periods of these two rulers, the first of whom ruled till A.D. 1260, in which year he was succeeded by Mahādēva. No other epigraph so far known makes any reference to their joint rule. However Amalānanda, the author of Vēdāntakalpataru also makes a similar statement: *kīrtyā Yādava-vaṁśam=unnamayati Śrī-Jaitradēvātmajē Krishṇē kshmābhṛiti bhūtalaṁ saha-Mahādēvēna saṁbibhrati.*[54] Another inscription of Kannara, (No. 233) dated in the cyclic year Ānanda (A.D. 1254) speaks of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Haripāladēva as a person of rank and authority. If this Haripāladēva is the same as the Harpāl Deo who was the son-in-law of Rāmachandra of this dynasty and who raised an insurrection against the Muslim occupants of the Deccan and was captured and flayed alive in 1318,[55] then the present record would give the earliest date known so far for him. It may also be pointed out that this record is one of the very few epigraphs that make mention of him.

Most of the inscriptions of the reign of Rāmachandra are hero-stones. Three records however, deserve to be noticed since they would fix an earlier date for the accession of this king than the one given by Fleet (i.e., A.D. 1271-72).[56] These records are dated in the 19th (No. 264) 29th (269) and 30th (No. 270) years of this reign and the equivalents of these dates would be A.D. 1287 November, 1297 December and 1298 June respectively. They show that he counted his regnal year from some date before June 1269. But since we know that his predecessor Mahādēva was still on the throne in A.D. 1270 May-June, the discrepancy can be reconciled only by the assumption that Rāmachandra was associated with Mahādēva in the governance of the kingdom, even from A.D. 1269. It may be observed here that No. 271 is one of the very few inscriptions of this reign issued after A.D. 1298, though Muslim chronicles carry his rule upto A.D. 1309.

The Vijayanagara Kings

Only one of the inscriptions (No. 274) belonging to the first dynasty of the rulers of Vijayanagara is of any interest. It is dated *Śaka* 1317 (A.D. 1396) in the reign of Harihara II who is herein stated to be 'reigning over the earth' with his minister Maṅgappa-Daṇḍanātha. It records the death of Jaina Mallappa and others by the rite of *samādhi.* The record says that Mallappa was the *sēnādhipati* of Mādhava, the governor of Goa. It further adds that Mallappa's father Śaṅkhadēva had married the daughter of Baicha-Heggade of Kommaṭa. Maṅgapa-Daṇḍanātha and Mādhava are well known as the officers of Harihara II; but the fact that Mallappa's mother was the daughter of Baicha-Heggaḍe was not known before.

Tipu Sultan

Epigraphical evidence to show that Tipu Sultān's sway extended upto Ranebennur Taluk, is forthcoming from an inscription (No. 289) at Chennāpur in that Taluk. It says that under the orders of Tipu Sultān, the village Chennāpura was granted as *sarvamānya* in the cyclic year Parābhava. In the reign of Tipu Sultan (i.e., A.D. 1782 to 1799) this cyclic year fell in A.D. 1786-87.

FEUDATORY DYNASTIES

The Kadambas of Hāngal

The house of the **Kadambas of Hāngal** is one of the great feudatory families represented in this volume.

The earliest member of this family is **Tōyiladēva**, who has been identified already (p. 105) with Tōyimadēva, the son of **Akkādēvi**. He was governing Banavāsi Twelve-thousand and Pānuṅgal Five-hundred in A.D. 1062 as a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* of the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I (No. 66).

The next name occurring in this volume is that of **Tailapadēva** or **Tailahadēvai**. In A.D. 1127, he was governing the above-named divisions as also "all the country between the mount Sahya and the western ocean" and many coastal towns and *agrahāras*, with his capital at Pānuṅgal, as a subordinate of Sōmēśvara III (No. 133). At this time, **Māchaṇa** was holding the office of *nāḍadhikāra*, which had been conferred upon him by Tailapa. *Mahāsāmanta* **Bammarasa** of the Chikkamb-ānvaya was the *nāḷgāmuṇḍa* of Sattalige Seventy and Barma of the Aśvara-kula was the *gāvuṇḍa* of Hasuṇḍi. According to another inscription (No. 142) of the same reign, the date of which is lost, Tailapa was governing Sāntaḷige Thousand besides Banavāse Twelve-thousand and Pānuṅgal Five-hundred. His minister *(amātya)* Pergaḍe Nāgadēva and Duggarāja were the officers in charge of the tolls and taxes of *perjuṁka, vaḍḍarāvuḷa* and *bilkoḍe* of Banavāsi-nāḍu. In yet another record (No. 134) dated the Chālukya-Vikrama year 53 (A.D. 1128) a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tailahadēva is mentioned. The name of his family is not specified, but since we have a date for Kadamba Tailapa in A.D. 1127, Tailaha of the present record also may be of the Kadamba family.

For his son **Mallikārjuna**, we have two dates, viz., A.D. 1134 and A.D. 1137-38. On the former date he was governing Sattaḷige Thousand, and Pānuṅgal Five-hundred and made a gift of a tank at Hāvēri at the request of *Mahāpradhāna* Padmanābharasa (No. 136). In A.D. 1137-38 he is stated to have laid siege to Lokkiguṇḍi (No. 140). The reason for this military operation is not given in the record but probably it was undertaken in order to quell a local rebellion.

In an undated inscription (No. 154) of Pratāpachakravarti Jagadēkamalla (II) a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Tailapadēva whose family is not specified figures as the governor of Banavāsi Twelve-thousand. We know that Tailama or Tailaha of the Kadamba family flourished as the king's feudatory in A.D. 1147. So it is quite likely that Tailapa of the present record is identical with Tailama.

Of Tailama's son **Kīrtidēva**, we have two epigraphs. One of them (No. 290) is dated in the 2nd regnal year of the Kaḷachurya king Saṅkamadēva (i.e., A.D. 1178) and the other (No.

291) is undated. Both of them mention the chief's wife Kāḷaladēvi who does not seem to have been known hitherto. The undated record refers to *Mahāpradhāna* Kumāra-Mallarasa as a subordinate of this prince.

Two more persons of this family whose place in the genealogy of the family cannot be determined at present are **Maira and Kētarasa**. Maira appears in a damaged Chālukya record (No. 166) as govering Banavāsi from Ommoṛaḍi. As the date of this record is lost, the period in which this chief flourished can be fixed only approximately on palaeographic grounds; and the characters in which it is engraved, may be assigned to the 11th century A.D. However, there seems to be a clue to the period of this chieftain furnished by a supplementary grant engraved at the top of the main inscription. It is stated to have been made by the illustrious **Mayūravarmadēva** in the cyclic year Prabhava. This Mayūravarma is apparently the same as Maira which is a shortened form of Mayūravarma. In the 11th century A.D. to which the record is assignable, the details of the date given in the record work out correctly for Prabhava in the reign of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI, i.e., A.D. 1087 August 1. Consequently Maira may be placed in A.D. 1087. This inscription gives the genealogy of this chief for five generations, though it is not fully preserved. From the preserved portion the following list of the chiefs can be made out:-

Chaṭṭa
|
Māvula
|
Kādambabhūpati
⋮
Satyāśraya
(Relationship not clear)
|
Maira

Kētarasa, who is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara,* specifically calls himself a scion of the Kadamba family. He was holding the *manneya* of the division of Nūṟumḍāda with his capital at Raṭṭapaḷḷi in A.D. 1144 (No. 149). This record shows him as a subordinate of *Kannaḍa-Sandhivigrahi* Bammadēvarasa, a well-known general of Jagadēkamalla II. A Kētarasa of this very family is referred to in a record of A.D. 1170-71, of the time of the Chālukya king Taila III.[57]

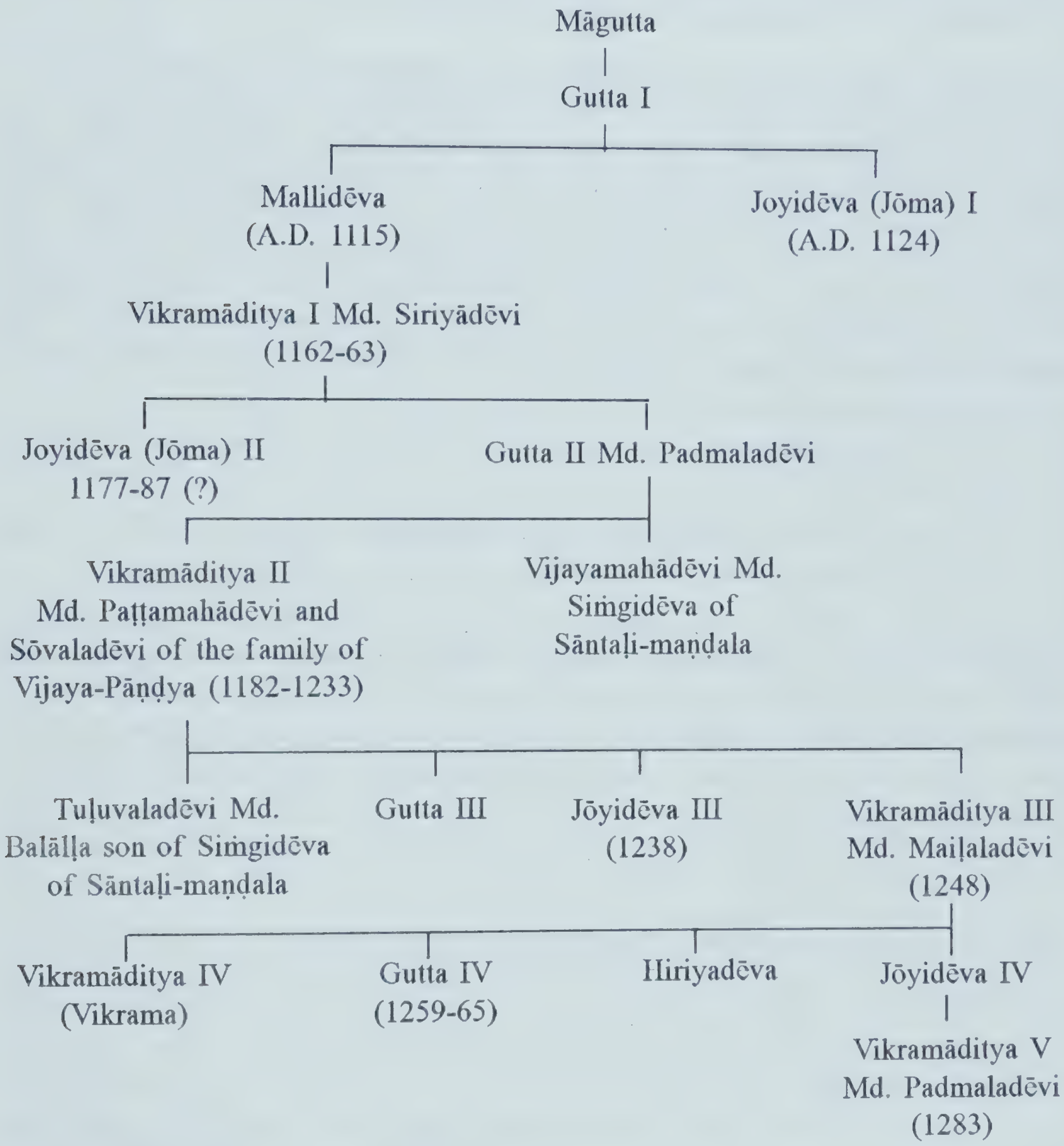
The Guttas of Guttavoḷal

Another distinguished feudatory family which figures in a fairly large number of inscriptions in this volume is that of the Guttas of Guttavoḷal (modern Guttal in Haveri Taluk).

The first member of the family of whom we have an inscription is **Mallidēva** whose approximate date is A.D. 1115, as suggested by Fleet.[58] The name of his younger brother Jōma who was unknown hitherto is revealed by a record (No. 124) at Honnatti. It is dated in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 48 (A.D. 1124) when he was in charge of the administration of

Ponnavartti Twelve, Beḷuhuge Seventy and Beṇṇevūr Twelve with Guttavoḷal as his headquarters. Since this Jōma is the first of that name in this family he has to be designated as **Jōma I** and Jōma the grandson of his elder brother Mallidēva who used to be hitherto called Jōma I, will have to be redesignated as **Jōma II**.

With the additional names and dates now discovered the genealogy of this dynasty may be reconstructed as follows:-


Māgutta
Gutta I
Mallidēva
(A.D. 1115)
Joyidēva (Jōma) I
(A.D. 1124)
Vikramāditya I Md. Siriyādēvi
(1162-63)
Joyidēva (Jōma) II
1177-87 (?)
Gutta II Md. Padmaladēvi
Vikramāditya II
Md. Paṭṭamahādēvi and
Sōvaladēvi of the family of
Vijaya-Pāṇḍya (1182-1233)
Vijayamahādēvi Md.
Siṁgidēva of
Sāntaḷi-maṇḍala
Tuḷuvaladēvi Md.
Balāḷḷa son of Siṁgidēva
of Sāntaḷi-maṇḍala
Gutta III
Jōyidēva III
(1238)
Vikramāditya III
Md. Maiḷaladēvi
(1248)
Vikramāditya IV
(Vikrama)
Gutta IV
(1259-65)
Hiriyadēva
Jōyidēva IV
Vikramāditya V
Md. Padmaladēvi
(1283)

The next person of this family is **Vikramāditya**, son of Malli. Though he was known from the genealogical accounts found in the inscriptions of this dynasty, no record of his time had been found till now. In the present collection we have an inscription (No. 293) which gives him the date *Śaka* 1084 (A.D.1162). He is described therein as being in administrative control of the same divisions as Jōma I. Another inscription (No. 296) gives the name of his wife as

Siriyādēvi, which was not known before. A chief named Jōyidēva of this family figures in a record (No. 302) of A.D. 1187. If the date is recorded correctly, he may have to be considered as Jōyidēva II for whom the latest date known so far is 1181. In that case Vikramāditya II whose earliest known date is 1182 will have to be considered as being associated with Jōyidēva II in administration for some time.

Vijayamahādēvi, the sister of Vikramāditya II is another new person found in one of the records (No. 300) published in this volume. She was married to **Siṁgidēva** of **Sāntaḷi-māṇḍala** to whose son **Ballāḷa**, this Vikramāditya's daughter was married.

Only two sons of Vikramāditya II viz., **Jōyidēva and Vikramāditya** were known till now. But the name of another son i.e., **Gutta**, who seems to be the eldest, is found in a record from Chauḍadānpur (No. 244). This Gutta would then be **Gutta III** and his nephew Gutta (the son of Vikramāditya III) will be **Gutta IV**. This same inscription discloses the name of another son of Vikramāditya III besides **Gutta, Hiriyadēva and Jōyidēva**, who were already known. The name of this newly discovered person is **Vikrama** whose younger brother is stated to be Gutta (IV). An inscription[59] of A.D. 1283 from Hirebidari in Ranebennur Taluk of Dharwar District discloses the name of yet another member of this family, viz., Vikramāditya, son of Jōma. He may be regarded as the son of Jōyidēva IV and called Vikramāditya V. His wife's name is given in the same inscription as Padmaladēvi.

The Pāṇḍya chiefs of Nūṟuṁbāḍa

Some facts relating to a few local chiefs who called themselves Pāṇḍyas and who were the subordinates of the Kaḷachuryas and Hoysaḷas may be put down here.

Vijaya Paṇḍya is introduced in a Kaḷachurya record of A.D. 1168 (No. 180) s administering the sub-division of **Nūṟuṁbāḍa** situated in the province of Banavāsi. Another prince of this family **Garuḍa-Pāṇḍya** is stated in two records (Nos. 188 and 366) to be wielding authority over the same sub-division (Nūṟumbāḍa) from **Raṭṭapaḷḷi**. In one of them he appears as a subordinate of the Kaḷachurya king Sōvidēva. Both the records in which the figures have no date but since the date of his predecessor Vijaya-Pāṇḍya is A.D. 1168 and since one of the records of Garuḍa-Pāṇḍya belongs to the reign of Sōvidēva, the period of Garuḍa-Pāṇḍya would be between A.D. 1168 and 1177 the latest known date for Sōvidēva.

Next in chronological order comes **Bhujabaḷa-Pāṇḍya** for whom we have two records. From one of them (No. 193) dated in the cyclic year Plavaṅga cited as the 16th year of the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II (A.D. 1187-88), we learn that he was administering the division Nūṟuṁbāḍa. The second one (No. 368) tells us that he made a gift in the cyclic year Viśvāvasu which may be taken to correspond to A.D. 1185-86. This record gives us to understand that a gift was bestowed upon the family of a hero named Dāsiga who died while pursuing the army of a certain Vijaya-Pāṇḍya which crossed the river (Tuṅgabhadrā?) and raided the territory, apparently of Bhujabala-Pāṇḍya. Obviously this Vijaya-Pāṇḍya cannot be the same as the one referred to above and who was a predecessor of Bhujabala-Pāṇḍya. But we know of a Vijaya-Pāṇḍya of Noḷambavāḍi for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1178 to 1184. There are reasons to believe that he might have been the opponent of Bhujabala-Pāṇḍya. Bhujabala-Pāṇḍya, as already stated, was a subordinate of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II. And in an inscription of A.D. 1186 (No. 163), Vikramāditya II of the Gutta family is reported to have routed the armies of Hoysaṇēśa and Pāṇḍya who were apparently allies. Since the inscription of Bhujabala-Pāṇḍya reviewed above says that the territory of this chief was attacked by Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, it is very likely that the conflict between Bhujabala-Pāṇḍya, (who was on the side of the Hoysala rulers) and Vijaya-Pandya, is not different from the encounter which the Gutta Vikramāditya had with Hoysaṇēśa and Pāṇḍya. Evidently Vijaya-Pāṇḍya sided with Vikramāditya. This surmise receives support from the fact that Vikramāditya's wife, Sōvaladēvi, belonged to the family of Vijaya-Pāṇḍya (No. 163).

A certain **Vira-Pāṇḍya** figures in an inscription of the same Gutta chief Vikramāditya II (No. 296) which tells us that he (Vīra-Pāṇḍya) had made a gift during the time of Hiriya Vikramāditya (i.e., Vikramāditya I). This would show that Vīra-Pāṇḍya flourished some time before A.D. 1188, the date of the record mentioned above; and as he had made a gift to Vikramāditya I for whom the only known date is A.D. 1162-63, they would be contemporaries. We know that Vijaya-Pāṇḍya of Noḷambavāḍi mentioned above had an elder brother[60] named Vīra-Pāṇḍya with a date in A.D. 1148.[61] Though it is highly probable that the two Vīra-Pāṇḍyas are identical, it is not possible, with the evidence at our disposal, to be certain about this identity.

Two more Pāṇḍya chiefs appearing in this volume may be noticed in passing. They are Jagadēva-Pāṇḍya and Vijaya-Pāṇḍya, son of Oḍeyarasa. The *Paṭṭabandha* festivals of these two are referred to in a record of A.D. 1188 (No. 295). From the context it would appear that Jagadēva-Pāṇḍya was earlier in point of time than Vijaya-Pāṇḍya.

The Khacharas of Basavūr

Though a minor family, the Khacharas occupied a prominent position exercising authority over the division of Bāsavūr Hundred-and-forty, for over a century. It is not possible however to give a connected account or genealogy of these local dignitaries and therefore it may be useful to give a list of their names in chronological order.

Name	Date	Nos.
Kaliyammarasa	A.D. 1034 and 1045	50, 59 and 72
Nelliyammarasa	A.D. 1018	60 and 73
Rājāditya	A.D. 1059, 1063 and 1065	65, 69 and 334
Kaliyammarasa	A.D. 1075	81
Jōyidēva	A.D. 1080	337
Kaliyammarasa	A.D. 1121	117
Hemmāḍi, son of Kaliyammarasa	do	119
Taila	A.D. 1122 and 1137 (?)	122 and 139
Taila, son of Māchārasa and Kētaladēvi	No date	354
Kaliyammarasa	A.D. 1134 and 1149	137 and 152
Māchidēvarasa	A.D. 1152, 1160	157 and 177

Kaliyammarasa	A.D. 1167	179
Mallidēvarasa	Contemporary of Yadava Siṁhaṇa	228

Geographical Divisions

The more important of the numerous geographical divisions occurring in these inscriptions may be brought together with advantage suggesting their identifications wherever possible. For the sake of convenience they are arranged here in alphabetical order.

Aṟunūruṁ-bāḍa: This division (of six hundred villages) is stated to have been situated in Tardavāḍi Thousand which has been shown by Fleet to have consisted of portions of the Bijapur District.

Banavāsi Twelve-thousand : It is described as the country lying between the rivers Varadā and the Tungabhadrā. It was a large tract comprising portions of the Shimoga, North Kanara and Dharwar Districts.

Bāgaḍage Seventy : The chief town of this sub-division was Bāgaḍageya-kōṭe, the present Bāgalkot in the Bijapur District.

Bāge Fifty : This division formed part of Tardavāḍi Thousand. In it were situated Arjuṇige (Arjungi)[62] Kākhaṇḍage (Kākhaṇḍaki) and Gaṇḍega (Dēvarageṇṇūr) all in the Bijapur District. Bāge has been identified with Taddalabāge in this district.

Bāsavura Hundred and-forty : In this division were situated, among others, the following villages:-

Deyvada-Hosavūru (Dēvīhosūr), Cheṅgāpura (Sangūr), Kōḷūr, Mallavura (Mallūr), Tammuge (Kōṇanatambige), Ommoṟaḍi (Hommaraḍi) all in the Haveri Taluk of the Dharwar District. Bāsavura or Vyāsapura which was the headquarters of this division is now represented by two neighbouring villages Chikka-Bāsūr and Hire-Bāsūr in the Hirekerur and Hangal taluks respectively, of the Dharwar District.

Beḷuhuge (or Beḷguhe) Seventy: The villages Guttavoḷal (Guttal), Nērilage (Niralgi), and Kannavaḷḷi (Kanavaḷḷi) were situated in this division. The chief town Beḷuhuge is Beḷvagi in the Haveri Taluk. The other villages are also in the same Taluk.

Beḷvola Three-hundred: This well-known division, together with Puligeṟe Three-hundred the division of Eraḍ-aṟu-nūru (the two Six-hundreds). In it were included the following villages:- Lokkiguṇḍi (Lakkuṇḍi), Ummachige (Kōṭa-Ummachigi), Baṭṭakeṟe (Beṭgēri), all in the Gadag Taluk, Naragunda (headquarters of Naragunda Petha) and Siriguppe.

Beṇṇedaḍi Seventy: ....

Beṇṇevūr (Beṇṇeyūr) Twelve: This was a circle of twelve villages with Beṇṇevūr (Mōṭebennūr in the Ranebennur Taluk) as headquarters.

Binnavūr Twelve: Its chief town Binnavūr is the modern Rāṇebennūr. Bāḍad-Ālūr was situated in it. Inscriptions of Guḍadānavēri (Ranebennur Taluk) show that lands whose gift is recorded in them were situated at Bāḍad-Ālūr. It is therefore apparent that the two village are identical.

Chiṁchila Fifty: Its chief town Chiṁchila is the present Chinchli in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District.

Eraḍ-aṟunūru: This division, as stated above, comprised of Belvola Three-hundred and Puligere Three-hundred.

Eḍenāḍu Seventy: ....

Goṅka-nāḍu: This is identical with Velanāḍu comprising the Rēpalle and Tenāli taluks of the Guntur District in Andhra Pradesh.

Hichage-nāḍu: Hiriya-Kittūr (Kittur in Haveri Taluk) was in this district. Hichage, the chief town is probably the present Ichangi about five miles from Kittūr.

Iṭṭage Thirty: This is named after its headquarters Iṭṭage, the present Itgi in the Ranebennur Taluk. Together with Raṭṭapaḷḷi Seventy it formed a division called Nūṟuṁ-bāḍa or Raṭṭapaḷḷi Nūṟuṁ-bāḍa.

Innūṟ-āṟum-bāḍa: This division (of two hundred and six villages) formed part of Banavāse Twelve-thousand. Hasuṇḍi (Asuṇḍi in Ranebennur Taluk) seems to have been included in it.

Kadambaḷige-nāḍu: It is also called Kadambaḷige One-thousand. It comprised parts of the Bellary District. The capital town Kadambaḷige is probably represented by Kaḍabagere in the Harapanahalli Taluk of that district.

Kāgenele Twelve: The headquarters of this circle, Kāgenele is the present Kāginelli in the Hirekerur Taluk.

Kannavuri Twelve: Its headquarters Kannavuri is the modern Kaṇṇūr in the Bijapur District. Bijjanahaḷḷi (Basnāl?) was situated in it. This group of villages was apparently included in Karṇapuri-vishaya (see below).

Karṇapuri-vishaya: Karṇapuri, from which this district derives its name is Kaṇṇūr which is called Kannavuri in Kannada inscriptions. Pauṭhage (Sāloṭgi in the same District) was situated in this district.

Kāsavāḷa Savalakka: This division of one and a quarter lakh villages comprised the districts of Nizamabad and Karimnagar and parts of Warangal in Andhra Pradesh.

Kelavāḍi Three-hundred: The chief town of this district is the present Kelvāḍi in the Bādāmi Taluk the Bijapur District.

Kisukāḍu Seventy: Kisuvoḷal, modern Paṭṭadakal in the Bādāmi Taluk was the headquarters of this division.

Koḷanūr Thirty: Koḷanūr, the chief town, is the modern Koṇṇūr in the Navalgund Taluk of the Dharwar District.

Kuḍuvaṇṇagaṇḍa Seventy: The two Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions in which this sub-division is mentioned, couple it with a smaller group of villages called Iṭṭage Thirty. In later records the Iṭṭage circle is usually mentioned along with Raṭṭapaḷḷi Seventy and the two together are stated to have formed the bigger division of Nūṟumbāḍa, (or the district of one hundred villages). The way in which Kuḍuvaṇṇa-gaṇḍa Seventy and Raṭṭapaḷḷi Seventy are associated with Iṭṭage Thirty, would make one suspect that the sub-division of Kuḍuvaṇṇagaṇḍa Seventy might have later come to be known as Raṭṭapaḷḷi Seventy. This change was perhaps due to the importance the place gained probably towards the end of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period as the name Raṭṭapaḷḷi would suggest.

Kūṇḍi Three-thousand: This included parts of the Belgaum District and the Terdāḷ division in the former Sāngli State (now merged in Kolhapur District).

Māhaḷige-nāḍu: Māhaḷige, the chief town of this division is the modern village of the same name on the right bank of the river Śarāvati about 30 miles to the north-west of Huṁcha in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State.

Māhisha-vishaya: In this district was situated the village of Kaṁchina-Muduvoḷal which probably is represented by the present Mudhōḷ, the capital of the former Mudhōḷ State (now merged in Bijapur District).

Miriñje Three-thousand: Miriñje the head-quarters of this province is the modern Miraj.

Mugunda Twelve: ....

Muḷugunda Twelve: The place after which this circle of villages is called, retains its name even today and it is in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District. Kaṇi (Kaṇvi in Gadag Taluk) was included in it.

Nāgārakhaṇḍa-nāḍu: This was also known as Nagarakhanda Seventy. It comprised portions of the Hangal Taluk and adjoining areas of the Shimoga District. Tiḷuvaḷḷi (Hangal Taluk) was situated in this division.

Nālvattu-bāḍa: The name of this circle of forty villages is retained today by the village of Nālvatwāḍ in the Muddēbihal Taluk of the Bijapur District.

Narayaṁgal Twelve: This group of villages had its head-quarters at Narayaṁgal, the modern Narēgal in Ron Taluk of Dharwar District. Ummachige (Kōṭa Ummachigi) was in it.

Noḷaṁbavāḍi: This province is often called Noḷambavadi Thirty-two-thousand. It was a large tract in which were included parts of the present Shimoga, Chitaldrug, Bellary and Anantapur Districts.

Nūruṁ-bāḍa: This division of one-hundred villages was also known as Raṭṭapaḷḷi Nūṛuṁ-bāḍa being so named after its head-quarters Raṭṭapaḷḷi (Raṭṭīhaḷḷi in Hirekerur Taluk). As stated above, it consisted of two smaller divisions, viz., Raṭṭapaḷḷi Seventy and Iṭṭage Thirty.

Paive (or Haive)-nāḍu: The area comprising parts of North Kanara District went by this name. The name Haika or Havyaka, a subject of Brahmins in North Kanara is reminiscent of this territory.

Paḷiyaṇḍa Four-thousand: This is also mentioned in inscriptions as Pratyaṇḍaka- Chatussahasra and comprised parts of Osmanabad District in Maharashtra. Its chief town Paḷiyaṇḍa is the same as modern Pareṇḍa.

Pānumigal (or Hānumgal) Five-hundred: Pānumgal, the chief town of this district is the present Hāngal, the headquarters of the taluk of that name in the Dharwar District. Bankāpura (Bankāpur) was situated in it.

Ponnavanti (Ponnavatti or Honnavatti): This small circle of villages had its headquarters at Ponnavanti, modern Honnatti in Haveri Taluk.

Perbāḷ Seventy: The chief town of the sub-division is now represented by Hebbāḷ near Lakshmēśvar in Dharwar District.

Purigeṟe (or Puligeṟe, Huligere) Three-hundred: This well-known sub-division had Purigeṟe or Puligeṟe (Lakshmēśvar) as its headquarters. This and Belvola Three-hundred were together called Eraḍ-aṟu-nūṟu or the two Six-hundreds. (See Eraḍ-aṟu-nūṟu above).

Raṭṭapaḷḷi Seventy: The headquarters of this division was Raṭṭapaḷḷi (Raṭṭihaḷḷi in Hirekerur Taluk. See under Iṭṭage above).

Sāntaḷige One-thousand: The name of this division is sometimes written as Sattaḷige One-thousand and in one inscription it is also called Sattaḷige-nāḍu. Another record clearly says that Sattaḷige Seventy (see below) was included in this division. It is therefore difficult to say whether it was wrongly spelt as Sattaḷige in the cases above mentioned. Or Sattalige Seventy may have, in course of time, enlarged into a bigger division of one-thousand villages and to distinguish one from the other the latter might have been named Sāntaḷige One-thousand.

Sattaḷige, Sattiyaḷige or Satyaḷge Seventy: The following villages formed part of this division:- Pasuṇḍi (Asuṇḍi), Halugeṟe (Halgēri), Kadirmiḍi (Kadaramaṇḍalgi), Beḷugal (probably Benkankoṇḍa)[63] and Beṇṇevūr (Mōtebennūr)-all in Ranebennur Taluk; Siḍiyanūr (Sidenur), Nāgarapāḷa (probably Nāgalāpur) both in Hirekerur Taluk. No place of the name Sattaḷige can be traced anywhere near these villages but the village Sātēnahaḷḷi (Hirekerur Taluk) which is not very far off from Siḍēnūr and Nāgalāpur approaches phonetically the place-name Sattaḷige. So it may be suggested that Sātēnahaḷḷi represents the ancient Sattaḷige.

Sēguṇadēśa: This region, usually called Sēvuṇadēśa, is considered by R.G.Bhandarkar, to have extended "from Nāsik to Dēvagiri, the modern Daulatābād."[64]

Taḍeyūr Twelve: ....

Tambad-Aṟumbāḍa: This small group of six villages had its headquarters at Tamba which is called even today by the same name in the Bijapur District.

Tardavāḍi Thousand: This division comprised the northern portions of the Bijapur District and its chief town Tardavāḍi is the modern Taddevāḍi on the southern bank of the river Bhīmā.

Toragale-nāḍu: This was also called Toragale Six-thousand. Its chief town Toragale is the modern Torgal, the capital of the former princely state of that name, now merged in Belgaum District.

For facilitating ready reference, a map in which some of these divisions are shown is attached.

We may now notice some of the inscriptions of literary interest. As usual with Kannaḍa records, a fairly good number are in verse and some of them give the name of the composer too; and a few specify the metres in which the verses are composed.[65] The earliest of such authors that have come to light in this volume is Dēvanāgayya who wrote an inscription of A.D. 1063 (No. 69) at Dēvihosūr, in the reign of the Chālukya king Somēśvara I. Chaturmukha Rudrabhatta is stated to have composed an inscription of the time of Somēśvara II (No. 79) in A.D. 1074. The following flourished during the reign of Vikramāditya VI: *Ūrodeya* Nāgadēva who wrote an inscription in A.D. 1078 (No. 85), Mallikārjuna whose composition was corrected by Kollurava Nāgavāra-Kavīndra, A.D. 1080 (No. 89) and Nāraṇadēva of Visvāmitra-*gōtra* whose poetry was appreciated by eminent poets, A.D. 1109 (No. 108). Besides these **Abhinava Paṁpa** is regarded[66] as the poet who wrote an inscription which is now deposited in the Bijapur Museum (No. 125). A high sounding eulogy of the poet **Subba** is contained in an inscription of Asundi (No. 133) which was written by him in A.D. 1127. **Kiriya-Mūkaṇa-Paṇḍita** was another poet of note, who lived in this period. He composed an inscription of Hāvēri (No. 136) in A.D. 1134. The learned **Sarvajña-Paṭṭavardhana** was the composer of a record of the reign of Jagadēkamalla II, in A.D. 1147 (No. 150). A record of A.D. 1168 is said to have been written by a poet whose name consisted of four syllables; only the first three, i.e., Śāntira, of these four are preserved. His composition was corrected by **Kaviparamātma** (No. 180). A **Nāgachandra** described as an eminent poet is mentioned in an inscription of the Kaḷachurya king Sōvidēva (No. 187). **Kalidēva-Paṇḍita** of Ulihaḷḷi is credited with the authorship of an inscription of A.D. 1186 (No. 163). No. 199 (of A.D. 1196) is said to be the composition of **Sōma** who calls himself an elegant poet. **Kavīśvara** was perhaps the author of a record of A.D. 1188 at Haraḷahaḷḷi (No. 296).

A great saint and reputed author of *vachanas* (sayings) of the Kannaḍa country to whom epigraphical references are very rare, is mentioned in an inscription (No. 199) of the Yādava king Jaitugi, dated *Śaka* 1119 (A.D. 1196). He is Dēḍara-Dāsa, apparently the same as Jēḍara-Dāsimayya who has been placed by R.Narasimhachar in *circa*. A.D. 1040.[67] In his family, we are told, was born Sōmayya, a resident of Kiriy-Iṇḍi. His son was Chīlayya who resembled the 'world-famous' Chīlāḷva. This Chīlayya made a gift to a temple at Kiriy-Iṇḍi in A.D. 1196. While the earliest literary reference to Jēḍara-Dāsimayya is traceable in a work of about A.D. 1125, the present record contains one of the earliest dated epigraphical references to him.

A large number of religious teachers mainly Saiva and Jaina are introduced in the inscriptions of this volume. In some cases the spiritual lineage of these personages as also their eminence and erudition are described at length. It is worthy of note that the administrative control of some of the temples and other religious institutions was vested in the hands of such holy men. All the property, including villages and lands given by kings, nobles and others for various services in these temples were placed in charge of these *āchāryas*. Thus, for instance, Varaṇaśiva-Paṇḍita, the *rājaguru* of Bhuvanaikamalladēva (i.e., Sōmēśvara II) was in A.D. 1062 conducting the administration of the twelve *bāḍas* of the temple of god Indrēśvara of Bankāpura (No. 66). Another person who was administering all the *gorava-vāḍas* (establishments of Śaiva teachers) was Śivarāja-Gurudēva, mentioned in a record of Sōmēśvara I (No. 72).

Some other points of general interest gleaned from our inscriptions may also be set down here. One inscription which is of both **sculptural and iconographical** value is No. 307. It not only labels the sculptural representations of **Śaṅkhanidhi, Śrīyādēvi and Padmanidhi** but also gives the names of the sculptors who cut these images. It is well known that Śaṅkhanidhi and Padmanidhi are the two treasurers of Kubēra and the figures depicted here are their personified forms. The importance of this inscription is enhanced by the fact that it is one of the earliest of this type, belonging as it does to A.D. 778. The names of the sculptors who executed these beautiful figures are **Mukundōvaja, Anumānakuśala and Būdōvaja**. On account of these images being labelled, a clear idea of their iconographical features can be obtained. Likewise, many of the invocatory verses and a few others in inscriptions give iconographical details with regard to the particular deities invoked in them. I may also notice here an inscription (No. 191) which mentions an architect who claims to have constructed one thousand (i.e. innumerable) temples. His name was Kētōja.

The high state of development which music had reached in the 11th century A.D. can be gathered from an inscription (No. 86) of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI. We learn from this record that Mokari Barmayya, who was the protege of *Yuvarāja* Jayasiṁha, was a musician of a very high order. A number of epithets describing his proficiency in music (both vocal and instrumental) and dancing are applied to him. Of particular interest among them is *Battīsa-rāga-bahu-kaḷā-Brahma* (i.e., a very Brahma of many arts skilled in thirty-two *rāgas*). To know the full significance of this *biruda,* I wrote to Prof. Sambamurti of Madras, the noted authority on music requesting him to help me in elucidating it. He very kindly replied to me and I reproduce with gratitude extracts from his letter in this connection:-

"I am very thankful to you for having drawn my attention to this inscription. The epithet *Battisa-raga* etc., meaning skilled in 32 ragas has a special significance. It refers to the skill in the 32 Mela Kartha ragas based on the 12 swarasthanas of the Sthayi and which are free from vivadi dosha. You know there are 72 mela karthas but 40 of them which take one or other of the following notes, viz., Suddha Gandhara, Shatsruti Rishabha, Suddha Nishada, and Shatsruti Dhaivatha suffer from vivadi dosha. 32 of the 72 are free from vivadi dosha and these 32 melas were known from early times. The only vivadi melas known in ancient Indian Music are Varali and Nata the 39th and 36th in the list of 72. The biruda...simply means that he was skilled in the 32 non-vivadi mela kartha ragas. This is an inscription of historical importance". Another musician of note, *Birudaradēva* by name, who also flourished in the time of Vikramaditya VI is referred to in an inscription of A.D. 1116 (No. 113). He was an expert in singing in the different pitches-*tāra, mandra* and *madhya.*

From an inscription of Taila III (No. 160) we get an idea of the important position occupied by the person who was appointed by the king to control the activities connected with the minting of gold coins. It tells us that Ēchiseṭṭi of Naṟugunda by virtue of his being regarded as the fittest individual to be placed in charge of the (royal) mint *(achchu),* was appointed by the king to that high post of trust and responsibility; and, probably in recognition of the able manner in which he discharged his responsibility, the king conferred upon him the title of *Hēmakuppaṭi.* Consequently he came to be known thenceforth as Kuppaṭi-Ēchiseṭṭi. The word *Kuppaṭi* denotes a portable furnace used by goldsmiths.

Among the various taxes and imposts levied during this period, two are of special significance. They are *Āndhra-daṇḍa* (No. 118) and *Tiguḷa-daṇḍa* (No. 26). Their names would suggest that they were levied in order to make provision for repelling the periodical inroads of the Āndhras and the Tiguḷas (Tamilians).

Of gustatory interest is the mention in a few inscriptions, of *maṇḍakā* (Kan. *maṇḍage)* a highly prized delicacy even today in the Kannaḍa country. As an instance may be cited an inscription of A.D. 1121 (No. 118) wherein Gōvinda-Daṇḍādhipa, a famous general of Vikramāditya VI, is said to have made a provision for offering this dish as *naivēdya* to the gods Brahma, Vishṇu and Mahēśvara, at Pauṭhage.

These are just a few of the outstanding bits of information gathered from these inscriptions. Scholars specialising in different aspects of history and culture are bound to find much valuable material on closer scrutiny of these epigraphs.

REFERENCES

1. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIX, p. 207.
2. No. 495 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection
3. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XI, p. 343.
4. *A.R.S.I.E.,* 1935-36, pt. II, para 7.
5. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol XXVI, p. 62.
6. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol XXXII. p. 224.
7. See, for instance, Deoli plates in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V. p. 193, text-line 22 (Alabdha-rājyaḥ)
8. *S.I.I.,* Vol. XI, pt. 1. No. 29.
9. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol IX, p. 16.
10. The details of the date cited in this record are *Śaka* 850, Sarvadhāri, Pushya śu. 10 Thursday... *Saṁkramaṇa.* Taking Sarvadhāri to be the year of the southern cycle, as usual the given tithi would correspond to A.D. 928, December 24, the week-day being Wednesday not Thursday; and the *Saṁkramaṇa* occurred on the previous day. The equivalent of this date as calculated in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol XXVI, p. 162, is A.D. 927 December. This calculation is perhaps according to the Sarvadhāri of the northern cycle which was Śaka 850 current. In this year the given date corresponds to A.D. 927 December 6, Thursday. There was however, no *Saṁkramaṇa* anywhere near this day.
11. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIII, p. 192, text-line 4: *Mahā-śrīmati Vinayāmbudhi-nāmni ......*
12. *S.I.I.,* Vol. XI, pt 1, No. 40.
13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol XVI, p. 286 and f.n. 1.
14. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol VI, p. 30.
15. *Ibid.,* His name has been taken by Kielhorn to be Ādhōra or *Ādhōra.* But it is more probable that the name is Dhōra, which was a very common personal name in Karṇāṭaka of the early times. One

of the most prominent persons who had this name was the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva. This would indicate that Dhruva is the Sanskritised form of Dhōra or that Dhōra is the Prakrit form of Dhruva. The text would also show that the name is Dhōra as it is not necessary to split the phrase as *nāmn-Ādhōraḥ.* It would be more natural to divide it as *nāmnā Dhōraḥ.*

16. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII, p. 213.
17. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXII, p. 224.
18. *Ibid.,* p. 225.
19. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 88. There is some mistake about the date of this record, which is given as *Śaka* 835 (in words), Prajāpati. This cyclic year corresponds to *Śaka* 833 (A.D. 911- 12). But since the *Śaka* year is given in words we have taken that as correct and the cyclic year as wrong. The date is not verifiable as no further details are given.
20. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, p. 231.
21. S.I.I., Vol. XI, pt. II, p. IV.
22. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, p. 82.
23. S.I.I., Vol. XI, pt. I, No. 103.
24. Bhandarkar: *List of the Inscriptions of Northern India,* p. 381.
25. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 547.
26. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan Dists.,* p. 581.
27. See for instance, *S.I.I.,* Vol. VI, No. 651.
28. *Hist. of South India,* p. 119.
29. *An. Rep., Arch. Survey of India,* 1905-06 p. 175.
30. Collected works of Sir R.G.Bhandarkar, Vol. III. *Early History of the Deccan,* p. 143; cf. also Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 516.
31. See e.g., Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 435.
32. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLVII, pp. 287-88.
33. *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* pp. 150ff.
34. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 1ff.
35. Fleet,: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 343, f.n. 5.
36. *Ibid.,* The Miraj plates etc. *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. xii, p. 305) also give this verse.
37. The *Hindu Weekly Magazine,* April, 2, 1961, p. 1.
38. Fleet: *Dyn., Kan., Dists.,* p. 343, f.n. 5.
39. *Supplement to the List of Inscriptions of Southern India,* p. 1.
40. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan Dists.,* p. 473.

41. *Ep. Ind., Vol.* XVI. p. 82.
42. For further information regarding the Kannaḍa origin of the Chālukyas see pp. 203 ff. of my chapter on the Chālukyas of Bādāmi in *Mahārāshṭra State Gazetteers, History, Part I, Ancient Period,* 1967.
43. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 457.
44. *Ind. Ant., Vol* XLVIII, p. 3.
45. *Ep. Ind., Vol.* XV, p. 108.
46. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 463.
47. See above, p. X.
48. B.K.No. 128 of 1940-41 and App. F (p. 266) of A.R.S.I.E., for 1939-43. An earlier reference to Bijjaḷa has recently come to light. It is contained in an inscription on a hero-stone from Tambūr in Kalghatgi taluk of Dharwar District. This inscription of A.D. 1136 mentions Bijjaḷa as a subordinate of the then ruling Chālukya king Sōmēśvara III *(Journal of the Karnatak University, Social Sciences,* Vol. II, pp. 3-1).
49. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 476.
50. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Sk. 197.
51. *Ibid.,* Vol. XI, Dg, 44.
52. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 503.
53. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXV, p. 203.
54. *Kalpataru* (Commentary on *Bhāmati),* verse 13 of the introduction.
55. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol-III, p. 121.
56. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 529.
57. Fleet: *Dyn. Kan. Dists.,* p. 564.
58. See above., page X.
59. *S.I.I.,* Vol. XX, NO. 221.
60. *A.R.S.I.E.,* 1919, pt. II, para 35.
61. Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 151 and *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No. 254.
62. The names of villages in brackets are the present forms.
63. The identification proposed here is based on the fact that in inscriptions of Benkankoṇḍa, the village is called Beḷugali. This is confirmed by the allusion in an inscription of Antaravaḷḷi (Ranebennur Taluk) to a boundary dispute between the villages Beḷugali and Halugeṛe. This Halugeṛe is Halgeṛi near Antaravaḷḷi. The village bordering it is Benkankoṇḍa. So it is possible that Beḷugali is the present Benkankoṇḍa.
64. Collected works of Bhandarkar, Vol. III, *Early History of the Deccan,* p-138.
65. See for example Nos. 43, 84, 126 and 283.
66. R.Narasimhachar: *Karnāṭaka-Kavicharite,* Vol. I (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishad, Ed. 1961). pp. 121 ff.
67. *Ibid.,* p. 204.

INSCRIPTIONS

5

A NOTE ON SIRODA PLATES OF (BHOJA) DEVARAJA*

The valuable inscription on these plates was edited in this journal[1] by the late Rao Bahadur C.R.Krishnamacharlu. In 1943, when I was studying the record in connection with the early history of Western India, I examined the text of the inscription as published by the learned editor and checked the reading with the excellent facsimile accompanying the article. As a result of this scrutiny I was convinced that the name of the dynasty of Dēvarāja had not ben correctly deciphered. Mr. Charlu read the word, indicating the name of the family to which Dēvarāja belonged, as *Gōmināṁ* and claimed that he had discovered a hitherto unknown dynasty on the West Coast of India, viz., that of Gōmins. His reading was accepted by many scholars, one of whom has even tried to identify this Dēvarāja with the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince of the same name[2] figuring in the Paṇḍaraṅgapalli plates of Avidhēya[3] and the Uṇḍikavāṭikā grant of Abhimanyu,[4] though he has not been able to explain satisfactorily how the family name Gōmin could be connected with the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

Let us examine the disputed reading with the help of the photographic reproduction of the plates. The syllable that first roused my suspicion about the incorrectness of the reading of the dynastic name is the one that has been read as *mi* in the given reading *Chandrapurād=Gōmināṁ* (line 1). If we compare this letter with *mi* in *bhūmis* = (line 12) and *bhūmidaḥ* (line 13) it becomes clear that its shape is altogether different. If it is not *mi,* what else can it be? The letter very closely resembles *ja* of *vijaya* in line 17 and the superscript of the conjunct letter *jya* in *rājya* in the same line. It is well known that the medial *ā* sign of *ja* is usually added to the horizontal stroke at the centre of the letter. Even in the present case it starts from the central stroke, goes up and turns to the left round the letter in a curl. Thus, it is obvious that the whole syllable should be read as *ja.* This led me to scrutinize the reading of the preceding letter, namely, *d – Go* in *Chandrapurād–Gōminām.* On a careful examination of the subscript I came to the conclusion that it answers more to *bh* than to *g.* We may compare, for instance, *bha* in *bhavishyad* = (line 2), *bhu* in *prabhu* (line 4) and *bhyā* in *svāmībhyāṁ* (line 6), etc. It may be noted that *ga* is more upright than *bha* which is a little slanting. With these two emendations, the word has to be read as *Bhōjānāṁ* and not *Gōminām.* Further it appears to me that the syllable after *Chandra* is an initial *ū* and not *pu* (cf. initial *u* in *uktañ – cha* in line 10); what is seen at the bottom of the letter obviously denotes length. It is to be observed that in this record the sign of *p* is open at the top (cf. *puṇy-ōpachayāya* in line 5). If this correction also be accepted, the whole expression would read *Chandrapurād – Bhōjānāṁ.* Accordingly, the name of the family of the donor-king Dēvarāja is Bhōja and not Gōmin, while the name of the capital of the territory of this line of rulers, viz., the Bhōjas, round about Goa on the West Coast, was Chandraūra.[5] The discovery of some copper plates of the Bhōja dynasty during the years

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-340.

1948 and 1949 has confirmed the correctness of my reading of the family name. These are noticed in the sequel.

Now, it is known from the 13th rock edict of Aśōka that the Bhōjas and the Pitinikas (within his territory) were conforming to his instruction in morality.[6] Dr. Hultszch who regards them as tribes says that they have to be looked for in the west.[7] Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar, however, explains the word *Petenika (Pitinika)* as 'one who enjoys hereditary property' and takes *Bhōja-Petenikas* as one word meaning 'the rulers called Bhōjas'. He also considers them to be the same as the Mahābhōjas who were minor rulers holding the present Ṭhāṇā and Kolābā Districts of the Bombay State.[8] Inscriptions mentioning them are found at Beḍsā, Kaṇheri and Kuḍā. From these we learn that they were responsible for the excavation of many of the caves in these localities.[9] The Bhōjakas are mentioned also in the Hāthigumphā inscription of the Kalinga king Khāravela, which says that he caused the Raṭhikas and the Bhōjakas to bow down at his feet.[10] According to Dr. Jayaswal the expression *Bhōjas*, as opposed to *Petenikas*, means non-hereditary leaders who observed the Bhaujya form of constitution mentioned in the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇa*. To him, thus, the Bhōjas appear to be so called because they followed that special form of constitution. He also points out that the name still survives in the modern caste-name *Bhōjaka* found in the Indian State of Cutch in the Kathiawad Agency.[11] Dr. B.C.Law who has collected almost all the references to the Bhojas is of the view that the Bhōjas were a very ancient tribe whose princes held not only the Sātvats, near the Gaṅges, in subjection, but also ruled over the Vidarbha (Berar) and, according to a passage in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, even over the Daṇḍaka, the region around Nasik.[12] It may be added that the *Daśakumāracharita* of Daṇḍin also places the Bhōjas in Vidarbha.[13] We have, however, no means of ascertaining whether, or in what way, the Bhōjas mentioned in the rock edict of Aśōka as well as in the cave inscriptions of Western and Eastern India noticed above were related to the ruling dynasty of the Bhōjas of Goa, one of whose scions was Dēvarāja of the Sirōda Plates.

Recently a number of copper plates have been discovered in and near the Goa territory. A notice about them by Mr. R.S.Panchamukhi, Director of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, is found on page 99 of the *Summary of papers submitted to the 15th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference.* They comprise three charters. Two belong to the Bhojas, while the third pertains to the Maurya dynasty (of Konkan), though Mr. Panchamukhi has taken them all to be Bhōja grants.[14]

Both the Bhōja grant refer themselves to the reign of Pṛithivīmallavarman, one dated in the first *(prathama)* regnal year and the other in the 25th regnal year.[15] The earlier record, issued from Vṛishibhinīkhēṭa, registers the grant made by the king of a piece of land to a Brāhmaṇa, named Ma[tva]rya, of the Agnivesya *gotra*. The land was situated in the village of Bhāgalapallikā in the Kupala[pa]kaṭa *āhāra*. The grant was made for the increase of merit of the king's mother Chētasādēvī at the request of his brother Śatrudamana on the 13th day of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the first year of the king's reign. At the end of the inscription we are told that it was the gift of Chētasādēvi, described as Nēllikabālikā. The charter was written by Dēvaśarmāchārya of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. The later grant was issued from Pṛithvīparvata and states that the king made a gift of a plot of land in the village of Malāra in Kupalākaṭa to a Brāhmaṇa, named Dāmārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra.* The gift was made for the merit of the king himself on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Śrāvana in the 25th year of the king's reign. The *ājñapti* of the grant was Nidhivara and the writer was Buddhadāsa of the Kambōja *gōtra.* The inscriptions on both these sets of plates are written in the Sanskrit language and in the southern alphabet assignable to about the 7th century A.C.

Another copper-plate record of this dynasty was discovered early in 1950 by Mr.P.B.Desai, M.A., Epigraphical Assistant, at the village of Hire Gutti in the Kumta *taluk* of the North Kanara District which adjoins Goa. The document, issued by king Aśaṅkitarāja of the Bhāja lineage, registers the grant, made by him, of the village Sundarikā in the Dīpaka *vishaya* to a *vihāra* which had possibly been erected by himself *(sva-vihāra).* The invocation to the Buddha at the commencement of the inscription shows beyond doubt that the monastery *(vihara)* to which the gift was made was Buddhistic. It is also noteworthy that this set of plates bears a seal depicting the figure of an elephant which was evidently the emblem of this royal family. The language of this grant is likewise Sanskrit. Though the record is not dated its palaeography would place it in the same period, namely about the 7th century A.C.[16]

Yet another copper-plate inscription of this dynasty, falling in that very period, has been discovered by Mr.R.S.Panchamukhi. I have not seen this record, but, according to Mr.Panchamukhi, it registers a gift of land made by *Dharmamahārāja* Kāpālivarman of the Bhōja family to a certain Svāmikarāja who, in his turn, granted it to a Brāhmaṇa, named Bhavārya. The land was situated at the village of Śivapuraka. The grant was issued from the king's camp at Pāmāsakhēṭaka.[17]

Thus we have, in all, five inscriptions of this dynasty, all on copper plates. Of these, the Siroda plates of Dēvarāja happen to be the earliest, as they are palaeographically referrable to the 4th century A.C., while the rest belong to about the 7th century. They disclose the names of four ruling monarchs, namely, **Dēvarāja, Pṛithivīmallavarman, Aśaṅkitarāja and Kāpālivarman. Chētasādēvī**, the queen of Pṛithivīmallavarman, and Śatrudamana, the latter's brother, are two others, brought to light from one of these documents. We have seen that these grants were issued from four different places, viz., **Chandraūra, Vṛishibhiṇīkhēṭa, Pṛithivīparvata** and **Pāmāsakhēṭaka.** Chandraūra has been considered to be identical with Chandor in Goa.[18] The other places may also have to be looked for around that region which appears to have been the dominion over which the Bhōjas held sway. The relationship in which the four rulers of the family stood to one another and the order of succession of the three last named kings, viz., Pṛithivimalla, Aśankita and Kāpāli, are points to be determined only by future discoveries.

Incidentally, I may also briefly notice the Maurya grant here, which is interesting in its own way. It records the order of the illustrious **Anirjitavarman**, the **Mauryya Mahārāja**, issued from the victorious Kumāradvīpa, to the inhabitants and officials of twelve villages (dvādaśa-grāmyāh). The order announces that a gift of certain lands, tank, garden and house-site was made by the king to a Brāhmaṇa, named Hastyārya, of the Hārita *gōtra.* The gift was made with the object of securing the welfare or final beatitude *(ni[ḥ*]śrēyas-ārtthaṁ)* of Nāgapadda, Malladatta, Achala and the king himself. The inscription is dated the 10th day of the 7th fortnight of Hē[manta*]in the 29th year, apparently of the king's reign. This mode of recording dates in seasons and fortnights is not usually met with in inscriptions of a period later than the 6th century.[19] Consequently this record may be placed in the 6th century, and palaeography does not militate against this view. In the Aihole inscription of Pulikēśin II, his father Kīrtivarman I is stated to have been 'the night of doom to the Nalas, Mauryas and Kadambas'.[20] Pulikēśin II himself claims a decisive victory over the Mauryas in the Koṅkaṇas.[21] Evidently it is to this Maurya family that Anirjitavarman belonged.

REFERENCES

1. Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 143 ff. with 1 plate.
2. *An. Bhand, Ori. Res. Inst.,* Vol. XXV, pp. 43 ff.
3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, pp. 197 ff. In this record the name of Dēvarāja's family is not given.
4. Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 163 ff.
5. The termination *ūra* is the Sanskritized form of the Dravidian word-*ūr* meaning village or town and corresponds to Sanskrit *pura.* Such village names, ending in *ura,* are found in many Sanskrit inscriptions; the following are a few instances from records ranging from the 4th to the 9th century after Christ:- *Koṭṭūra* (Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, *C.I.I.,* Vol III, p. 13); *Kaṁgūra* (Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 329), *Chendalūra* (Chendalūr plates of Pallava Kumāra-Vishṇu, above, Vol. VIII, p. 235), *Vaṭṭūra* (Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of the Western Chālukya King Maṅgalēśa, *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 17), *Cheṛupūra* (Chīpurapalle plates of the Eastern Chālukya-King Vishṇuvardhana I, *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XX, p. 16), *Kumūlūra* (Timmāpuram plates of the same king above, Vol. IX, p. 318), *Allūraka* (Surat plates of Śryāśraya Śīiladitya of the Gujarat Chālukya family referred to on p. 231, Vol. VIII, above) and *Lattalūra* (Nilgund inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I, above, Vol. VI, p. 103).
6. *C.I.I.,* Vol. I (Inscriptions of Asoka), pp. 46 and 48, text-line 9.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 48, f.n. 11.
8. *Asoka* (1932: 2nd edition), pp. 34-35.
9. *Arch. Sur. of Western India,* Vol. IV, p. 90, (Beḍsā ins. No. 3); p. 85 (Kuḍā ins. No. 6); Luders' List, Nos. 1021, 1037, 1045, 1052, 1058.
10. Above, Vol. XX, p. 79.
11. K.P.Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity* (1943: 2nd edition), p. 80.
12. *Ind. Cult.,* Vol. E, p. 384. *Yathā Dāṇḍakyō nāma Bhōjah kāṃād = brāhmaṇa - kanyām = abhimanyamānas = sabandhu - rāshṭrō vinanāsa. (Arthaśāstra,* edited by Shama Sastri, 2nd edition, 1924, p. 11, ll. 13-14). This passage is also found in the *Kāmasūtra of Vātsyāyana* who apparently copied it from Kautilya *(Kāmasūtra, Banaras* edition, *adhikaraṇa* 1, *adhyāya* 2, *sūtra* 44). See also *Studies in Kāmasūtra* by H.C.Chakaladar, pp. 84 f.
13. *Vidarbhō nāma janapadaḥ tasmin = Bhōjavaṁśa - bhūshaṇaṁ ....Puṇyavarmā nām = āsit* (Uchchhvāsa 8); *Early History of the Deccan (Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii), p. 143 and note 2; *An. Bhand. Ori. Res. Inst.,* Vol. XXVI (1945), pp. 20, 22.

14. These are shortly to be published in this journal.

15. Mr. Panchamukhi gives the date of the former as the 13th year and of the latter as the 15th year. My reading of the dates is based on an examination of the original plates.

16. This record is also being edited in this journal.

17. *Fifteenth All-India Oriental Conference* (1949), *Summaries of Papers,* p. 99.

18. Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 145.

19. An Eastern Chālukya inscription of a later period (7th century) citing a season date *(Ancient India,* No. 5, p. 49) is the only one of its kind that I know of.

20. Above Vol. VI, p. 4, text-line 4.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 6, text-line 10.

6

GOKAK PLATES OF DEJJA-MAHARAJA*

These Copper-plates were found in the year 1926 in the house of Mr. Govinda Rao Mutalik Desai of Gōkāk in the Belgaum District of the Bombay presidency and are now in the possession of the Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar. The inscription which they bear has been edited in the *Karnatak Historical Review*[1] but owing to certain inaccuracies which have crept in the reading of the text as given in the *Review,* in the interpretation of certain passages and in the drawing of inferences in certain cases, I consider it necessary to reedit the document and I am thankful to the Government Epigraphist for India for giving me an opportunity of doing it in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

The plates are three in number each measuring about 6 1/2" in breadth. The first and the last plate bear writing on the inner face only; the second plate has both the faces engraved. They are all strung together by a circular ring measuring 2 1/2" in diameter and having an oval seal attached to it. Together with the ring and the seal they weigh 42 3/4 *tolas* and are very well preserved.

The seal bears in relief the figure of some horned animal which looks like an antelope whose head is bent forward and one of the horns is turned towards the back. The animal is in the moving pose with its right forefoot raised. The donor of the grant which these plates record was a Sēndraka and the crest of the Sēndrakas was probably an elephant.[2] It is, therefore, difficult to account for the horned animal engraved on the seal unless it is supposed that though the crest was an elephant, the device on the banner of the family was some horned animal like the one represented on the seal. It is not a Rāshṭrakūṭa symbol either, though the document was issued in the reign of a king of that dynasty; for the emblem of that family was either Garuḍa or lion.[3] Cannot this horned animal be taken as a cognisance of a Tīrthaṁkara in view of the fact that the document is a Jaina record? Śāntinātha, we know, has an antelope for his *lāñchchhana.*

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Except the invocatory and the imprecatory verses the whole record is in prose. It is written in a Southern script which was in use in the Dekkan during the sixth and the seventh centuries of the Christian era. The record is neatly written and resembles the Badami cave inscription of Kīrttivarman I which is dated in the *Śaka* year 500,[4] the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgalēśa[5] (602 A.D.), the Kopparam plates[6] and the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.[7] The inscription gives us two forms of long *ā.* In one the top is closed and in the other it is left open (compare *āchchhēttā* in line 20 and *Āryyaṇandyāchāryya* in 1.10). Initial *u* is found in *unta(kta)ñ=cha* (1.16) and *ē* in *Ēndāvirut* (1.13). Among the consonants the letter *k* is always closed when it is not a conjunct *akshara* but when it is in combination with some other letters it is open; *r* is always open. The letters *t* and

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI, pp. 289-292.

n are not looped; the former, however, has a loop when combined with *n* (e.g., in *paryyantaṁ*, 1.13). The letter *kh* is found in *Jambūkhaṇḍa* (1.9) and *ḷ* in *Jaḷāra* (1.9). Final *t* is found in line 20 and final *m* in lines 2 and 18. As regards orhography it may be noted that consonants are sometimes doubled when preceded by *r* (see *Varddhamāna* in lines 1 and 3) but sometimes not (e.g., see *chatur-viṁśati* in line 3). The omission of *s* in *bhūmi tasya* in 1.17 is probably a mistake of the engraver for the correct word should be *bhūmis -tasya*. A noteworthy mistake of spelling is to be seen in ***untañ=cha*** for ***uktañ=cha*** in line 16.

The object of the record is to register the grant of fifty nivarttanas of land in the Jaḷāragrāma village situated in the Kashmāṇḍi-vishaya to *āchāryya* Āryyanandin of the Jambūkhaṇḍa *gaṇa* for the worship of the divine Arhat and for other purposes specified in lines 11 and 12. The donor was the *Adhirāja* Indraṇanda, the son of Vijayānanda-Madhyamarāja of the Sēndraka family. Indraṇanda is further stated to have been the favourite of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dējja-Mahārāja. The grant registered in the charter was made when 845 years of the Āguptāyika kings had expired. This date is specially noteworthy for we do not know anything of the Āguptāyika kings with whom it is connected. This is the first inscription known to us making mention of these kings. No details about them are, however, recorded in this document except that they belonged to the spiritual lineage of Varddhamāna, the 24th Jaina Tīrthaṁkara. The name of the era started by these personages namely the Āguptāyikas or the reckoning to which it belonged are questions which can be decided only by future researches. Palaeographically the document may be ascribed to about the 6th or 7th century of the Christian era. No reckoning is known at present which would give for 845 an equivalent in the sixth or seventh century of that era. If, however, we follow the Jaina traditions and place the commencement of the reign of the Mauryya emperor Chandragupta in B.C. 312-13[8] for this appears to be the correct date of his accession[9] and consider it to be the starting point of the Āguptāyika era we get A.D. 532-33 as the date of our record. But, considering the palaeography of the record this date appears to be somewhat too early; and I am unable to suggest any other era which can give us a date that would suit the writing of the document even approximately.

Indraṇanda, the donor of the grant, figures in this record for the first time. The epithet *adhirāja* applied to him here would indicate that he was a chief of some importance. After the late Dr. Fleet wrote the account of the Sēndrakas[10] only four more inscriptions of the family have come to our notice. The Kaḷwaṇ plates of Jayaśakti[11] furnish the following pedigree:-

Bhānuśakti
|
Ādityaśakti
|
Nikumbhallaśakti
|
Jayaśakti

Carrying the line of generation further than the Bagumrā[12] grant of Nikumbhallaśakti mentioned by Dr. Fleet. The two others are stone inscriptions found at Bādāmi[13] in the Bijāpur

District and mention the prince Bhīmaśatti(kti) who was, according to one of them, a devotee at the feet of Satyāśraya, i.e., a feudatory of the Chālukyas. Excepting the Bagumrā and the Kaḷwaṇ plates the records of the Sēndrakas so far known mention different members of the family whose relationship to one another is not known. But the names Vijayānanda and Indraṇanda found in the record under publication bear a striking resemblance to the name Sēnānanda borne by the maternal uncle of Pulakēśin II.[14]

Dējja-Mahārāja who was the overlord of Indraṇanda is also a hitherto unknown king of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. So far, the earliest inscription of the Rāshṭrakūṭas found in the Dekkan was the Sāmangad grant of Dantidurga dated *Śaka* 675.[15] But its genuineness has been questioned by some scholars.[16] Next come the Poona plates of Kṛishṇaraja of *Śaka* 680.[17] The present grant is, thus, the earliest Rāshṭrakūṭa inscription in the Dekkan.[18] We do not know, however, whether Dejja-Mahārāja belonged to the Mālkhēḍ branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[19] Another interesting question that arises is whether Dējja was an independent ruler. He could not have been so after the Chālukyas became masters of the Dekkan in the beginning of the 7th century. But since he is called a *Mahārāja,* the document might have been issued when he was a ruling king before the rise of the Chālukyas or when they were just beginning to establish their power. If this conjecture should prove correct we shall have to accept as accurate the account of the Kauṭhēm plates[20] and other inscriptions[21] of the 10th and 11th centuries that there existed a family of Rāshṭrakūṭas in the Dekkan whom the Chālukyas defeated before coming to power, though the truth of this statement has been doubted by some scholars.[22]

Of the geographical places mentioned in the record I am unable to identify Kashmāṇḍīvishaya, Jaḷāra-grāma and Pūrvvīṇa-grāma which are not known from other inscriptions. Jambūkhaṇḍa after which the Jaina *gaṇa* took its name is identical with Jamkhaṇḍi,[23] not far away from Gōkāk.

TEXT

First Plate: Second Side

1 Svasti || Varddhatāṁ Varddhamān-ēndōr=Varddhamāna-gaṇ-ōdadhēḥ śāsanaṁ nāśita-
2 ripōr=bhāsuraṁ mōha-śāsanam || [1* ||] Ih=āsyām=avasarpiṇyān=Tīrttha-
3 karāṇāṁ chaturviṁśatitamasya sanmatēḥ śrī-Varddhamānasya varddhamā-
4 nāyāṁ tīrttha-santatāv=Āguptāyikānāṁ rājñāṁ=ashṭāsu varsha-śatē-
5 shu paṁcha-chatvāriṁśad-agrēshu gatēshu Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvaya-jāta-śrī-Dē-

Second Plate: First Side

6 jja-mahārājasy=ābhimataḥ śrī-Sēndrak-āmala-kul-āmbar-ōdita-dī-
7 pra-divākarō Vijayānanda-Maddhyama[24]rāj-ātmajaḥ śrīmān=Indraṇanda-ādhi-
8 rājaḥ sva-vaṁśyānām=ātmanaś=cha dharmma-vṛiddhayē Kashmāṇḍī-vishayē
9 parvvata-pratyāsanna-Jaḷāra-grāmē Jambūkhaṇḍa-gaṇasthāya jñāna-
10 darśana-tapas-sampannāya Āryyaṇandyāchāryyāya Bhagavad-Arha-

Second Plate: Second Side.

11 t-pratim-ānavarata-pūj-ārthaṁ śikshaka-glāna-vṛiddhānāṁ cha tapasvināṁ vai-
12. yāpṛity-ārthaṁ grāmasy=ōttarataḥ Pūrvvīṇa-grāma-virēya-sīmakaṁ da[25]
13 kshiṇēna Muñja-jalamārgga-paryyantaṁ aparatō(a)ḥ Ēndāvīrut-sa-
14 hita-valmīkaṁ tasmād=uttarataḥ pushkara(i)ṇī tataś=cha yāvat=pūrvva-virēya-
15 kaṁ rāja-mānēna paṁchāśan-nivartana-pramāṇa-kshētran=da-

Third Plate: First Side.

16 ttavān=ētad=yō harati sa paṁcha-mahāpātaka-saṁyuktō bhavati || Un(k)tañ=cha
17 Bahubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
18 [ta](s=ta)sya tasya tadā phalam || [2 ||*] Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharām
19 shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ [||3 ||*] Shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi
20 svargē nandati bhūmidaḥ āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt 4 ||*]

TRANSLATION

(Verse 1). Hail ! May the bright and delusion-destroying charter of Varddhamāna, who is the moon to the ocean of the Varddhamāna-*gaṇa* and who has driven away his foes, prosper!

(Lines 2-16). When forty-five after eight hundred of the years of the Āguptāyika kings in (i.e., belonging to) this ever flowing and prosperous spiritual lineage of the wise Varddhamāna, the Twenty-Fourth of the Tīrthaṁkaras, had elapsed, the illustrious *adhirāja* Indraṇanda, the son of Vijayānanda-Maddhyamarāja, the bright sun who had risen in the firmament of the illustrious and pure Sēndraka family and who was the favourite of the illustrious Dējja-Mahārāja, born of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty, gave, in order to increase the merit of his ancestors as well as of himself, land measuring fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure in the village of Jaḷāra situated near the mountain in the division of Kashmāṇḍī to Aryyanandyāchāryya, who belonged to the Jaṁbūkhaṇḍa-*gaṇa* and was well versed in sacred knowledge, systems of philosophy and penance, for offering worship incessantly to the idol of the divine Arhat, for the *(maintenance of)* teachers, the sick and the old and for the service of ascetics.

(The boundaries of the land are): to the north of the village the boundary is the *virēya* of the Pūrvviṇa village; to the south, up to the Muñja canal; to the west, the ant-hill including Ēndāvirut; to its north, the tank and from there up to the eastern *virēyaka*

(L. 16). He who takes this away incurs the five great sins. Further it is said:-

(Vv. 2-4). (The usual imprecatory verses).

REFERENCES

1. Vol I, No. ii, pp. 43 ff.
2. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 292. The figure of an elephant is found engraved on the inscription of the Sēndraka chief Pogilli *(Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 143).
3. *Ibid*, p. 386.

4. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, plate facing p. 58.
5. *Ibid*, Vol. XIX, plate facing p. 18.
6. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 259.
7. Above, Vol. VI, plate facing p. 6.
8. *Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu* edited by Dr.H. Jacobi, p. 7.
9. See *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, pp. 273 ff.
10. *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 292.
11. *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for *Śaka* 1834, pp. 169 ff.
12. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.
13. Nos. 125 and 127 of Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29.
14. Above, Vol. III, p. 51.
15. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XI, p. 111.
16. See above, Vol. XIV, p. 121 f.n. 5 and Vol. XVIII, p. 238.
17. *Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Saṁśōdhaka Maṇḍala,* Vol. VIII, p. 166.
18. It is not certain whether Avidhēya of the Pāṇḍaraṅgapalli grant *(Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1929, pp. 197 ff.) was a Rāshṭrakūṭa king. The Tiwarkhēḍ plates of Nannarāja (above, Vol. XI, p. 276) and the Uṇḍikavātikā grant of Abhimanyu (above, Vol. VIII, p. 163), the one discovered in Central Provinces and the other recording a grant in Central India, belong to about the same period as our grant.
19. The name Dējja has been wrongly read as Ojja (Gojja) and Gojja identified with Gōvinda IV in the *Karnatak Historical Review.* The letter *Dē* is clear and palaeography militates against placing the record in the reign of Gōvinda IV, i.e., 10th century A.D.
20. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21.
21. See, for instance, the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha II (above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.) and the Nīlgunda plates of Vikramāditya VI. *(Ibid,* pp. 142 ff.).
22. See *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 342 and 343.
23. See *Karnatak Historical Review,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 43.
24. The letter *ma* is inserted below the line.
25. The letter *da* seems to have been corrected from *de.*

7

A NOTE ON THE NALAJANAMPADU INSCRIPTION*

In his article on this inscription Mr. Alfred Master attributes the record, which he places in the 7th-8th century of the Christian era on grounds of palaeography and language, to the Pallava king Paramēśvara I. His main argument for doing so is that the expression Paramēśvara occurring in line 5 of the record is a personal name and not a *biruda* of Bādirāja (1.7) as has been hitherto supposed; for, according to him, it is not likely that a subordinate chief of Pallava descent could have used the *biruda* as the earlier Pallavas used the word only as a personal name and the later members of the family had no need to assume it. Moreover this title which was adopted by the Chālukyas and occasionally used by the Rāshṭrakūṭas was not used by the Bāṇas, the Gaṅgas or the Chōḷas. But I may point out that there is at least one inscription at Kāñchīpuram which indicates that the early Pallava king Narasiṁhavishṇu had the title of Paramēśvara.[1] In the context it is not possible to take the word used in *double entendre* as the proper name of the king which is given in the second verse of the record as Narasiṁhavishṇu. Among the rulers who claim Pallava descent, Chāru-Ponnēra, who was also known as Pallavādhirāja, bore the title of Paramēśvara.[2] Vīra-Nombādhirāja (apparently Poḷalchōṛa, son of Chāru-Ponnēra) had assumed the title Rājaparamēśvara.[3] Several inscriptions of the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country apply this title to their ancestor Kāḍuveṭṭi or Mukkaṇṭi Kāḍuveṭṭi.[4] Of the other dynasties mentioned by Mr. Master, epigraphical evidence shows that the Western Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha (A.D. 725 to 788) used *Paramēśvara* as a *biruda.*[5] His son Śivamāra also bore it;[6] and a record of Nanniya-Gaṅga, a later scion of the same family, seems to give him the title.[7] That the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra who ruled from A.D. 1063 to 1070 was given the title *Paramēśvara* can be seen from his Chārāla plates[8] of Śaka 991 and from the stone inscription of the 6th year of his reign at Poṭṭapalli.[9] The *biruda* of *Rājaparamēśvara* is known to have been borne by Kulōttuṅga I.[10] It is thus difficult to maintain that the word *Paramēśvara* used in the inscription is not a *biruda* of a Pallava chief.

Another reason adduced in support of the contention that the title could not be that of Bādirāja, who was a small Pallava chief, is the blessing of the *aśvamēdha* which would be ridiculous in a record of a petty chief and the mention of the *rājamāna* which implies a strong central administration. I shall give here a few instances from inscriptions which, though they do not refer themselves to the reigns of sovereign rulers, invoke the blessing of *aśvamēdha* and mention *rājamāna.* One of them is the inscription of Pṛithivīpati found in the Cuddapah District of the Madras Presidency.[11] It is also written in the Telugu language and may be assigned on grounds of paleography to the 8th or 9th century A.D. During this period there was no independent ruler of the name of Pṛithvīpati in this part of the country. He could be only a minor chieftain. But his epigraph contains a reference to the *rachchamāna (rājamāna)* as well as to *aśvamēda (aśvamēdha).* Another inscription[12] of Śaka 894 which was issued during the administration of Śāntivarmmarasa, who was not a paramount king, invokes the fruit of eighteen *aśvamēdhas* on the person who protected the gift recorded in it. An early Telugu inscription of about the 7th century A.D. at Bōdanampāḍu in the Nellore District records a gift of land according to the *rājamāna.* It may be noted that this epigraph was not issued by a reigning king.[13] Similarly ,an inscription at Kōḷālu in the Chitaldrug District of the Mysore State dated Śaka 953 which does not mention any ruling king registers an endowment of land measuring twelve mattar by *rājamāna.*[14]

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXVII, No. 39, pp. 206-208.

Let me now proceed to the interpretation of the text of the record. After *svasti,* which can be regarded as a sentence in itself, the next sentence ends with *ichche* in line 13. If it is considered that there is another sentence ending with *Pallavāditya* of line 6, it would have no predicate. It would not therefore, be natural to take the passage beginning with *Bhagavad* and concluding with *Pallavāditya* as a complete sentence, nor is there any justification for doing so. The whole passage preceding *śrī-Bādirājula* would thus govern Bādirājula.

In view of these considerations it would be highly problematical to ascribe this inscription to the Pallava king Paramēśvara I.

Incidentally I may notice here one or two points of the language of the record. This suffix-*āku* (1.13) is to be taken as a dative case-ending corresponding to the modern termination *āku* of the same case as in *gṛihamunaku.* The long *a* in *aku* is found in many early Telugu inscriptions.[15]

In lines 11-12 I would read *pa[ḷa]si* in place of *pa[ṛi]si; paḷasi* may be either a variant of or a mistake for *padasi* meaning 'having obtained'. This word may be construed along with *andu* in 1.7 which, though locative, seems to have the sense of 'from'. Thus the passage in lines 6-12 would mean 'he who was called Bādirāju, the son of Paḷḷeyaru,[16] having obtained 3 *vuṭṭu* of *āṛla-paṭṭu* land from Śri-Bādirājulu'.

REFERENCES

1. *S.I.I.,* Vol. I, No. 29.
   Bharttuḥ pur-ōnmathana-dṛishṭa-dhanur-bbalasya
   Śailādirājatanay=ēva Vṛishadhvajasya [|*]
   yā Kālakāla iti viśruta-puṇya-kīrttēḥ
   kāntā nitānta-dayitā Paramēśvarasyaḥ(sya) || [1*]
   Dēvē jagad-valaya-rakshaṇa-baddha-dīkshē
   nirbhinna-śatru-hridayē Narasiṁhavishṇau [|1*]
   vāllabhyam=ūrjjitam=āvāpya virājatē vā
   nirjjitya garvvam=iva Pushkaradēvatāyāḥ || [2*]

   As Narasiṁhavishṇu was the name of the king, the expressions Kālakāla and Paramēśvara are to be taken as his *birudas.*
2. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. XI, Challakere 33 and 34
3. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No.17

4. See *S.I.I.,* Vol. IV, No. 1220; *Ibid.,* Vol. X, No. 362

5. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1927, No. 4

6. *Ibid.,* 1924, Nos. 46 and 80 (1.65).

7. *Ibid.,* 1923, No. 113 (1.38). Some later chiefs of this family had this title; see e.g. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol VII, Shikarpur 109 and 130 and Shimoga 4 and 39.

8. Above, Vol. XXV, page 262, text-line 156.

9. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. X, Chintamani 161.

10. *S.I.I.,* Vol. VI, No. 200

11. *Journal of the Telugu Academy,* Vol. 24, p. 160.

12. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sorab 44.

13. *An. Rep.* on *S.I.E.,* 1934

14. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. XI, Hiriyur 77.

15. Cf. *Vasantīśvarambunāk=ichchinadi* (i.e., given to the temple of Vasantīśvara) in No. 384 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; below, p. 136, text-lines 15-16.

16. *Paḷḷeyāru* or *Paḷḷeyaru* may be a proper name or the designation of an official connected with a *paḷḷi i.e.,* Jaina temple or establishment to the god Arhat, of whom the chief Bādirājulu was a devotee.

8

HONNUDIKE INSCRIPTION OF ŚRĪPURUSHA*

A few months ago, a young relative of mine, H.S. Gopala Rao, Proprictor, Vidya Printers, Nelamangala, Bangalore, Bangalore District brought me a photograph of a stone inscription which he found at a place called Jalagāradibba, 1 1/2 miles from the village of Honnuḍike, Tumkur Taluk. This village is about 12 miles distant from the district town of Tumkur, Karnataka State. Though the last line of the inscription has not come out quite well in the photograph, I found it to be an interesting record, as it is an early inscription of the reign of Sripurusha of the Western Gaṅga dynasty of Talakāḍ.

The characters of the record are quite well formed and are regular for the period (i.e., 8th century A.D.) to which they belong as we know that King Śrīpurusha, to whose reign the record refers itself, ruled during 726-788 A.D.[1] We may note that both the regular and cursive forms of *l* are found in the record. The regular form is found, for example, in the word *vēḷvalli* (line 4) and the cursive form in the word *salguṁ* (line 6). The language of the whole record is Kannaḍa. The honorific plural in the word *Eṟeyappōr* (line 3) is noteworthy, as also the expression kiṟu-*tande* (line 2) for the father's younger brother. As regards orthography the use of *v* in the place of *b* may be noted in *vēḷvalli* for *bēḷvalli, bēḷ* meaning "to offer in the sacrificial fire", and vappa for *bappa.*

The inscription opens with the statement that Śrīpurusha-Mahārāja was ruling over the Koṅgeṇi kingdom, i.e., the Western Gaṅga territory. During his reign his father's younger brother named Śivamāra-Eṟeyappōr made a gift to the goddess of Ponniḍuki of all the gold that was levied for making sacrificial offerings at the time of the time of the harvest. Then follows an imprecatory passage against those who destroy the gift. This is followed by a benediction on those who protect the gift. At the end is given a list of the guilds, other organizations and citizens who are the witnesses to this grant. It bears no date.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it brings to light a hitherto unknown prince of the Gaṅga dynasty of Talakad, named Śivamāra Eṟeyappōr, who is described as the *kiṟu-tande* of King Śrīpurusha. As we know of only one Śrīpurusha of the Gaṅga family, the king mentioned here must be regarded as the same as the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha. The fact that his own uncle was holding a subordinate position under him indicates that Śrīpurusha succeeded to the Gaṅga throne, evidently because Śrīpurusha was the son of the eldest among his father's brothers. Consequently Śivamāra-Eṟeyappōr had to be contended with a subordinate position under his own nephew. But that he held a very important position is evident from the fact that he had the power to make gifts of certain levies collected by the state as seen from the levy of gold mentioned in this epigraph. As the inscription states that out of what was received at the time of making sacrificial offerings, all that was gold was to form the gift, it may be surmised that there were other levies in kind collected by the state on occasions like harvests.

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The title or surname *Eṟeyappa* seems to have been common among the Gaṅga rulers. Besides Śivamāra-Eṟeyappōr (the uncle of the king Śrīpurusha) mentioned in this record, we know of Durvinīta Eṟeyappōr, a prince of the Koṅguṇi (Gaṅga) family, who was a subordinate of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya. He is mentioned in a record of the 35th year of this king i.e., A.D. 730.[2] Śrīpurusha's own son Duggamāra-Eṟeyappar, who was ruling Kuvaḷālanāḍu-300, the Gaṅga-6000, Panne-nāḍu, Belattur-nāḍu, the Pulvani-nāḍu-1000, and one or two other divisions under his father, is also another prince bearing this surname.[3] He also figures as a subordinate (probably) of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dhruva; and Duggamāra-Eṟeyappa's territory extended from Nariyanūru to the Kirudoṟe.[4] His name occurs also in the Salem plates of Śrīpurusha of A.D. 771.[5] Śrīpurusha's grandson, Mārasiṅga Eṟeyappa was yet another member of this family who had this surname.[6] Later we have another Eṟeyappa who ruled the Gaṅga kingdom from A.D. 886 to 919.

The only two places, the names of which can be read with certainty in the epigraph, are Vāraṇāsi and Ponniḍuki. Vāraṇāsi is too well known to need any identification. Ponniḍuki is evidently the village Honnuḍike near which the inscription was discovered. As its name indicates it may have been a place containing deposits of gold. This surmise is strengthened by the fact that the find-spot of the inscription is called Jalagāradibba, and we know that *jalagāras* are a class of professionals who obtain particles of gold by washing the sand and earth (containing gold dust) in flowing rain water or in a stream.

TEXT

1 ...[7] Śrīpurusha-mahārajar Koṅgeṇi rā-

2 [jyaṁ ge]ye avarā kiṟu-tandeyar

3 Śivamāra-Eṟeyappōr-Ponniḍukiyā Bhaṭṭārakige

4 suggiyuḷ-vēḷvalli vappa ponn-ādad-ellaṁ koṭṭar-idān-a-

5 ḻivor-Vāraṇāsiyā sāsirvvar-pārvvaruṁ sāsira kavileyuṁ konda rī-

6 [tiy]-akkuṁ kādoḍ-ēḷun-tale abhivṛiddhi salguṁ nālvadinvaruṁ

7 [paḻḻi]yuṁ...vaḷiyā mahājanamuṁ prajeyuṁ nakki[8] śāsana

8 ...vaḷi vandu ī enebaruṁ puyya..........ṟivanu

TRANSLATION

Lines 1 to 4: Hail! While Śrīpurusha-Mahārāja was ruling over the Koṅgeṇi kingdom, his younger uncle (i.e., his father's younger brother) named Śivamāra-Eṟeyappōr granted to the goddess of Ponniḍuki that which was in the form of gold (out of all the income that was) received at the time of making sacrificial offerings during the harvest.

Lines 4 to 7: Those who destroy this will be following the path of those who kill one thousand Brahmins, and one thousand tawny cows at Vāraṇāsi. If the gift is protected, prosperity will accrue to the (protector's) progeny for seven generations. The (guild) of forty, the Nakara (merchants) ......*Mahājanas* of ......the citizens are the witnesses to this.

Line 8: This line is damaged and has not come out clearly in the photograph. The only thing that is clear is *ī enebaru* which means "all these persons mentioned above".

REFERENCES

1. *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu* by N. Lakshminarayana Rao & R.S. Panchamukhi, p. 153.
2. *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XXX, pp. 288-89.
3. Rice, *Mysore & Coorg from Inscriptions,* pp. 39-40.
4. *A.R.S.I.E.,* 1939-40 to 42-43, p. 235, para 22.
5. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 151.
6. Rice, *Mysore & Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 42.
7. Two letters which seem to have been engraved before *Sri* are damaged and have not come out in the photograph. Apparently these letters were as usual *svasti.*
8. Probably a scribal error for *sākki,* which is Kannada for *sākshi.*

9

HALDIPUR PLATES OF THE PALLAVA CHIEF GOPALADEVA*

The existence of these plates was brought to the notice of Mr. K.N. Dikshit, M.A., Officiating Government Epigraphist for India, by Mr. S.V.Haldipur, B.A., LL.B., M.B.E., Officer Supervisor, Judge Advocate General's Department, Army Headquarters, Simla. They were discovered several years ago when digging in the garden belonging to Mr. Haldipur's family in Guddehittal at Haldipur, a village in the Honavara Taluka of the North Kanara District, Bombay Presidency. I now edit the inscription engraved on them from ink-impressions as well as the originals kindly placed at my disposal by Mr. K.N. dikshit who obtained the plates on loan from the owner.

The plates which are in an excellent state of preservation are three in number, each measuring about 6¼" in length, 2¹/₁₂" in breadth and ¼" in thickness. The first and the third plates bear writing only on one side while the second is written on both the sides. Their rims are slightly raised in order to protect the writing from damage. They are strung together on an almost circular ring which has a diameter of about 2¼". The ends of the ring are soldered on to the back of the seal which is circular in shape, with a diameter of about 1". Together with the ring and the seal the plates weigh 96 *tolas.*

On the seal is shown in bold relief the figure of a rampant lion facing the proper right. The head of the animal is erect, its mouth open, the right forepaw raised and the tail twisted over its back. The Uruvapalli[1] grant of the Pallava king Vishṇugōpavarman and the Pikira[2] grant of Siṁhavarman of the same dynasty bear on their seals the figures of the same animal. In the monolithic shrine at Sīyamaṅgalam[3] excavated by the Pallava king Mahendravarman I and the Uṇḍavalli caves, also attributed to the Pallavas[4], we find representations of the lion. The figure in the Uṇḍavailli caves bears a striking resemblance to that found on the seal of the present grant.[5] Thus the emblem of a Pallava chief on the present seal confirms the view expressed by the late Mr. V.Venkayya[6] that "along with the recumbent bull usually associated with the emblem of the Pallavas, the lion was also the Pallava crest at some period of their history."

The characters of the inscription belong to the southern type which were in use in the Kanarese country during the eighth century A.D. The writing is beautifully executed and there are hardly any mistakes in engraving. The characters are round and upright unlike the longish and slanting ones found in Early Chālukya grants. In general appearance the alphabet of our grant is certainly earlier than that of the Maṇṇe Plates[7] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III dated Śaka 732, and the plates of the same king bearing the date Śaka 726.[8] It closely resembles the characters of the Āḷupa inscriptions of Udiyāvara[9] in the South Kanara District which the late Dr. Hultzsch has assigned to about A.D. 800 and those of the Kovaḷaveṭṭu grant[10] of the Western

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Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha for whom we have a sure date in Śaka 710[11] and who began to rule, according to the Devarahaḷḷi plates[12]; if they are accepted as genuine (and I think they can be), in A.D. 726. But the most striking resemblance the present grant bears in respect of palaeography is to the Aṇṇigeri inscription[13] of the 6th year of the reign of the Early Chālukya monarch Kīrttivarman II (i.e., A.D. 752), the form of every letter except *l* being exactly alike in both the records. As regards individual letters in the present epigraph, we have the initial vowel *a* in *anēka* (11. 3 and 4), *ar̤unūrvvaru* (1.7), *ardhaṁ* (1.14), *ar̤unūr̤u* and *agrahāra* (1.17). The initial *ā* occurs only once in *Ārida* (1.8). The curves at the ends of these two letters have not yet closed completely at the top. The initial *i* consisting of two dots below a double curve occurs thrice in *Iḍeveṭṭa* (1.13), in *idu* (1.16) and *itaḥ-param* (1.17). Initial *ē* occurs in line 13 and *o* in line 16. Among medial vowels *i* is distinguished from *iv* by a small loop in the circular *i* sign (*cf. Lakshmi* with *nivāsa,* 1.3). Medial *u* is marked in two ways; when it is attached to the letter *r* it is denoted by a hook bending downwards at the proper left of this letter but in other cases it is denoted by a U-shaped symbol at the bottom of the letter to which it is added (*cf. purusha* and *guṇa* in line 3). In medial *ū* the length is indicated by the addition of a downward curve. No distinction is made between short and long *e* and *o.* Medial *ai* is made up of two strokes, one attached to the serif or the *talekaṭṭu* of the consonant and the other to the letter itself, both placed on the proper right (e.g., *Kai* in *Kaikēya,* 1.2). Medial *o* is merely a combination of the *e* and the *ā* strokes, the one on the proper right and the other on the proper left of the consonant. Among the consonants, the epigraph contains the letters *n, j, b* and *l* which along with *kh* (not found here) furnish, according to Dr. Fleet, the leading test letters in determining the approximate period of undated records. The *ṅ* which occurs only once in *teṅkaṇṇā* (1.12) differs from *j* only in the absence of the centre prong. We have *j* in *rāja* (1.2), *jana* (1.4), *rājēna* (1.6), *gōtraja* (1.8), *jamal̤i* (1.16) and as a second member of the conjunct consonant in *pel̤javasi* (1.14). *B* appears twice, first in *bāhu* (1.5) and a second time in *kombe* (1.15). All of them are of the earlier type found in records prior to the ninth century. *L* is used more frequently and though it is of a cursive type, the down-stroke of the letter on its proper right side is not yet prolonged up to the top of the letter on the left (e.g., *vallabha* and *Pallava* in line 1, *vipula* in line 4, *tale* in 1.8, etc). According to Fleet this form of *l* cannot be placed much before A.D. 800 in records coming from Western India.[14] But it should be noted that this cursive form of the letter already appears in the Rāygaḍ Plates[15] of the Early Chālukya king Vijayāditya dated Śaka 625 and in the Bopgaon Plates[16] of the same king dated Śaka 640. The record includes final *n* (1.9) and *r* (11. 10, 17 and 18). Liṅgual *ḍ* can be distinguished from the dental *d* by the lower part of the letter turning upwards and ending in a loop as in *ḍu* of *paḍuvaṇṇā* (1.12) and *ḍe* of *mūḍe* (1.16). But the distinct form of *ḍ* is not shown in *ṇḍa* of *Chaṇḍamahāsēna* (1.5) and *ṇḍam* of *karsapiṇḍam* (1.15) and as Fleet has remarked, "it was seldom, if ever, the early practice to use the distinct form of the *ḍ* in the combination *ṇḍ*"[17]. The Dravidian *r̤* as well as *l̤* are represented in the record, the former in *ar̤unūrvvaruṁ* (1.7), *Neydalger̤e* (1.13), *nīrir̤aga,* (1.14), *nūr̤irpattentu* (1.15) and *ar̤unūr̤u* (1.17), and the latter in *kal̤ani* (1.11), *Peramal̤e* (1.12), *Gārapāl̤i* (1.12), *al̤ivōr* (1.17) and *al̤idorā* (1.18) and as the first component of the conjunct consonants in *il̤du* (1.10) and *pel̤javasi* (1.14). These two letters differ considerably from their later varieties used, for instance, in the Mantrawāḍi[18] and Sirūr[19] inscriptions of Amōghavarsha I while they are almost exactly similar to those in the Aṇṇigēri inscription[20] and the Kendūr

Plates[21] of Kīrtivarman II and the Hattimattūr inscription[22] of Krishṇa I. Thus paleographical considerations point to the middle of the 8th century A.D as the probable period of the present record.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and Kanarese. Lines 1 to 6 are written in Sanskrit prose and the rest in Kanarese prose which may be considered among the oldest specimens of the language. Particular attention may be drawn to the following linguistic and grammatical features. The accusative termination *ān* as in *bhāgamān* (1.9), - *idān* (1.17) and *Vāraṇasiyumān* (1.18) is found only in early records like the Paṭṭadakal inscription of Vikramāditya II[23] in which we find *dēgulamān* (1.2), *idān* (1.8) and the Bādāmi inscription[24] of Maṅgalēśa which has *ittodān* (1.3). In later records this case suffix is *an* or *aṁ.* In masculine nouns ending in a the dative termination *ge* is preceded by *n* as in *gōtrajange* and *Paṇyārange* (1.8). With this we may compare other datives *namvrānge* and *oḍeyonge* found in the Udiyāvara inscription[25] of Raṇasāgara and Śvētavāhana, and *mādhuryyange* (1.5) in the inscription of Kappe-Arabhaṭṭa of about the 8th century at Bādāmi.[26] In other inscriptions of this period the nasal *ṅ* takes the place of the dental *n*[27] (*cf. Dharegīśaṅge* in the Udiyāvara inscription of Pṛithvīsāgara[28]). The genitive suffix is long *ā* and not short *a* as found in later records (e.g., *Kāsaṁpaḻḻiyā* in line 9 and *Neydalgeṟeyā* in line 13). Instance of this form of the genitive are found in the Lakshmēśvar pillar inscription[29] of the Yuvarāja Vikramāditya (II) (*cf. Porigeṟeyā, Sōvageyā,* etc.), but obviously it is seldom used in records of the Later Chāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi.[30] The peculiar forms *vaḍagaṇṇā* (1.11), *paḍuvaṇṇā, teṅkaṇṇā* (1.12) and *mūḍaṇṇā* (1.13) (which denote the four points of the compass) involving a double *ṇa* are, so far as I am aware, found nowhere else either in epigraphical or literary Kanarese. Characteristic of the archaic nature of the language are the verbal nouns *apponge* (1.8) and *aḻidora* (1.18), with which may be compared the words *apporgge* and *envodu* in the Lakshmesvar inscription referred to above and *uḻidorge* and *parājisidorā* of the Pattadakal Inscriptions of Vikramāditya II.[31] The adverb *uḻappinaṁ* meaning as long as (they) exist' is another archaic formation.[32] The word *kaḻani* which denotes a wet land or a rice field is not generally found in epigraphical records later than the 10th Century. With the rather rare expression *bhukt-ānubhutaṁ* used in the sense of 'to be in continued enjoyment' we may compare *bhukt-ānubhōgaṁ* of the Lakshmēśvara pillar inscription. The imprecation found in the present grant, viz., those who destroy this will go to the world of those who destroy *Vāraṇāśi,* etc., occurs also in lithic record of an early period (*cf.* The Udiyāvara Inscription of Vijayāditya).[33] The significance of certain incomes, the halves of which were granted to the donee, viz., *koḷaguppe peḻjavasi, kānasoppu* and *vāral* is not quite clear. I may suggest, however, that *koḷaguppe* may denote a heap *(kuppe)* made up of the share due to the state on every *koḷa* (a measure of capacity) of the produce. *Javasi* may mean a tax in kind on *javasa* (skt. *yavasa*) meaning meadow grass; *peḻjavasi* would then be a tax levied on big (meadows of) straw. *Kāna* or *Kān* means forest and *soppu* means foliage in Kanarese. *Kānasoppu* may therefore be a tax on the foliage of the forest used by the cultivators for manure and other purposes. In Tamiḻ *vāral* means spoil[34]; and it is not unlikely that it had the same connotation in Kanarese. The words *karsa-piṇḍaṁ*[35] and *kombe-gāroḍam* are obscure and do not occur in any of the Kanarese inscriptions so far published.

The orthography of the record does not call for any remarks except that *entu* has been engraved for *eṇṭu* in line 15, that the name of the donor is written as *Gōpala* instead of *Gōpāla* in line 16, that *ha* has been written for *hā* in lines 5 and 18 and that there appears to be a superfluous *anusvāra* at the end of the word *paḍeyaṁ* in line 16. These mistakes are apparently due to the engraver.

The donor of the grant was the Pallava chief Gōpāladeva who also bore the surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya (1.1). It is clear that he belongs to the well=known lineage of the Pallavas as he is twice described as Pallavarāja (11.1 and 6) and, as noted above, uses the lion-crest of the Pallavas. The phrase *Kaikēya-vaṁś-ōdbhav-oddhata-pradhāna-purusha* (1.2) might only indicate that he was connected with the Kaikēyas probably on his mother's side. In line 5 we are told that he was the son of Chaṇḍamahāsēna and that he was the lord of the city Payvegundu. The record does not tell us anything more about the donor beyond bestowing some ordinary praise on him. The object of the grant was the equal share (i.e., half) of the village Kāsaṁpaḷḷi, (1.9) along with certain incomes, the details of which are given (11.14-16), to Siṅgitale-paṇyāra of the Hārita-*gōtra* (1.8). Similar instances of the endowment of a moiety of the taxes *(ardhadāna)* also occur in Nos. VI and VIII of the inscriptions of Udiyāvara.[36] As we learn from line 17 that the village had six hundred pieces of land the portion granted must have consisted of three hundred pieces. The grant was made in the presence of the *mantri,* the *purōhita,* the *śrīkaraṇa* the one-thousand and the six-hundred. The last two were probably the *mahājanas* (the Brahmanical Assembly) and either the *nāḍu* (non-Brahmanical Assembly) or the *nagara* of the place. As Kāsaṁpaḷḷi appears to be a village it is likely that it did not have the *nagara* or the merchant guild. The reference to such bodies merely by their numbers is not uncommon.[37]

Till now no Pallava chief was known to have ruled in North Kanara or on the West Coast. Since there is little doubt that Gōpāladēva was only a feudatory chief, it is not likely that he was directly related to the imperial Pallavas of Kāñchī who continued to rule till the Chōḷa King Āditya I took possession of their territory towards the close of the 9th century A.D.[38] The only family that claimed connection with the Pallavas of Kāñchī and is known to have been flourishing in the 8th century was that of the Noḷamba-Pallavas. But their sway was then confined to portions of Tumkur and Chitaldroog Districts in Mysore and part of the Anatapur District in the Madras presidency. Chaṇḍamahāsēna, the father of Gōpāladēva figures in this record for the first time. The only Chaṇḍamahāsēna known to Epigraphy was a Chāhavāṇa and is referred to in an inscription of Vikrama-Samvat 898 from Dhōlpur.[39] A Chaṇḍadaṇḍa of Kāñchi is, however, known to have been defeated by the Kadamba king Ravivarman in the 6th century.[40]

The Kaikēyas who seem to have given a princess of their family in marriage of Chaṇḍamahāsēna of the present record are known to have contracted similar matrimonial alliances with the Ikshvakus,[41] probably of the Telugu country, and the Early Kadambas of Banavāsi. The wife of Kṛishṇavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty was a Kaikēya princess[42] and Mṛigēśvaravarman, the brother of Ravivarman was married to Prabhāvatī who "was born in the noble Kaikēya family".[43] On the authority of the Purāṇas Pargiter places the Kaikēyas in the Panjab[44] but no information is available as to when and how they came to the south.

The record is not dated but, as shown above, it can be assigned on palaeographic grounds to the middle of the 8th century. Other internal evidence also supports this view. We know that Satyāśraya was a distinctive and well-known *biruda* of the Chālukya kings and among the Early Chālukyas of Bādāmi there were two kings of the name Vikramāditya. The surname Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya of the donor of the present grant would therefore lead one to infer that either Gōpāladēva himself adopted the name of his overlord the Chālukya Vikramāditya, most probably the second of that name, or that Chaṇḍamahāsēna who owed allegiance to the Chālukya king named his son after his suzerain. This grant might therefore either belong to the reign of Vikramāditya II who ruled from 733-34 to 746-47; or in the absence of mention of any paramount sovereign it may not be impossible that it was issued at a time when the central authority of the Chālukyas had become weak and, along with other feudatory chiefs, Gōpāladēva also tried assume independence. The Chālukya power had not only wanted towards the end of the reign of Kīrttivarman II, the latest date available for whom is A.D. 757, but a portion of their territory had also been conquered by the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga. But it was Kṛishṇa I who dispossessed the Chālukyas of the their territory and established the Rāshṭrakūṭa supremacy by 'transforming into a deer the great boar' which was the emblem of the Chālukyas.[45] Since Kṛishṇa I must have ceased to rule sometime between 772, the date of his Bhāndak plates[46] and 775, the date of the Pimpari plates of Dhārāvarsha,[47] the final overthrow of the Chālukyas may be placed somewhere about 770. Thus our record may have to be allotted to a period between 735 and 770.

Of the places mentioned in the grant Payvegundu can be identified with Haigunda, a village about 12 miles east of Honavar, on the bank of the river Śarāvatī. Peramale has probably to be identified with the modern village Heravali which lies at a distance of about six miles north-west of Haigunda; and Taṇvaḷḷi may be the same as the present Tumbolli, also close to Haigunda.

TEXT

First Plate

1 Svasti [|*] Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya-śrī-pṛithuvī(thvī)-vallabha- Palla-

2 va-rāja-Gōpāladēvasya Kaikēya-vaṁś-ōdbhav-ōddhata-pradhāna-pu-

3 rushasya anēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁkṛita-prasēvya-Lakshmī-nivā-

4. sa-vaksha-sthalasya anēka-raṇa-vipula-śatru-jana-prabhañjana-ka-

5 ri-kar-ākāra-bāhu-dvayasya Chaṇḍamaha(ā)sēna-putrasya Payve-

Second Plate; First Side

6 gundu-pur-ēśvarasya Pallava-rājēna dattaḥ[48] [||*] Mantri-purōhita-śrīkara-

7 ṇamuṁ sāsirvvaruṁ aṟunūrvvaruṁ sahitaṁ tamma prasāda-paran=a-

8 pponge Ārida(Hārita)-gōtrajange Siṁgitale-Paṇyārange Kāsaṁpa-

9 ḻḻiya sama-bhāgamān chandra-sūryyar=uḻḻappinaṁ sarvva-viruddha- ra-

10 hitaṁ Gōpāladēva[r*] koṭṭar bhukt-ānubhuktaṁ salutt-iḻdudu [||*]

Second Plate; First Side

11 Mane-dāṇamuṁ Palage-gaṇṭaṁ modaḷ-āge kaḻaniyuṁ vaḍagaṇṇā sīme

12 Peramaḻe paḍuvaṇṇā sīme Taṇvaḻḻi Gārapāḻi teṅkaṇṇā sīme

13 Neydalgeṟeyā ēri mūḍaṇṇā sīme Iḍeveṭṭadā vaḍaga-

14 ṇṇā nīriṟaga Koḷaguppe peḻjavasi ardhaṁ kānasoppin=ardhaṁ

15 vāral-ardhaṁ karsa-piṇḍaṁ nūṟ-irpatt-entu(ṇṭu) koṁbe gāroḍam pa-

Third Plate

16 ḍeyaṁ meṇṭu(eṇṭu) mūḍe jamaḻi ondu Idu Gōpa(ā)ladēvarā da-

17 tti itaḥ-param=idān=aḻivōr ī aṟunūṟu bhūmi agra-

18 ha(ā)ramuṁ Vāraṇāsiyumān=aḷidorā lōkakke salvār [||*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-6. Hail! This is the gift of the Pallava chief Gōpāladēva alias Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya, who was the favourite of Fortune and Earth, the chief among the exalted personages born of the Kaikēya family, who was adorned with a multitude of virtues and whose breast was the abode of the *(goddess)* Lakshmī, who had a pair of arms which resembled the elephant's trunk in shape and which had destroyed the hosts of enemies in several battles, who was the son of Chaṇḍamahāsēna and the lord of the city of Payvegundu.

Ll. 6-10. Gōpāladēva, attended by his minister, the *purōhita* (family priest), the *Śrīkaraṇa* (officer of Accounts), the one- thousand *(mahājanas)* and the six-hundred *(nāḍu)* granted, free from all opposition, to Siṁgitale-Paṇyāra of the Hārita-gōtra who had earned his (Gōpāladēva's) favour the equal share *(i.e., half)* of the village Kāsampaḻḻi *(to be enjoyed)* as long as the sun and the moon exist. *(This estate)* was in (his) continued enjoyment.

Ll. 11-14. *(The portion granted was as follows)*:- The house site and the rice-fields beginning from *(the place called?)* Palage-gaṇṭa. The northern boundary *(of this was)* the *(village)* Peramaḻe, the western boundary *(consisted of the villages)* Taṇvaḻḻi and Gārapāli, the southern boundary *(was)* the embankment of the *(tank called)* Neydalgeṟe and the eastern boundary *(was)* the lake on the north of *(the hill called)* Iḍeveṭṭa.

Ll. 14-16. *(Besides this)* he was granted one half of the incomes *koḷaguppe*[49] and *peḷjavasi,* one-half of *kāna-soppu* and one-half of *vāral* and a lump sum of one hundred and twenty eight *karsa (=kārshāpaṇa?).........*[50] and a pair of eight *mūḍes.*

Ll. 16-18. This was the gift of Gōpāladēva. He who destroys this will enter the world of those who destroy this *agrahāra* comprising six hundred lands and Benares.

REFERENCES

1. *Ep.Ind.,* Vol. XI, p. 338 and *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. V, plate facing p. 50.
2. Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.
3. *A.S.R.,* 1906-07, p. 232, f.n.6.
4. Longhurst: *Pallava Architecture,* Pt. I, p. 5.
5. Dubreuil, *The Pallavas,* p. 33; the author is, however, of the opinion that the caves were the work of the Vishṇukuṇḍins.
6. *A.S.R.,* 1906-07, p. 232, f.n.6; see also above, Vol. XI, p. 343
7. *Journal of the Mythic Society,* Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 82.
8. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, plate facing p. 126.
9. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 15 ff. and plates.
10. *Mys. Arch. Report,* 1927, plates facing pp. 106 and 107.
11. *Ibid.,* 1918, p. 42.
12. *Ep. Carn,* Vol. IV, pp.233 ff. and plates.
13. Below, p. 98.
14. Above, Vol. VI, p. 41.
15. Above, Vol. X, plate between pages 16 and 17.
16. From ink-impressions in the possession of Mr. K.N.Dikshit.
17. Above, Vol. VII, p. 203.
18. Above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 201.
19. *Ibid.,* plate facing p. 98.
20. Below, plate facing p. 100.
21. Above, Vol. IX, plate facing p. 205.
22. Above, Vol VI, plate facing p. 162.
23. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. X, p. 164.
24. *Ibid.,* p. 60.
25. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 18 and 19.
26. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. X, p. 61.

27. According to be *sūtra ataś-chaturthyās-tritīyō-nusvāra-pūrvaḥ-puṁsi* of Nāgavarma's *Bhāshābhūshaṇa* (R.Narasimhachar's edition p. 28, *sūtra* no. 62), the earliest extant Kanarese grammar of the 12th century A.D. the dative termination *ge* is preceded by an *anusvāra.* It is thus evident that the forms used in our grant had become obsolete by the time of this grammarian.

28. Above, Vol. IX, p. 20.

29. Above, Vol. XIV, p. 189.

30. It may be noted, however, that the genitive suffix long *ā* and the accusative suffix *ān* are allowed optionally by Nāgavarma in the *sūtras dīrgh-ādēśash-shasṭhyā yathēshṭaṁ (Bhāshābhūshaṇa,* No. 67) and *dvitīy-āntasya vā svarē (ibid,* No. 68). But the examples he cites to illustrate the latter appear to be from the works of two writers who lived before him viz., Haripāla and the poet Bhuvanaikavīra.

31. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. X, p. 164.

32. On this word Rao Bahadur R.Narasimhachar has kindly written to me as follows:- "usually we have the adverb *uḷḷinam* but here the form is *uḷḷappinaṁ.* May it be for *uḷḷar-appinam?".*

33. Above, Vol. IX, p. 23

34. I am indebted for this suggestion to Rao Bahadur R.Narasimhachar

35. Since *karsa-piṇḍaṁ* is specified as 128 it appears to me that it denotes the gift of a lump sum *(piṇḍa).* If so, *karsa* may be taken to be the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *karsha (=kārshāpaṇa). Karsapiṇḍam* would then mean the *Kārshāpaṇas* paid in a lump unlike the taxes noted above, of which the donee was to receive a half. This explanation seems to gain strength by the use of a somewhat similar expression in an inscription, of the 11th year of the Chālukya king Pratāpachakravarti Jagadēkamalla II (No. 503 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1915); the passage runs as:-*tanna tōhiya manneyavam kāṇikey-āya-dāya sarvv-āya-śuddhi varshaṁ-prati hanneraḍu gadyāṇama piṇḍ-ādānavāgi oḍambaṭṭu dhārā-pūrvvakaṁ māḍi koṭṭa.* Here the twelve *gadyāṇas* (gold coin) were granted as a lump sum.

36. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 21 and 23.

37. An inscription of about the 7th or 8th century at Aihoḷe (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol VIII, p. 287) calls the five hundred *mahājanas* of the place as simply the five-hundred. The *'mahājanas* of Chiṁchili' in the Gadag Taluka who are stated to be fifty-six in a Rāshṭrakūṭa record of Śaka 819 (No. 104 of the Bombay-Karnataka Collection for 1926-27) are referred to merely as the 'fifty- six' in another lithic record of the same place (No. 101 of the same collection). Similarly while the one-thousand *mahājanas* of Lokkiguṇḍi are designated as such in an inscription (No. 51 of the same collection) of that place, another inscription (No. 52 of the same collection) describes them as the 'one-thousand'.

38. *A.S.R.,* 1906-07, p. 239 and above, Vol. XIX, p. 84

39. No. 12 of Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India.* But we know of an earlier Chaṇḍamahāsēna who was the king of Avanti and father of Vāsavadattā so well known to Sanskrit literature.

40. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 29

41. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. XI, Dg. 161.
42. Above, Vol. VI, p. 18.
43. *Mys. Arch. Report,* 1911, p. 35
44. *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition,* pp. 264 and 293
45. *Bombay Gazetter,* Vol. I, part ii, p. 391
46. Above Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.
47. Above, Vol. X, pp. 81. ff. Gōvinda II for whom we have no dated records seams to have ruled only for short time before 775.
48. Read *Pallava-rājasya dattiḥ.*
49. For the explanation of these terms see above p. 176.
50. The meaning of *kombe gārodam* is not clear.

10

ANNIGERI INSCRIPTION OF KIRTTIVARMAN (II); THE SIXTH YEAR*

The stone inscription forming the subject of this paper was copied by me during the field season of the year 1928-29 at Aṇṇigeri (or more correctly Aṇṇigeṟe) a village in the Navalgund Taluka of Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency** and a Railway station on the Hubli-Guntakal section of the M & S.M.Railway. Though at present a small village, Aṇṇigeri appears to have been an important town from early Chālukya times down to the Muhammadan period. In the 9th century it was the chief town of the Beḷvola three-hundred district administered by Dēvaṇṇayya, an officer of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarsha I.[1] Under the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi and the Hoysalas it continued to be known as the *rājadhāni-paṭṭaṇa* or the capital town.[2] Several other inscriptions of successive periods prove the importance of the place down to the time of Sultān Muḥammad Shāh of Bijāpur in *Śaka* 1567.[3] In Sanskrit records the place is called Anyataṭāka, obviously a Sanskritized form of the Kanarese name Aṇṇigeṟe. The present inscription which is the earliest record at the place is engraved on three faces of a small pillar set up in front of the Banaśaṅkarī temple. As it refers to the construction of a *chēdiya* (Skt. *Chaitya)* it may be surmised that this pillar does not belong to the Banaśaṅkarī temple.

The record is fairly well preserved except for the first two lines on its first face. But the king's name can be read in 1.1 as Kīrttivarmma and the rest, being the usual preamble can be supplied from other inscriptions. The alphabet is Kanarese of the 8th century A.D. written in a neat upright hand. Among initial vowels, the record contains *ā* in *āṟaneyā* (1.5), *i* in *idaṟa* (1.10) and *o* in *ond-*(1.4). Medial *ī* is distinguished from *i* by a small loop in the circle denoting the *i* sign (cf. *geyd=ī* in line 8 with *chēdiya* in line 9). Medial *u* is a hook on the right in *ku* (cf. *Kuppa* in line 11) while it is a U-shaped stroke at the bottom in other letters (cf. *jēbuḷagēri* in 1.7). The length in *ū is* marked by the addition of a downward curve to the *u* sign as in *ṇḍū* of *gāmuṇḍū* (1.8). The *e* sign is marked as in older inscriptions by a stroke to the left added to the *talekaṭṭu* as in *ne* of *āṟaneyā* (1.5). Among consonants the inscription has four of the test letters *kh, j, b,* and *l (ṅ* alone being absent) all of which present early forms. Ḍ is distinguished from *d* both when it occurs singly and when it forms a ligature with *ṇ* (cf. *ḍi* of*=māḍisidon,* 1.9 and *ṇḍū* of *gāmuṇḍū,* 1.8) The Dravidian *ṟ* is found thrice, in *ṟa* of *āṟaneyā* (1.5) and *idaṟa* (1.10) and in *ṟi* of *niṟisidā* (1.12); and final *n* is found in *nāman* (1.14). The language of the record is archaic Kanarese. Attention may be drawn to the accusative suffix *ān* (e.g., *chēdiyamān*=1.9) and the genitive suffix *ā* (*āṟaneyā,* 1.5) and the form of the verb *māḍisidon* (1.9). The orthography is free from any faults except for the use of the long *ū* for the short in *gāmuṇḍū.* There is no distinction between short and long *e* and *o.*

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI, pp. 204-206

** Now in Karnataka. - Ed.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the *chēdiya,* i.e., *(chaitya* or Jaina temple) by Kaliyamma who was holding the office of the headman of Jēbuḷagēri and the erection in front of it of a sculpture by a certain Koṇḍiśulara-Kuppa whose other name was Kīrttivarmma-Gōsāsi. The latter is clearly the name of his master *(prabhunāman)* as stated in the last line. The writer was one Diśāpāla.

The record is dated in the sixth year of king Kīrttivarmma-Satyāśraya. The title Satyāśraya affords enough proof to show that the king belonged to the early Chālukya dynasty of Bādāmi and as the epigraph is on palaeographic grounds assigned to the 8th century A.D.Kīrttivarmma of our record must be the second king of that name. Since his initial year has been fixed by the late Dr.Fleet as 746-47 A.D. the date of our record would be 751-52 A.D. Only two stone inscriptions and two copper-plates of this king have so far been published. Of them the Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription[4] and the copper plates are throughout in Sanskrit and the damaged Āḍūr inscription[5] is partly in Sanskrit and partly in Kanarese. The present inscription is thus the first complete Kanarese record of this king.

Attention may be drawn to the rare Kanarese expression *ond-uttaraṁ* (increasing by one) occurring in this inscription. So far as I know this word is found only in two other Rāshṭrakūṭa records, viz., the Niḍagundi inscription[6] of Amōghavarsha I and the Veṅkaṭāpur[7] inscription of Kṛishṇa II. Fleet, while editing the former inscription has remarked that this expression denoted an elliptical system of reckoning the regnal year of a king in which there was 'an omission of some kind or the other whether intentional or accidental'. This supposed omission was in his opinion the word *aṟuvattaneya* (i.e., sixtieth); for "with a cycle of sixty years actually in use an elliptical method of designating years in excess of the number of sixty in such a case as this one is perfectly intelligible and admissible," but it was difficult to recognise anything rational in an elliptical expression being used for the years eleven, twenty-first, thiry-first, etc. According to Fleet, the full expression as it ought to be was, therefore, *ond-uttaraṁ aṟuvattaneya varshaṁ* meaning 'the sixtieth year increased by one' or the sixty-first year of the reign of the king to whom it belonged. The learned scholar's conclusion was apparently influenced by the fact that the only record containing the expression known to him was an undated record of a king who reigned for over 60 years. But the present inscription and the Veṅkaṭāpur record referred to above belong to kings whose reigns did not last so long and can be referred respectively to the 6th year of Kirttivarman (II) and to *Śaka* 828 (which was the 29th regnal year of Kṛishṇa II). The explanation offered by Fleet is thus entirely out of place and *ond-uttaraṁ* must therefore be interpreted in some other way. The context in which it occurs in the three records would show that it is an exact counterpart of the widely used expression *uttar-ōttaram,* viz., in conjunction with the word *rājyaṁ* or *rājyābhivriddhi.*[8] *Ond-uttaram* can therefore be understood as an idiomatic expression synonymous of *uttar-ōttaram,* denoting 'progressively'.

Jēbuḷagēri mentioned in the inscription appears to be a part of the town of Aṇṇigeṟe.

TEXT

First Face

1 Svasti [||*] Kīrtti[va]rmma-[Satyā]śraya

2 śrī-pṛithu[vī-vallabha] mahārājā-

3 dhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭārara

4 rājyaṁ ond-uttram-abhivriddhi sa-

5 le āṟaneyā varshaṁ prava-

Second Face.

6 rddamānam=āge Jē-

7 buḷagērige Kali-

8 yamma gāmuṇḍū(u)-geyd=ī

9 chēdiyamān=māḍisidon

10 idaṟa munde Koṇḍi-

Third Face.

11 śulara-Kuppa Kīrttivarmma-

12 gōsāsiya niṟisidā

13 kirttana Dīśāpālasya li-

14 khitaṁ Prabhunāman

REFERENCES

1. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 100 and Vol. VII, p. 204.
2. See, for instance, Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1928-29, Nos. 187 and 189.
3. Same collection No. 202.
4. Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.
5. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, p. 69.
6. Above, Vol. VII, p. 212.
7. No. 82 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27. The name of the king is wrongly given as Amōghavarsha for Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II).

11

TWO STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF KRISHNA II; ŚAKA 805*

These two inscriptions[1] were copied by me in the year 1926-27 in the villages of Soraṭūr and Siruṁja both in the Gadag Taluka of the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency** Soraṭūr (ancient Saraṭavura), where a battle was fought between the Hoysaḷa king Ballāḷa II and the Yādava king Bhillama has already been fully described by the late Dr. Fleet on p. 176, Vol. XIII of this journal. Siruṁja which is three miles north of Soraṭūr does not seem to have enjoyed any importance. The inscription at Soraṭūr, which I shall call A, is incised on a slab set up in front of the Veṅkaṭēśa temple and is in an excellent state of preservation. The Siruṁja record, which is called B in the sequel, is on a hero- stone near the village school and is damaged to some extent, particularly in lines 3 and 4.

The alphabet is Kanarese quite regular for the period to which the records refer themselves. Attention may be drawn to the following features which present themselves in this transitional period when the script underwent some radical changes:- the earlier form of initial *i* consisting of two curves with two dots below still persists (see *Indapayya* 1.4 of A); medial *e* is expressed in two different ways (i) by the addition of a downward stroke at the left of the *talekaṭṭu* as in earlier records (cf. *mē* of *paramēśvara* in 1.2 of A) and (ii) by a superscript mark as in *ge* of *Purigeṟe* (1.5 of A) and *de* of *Puḷide* (1.4 of B). As in older records no distinction is made between medial *e* and *ē* and *o* and *ō*. While in A, the later cursive form of *j* is used throughout, only the earlier form is found in B (cf. *ja* in *rāja* 1.1. of A with *rāja* 1.1. of B). The letter *l* is of the later cursive type with the miniature of the earlier type in the centre. Both the special Dravidian consonants *ṟ* and *ḷ* are much more developed than in records of the eighth century (e.g., *Purigeṟe* and *iḷdu* in 1.5 of A and *niṟisido* and *Puḷide* in 1.4 of B). The lingual *ḍ* cannot be distinguished from the dental *d* in both the records.

The language of the inscriptions is Kanarese prose. Attention may be drawn to the nominal verb *nāḍayisu* (assemble) from the noun *nāḍu* which is a rare formation. Another interesting and still unexplained word is *gōsāsa* occurring in 1.7 of A. Dr. Fleet has suggested[2] that it might be a corruption of the Sanskrit word *gōshṭha.* That the word is connected with Sanskrit *gō* (cow) has already been pointed out by him. In the Soraṭūr record (A) the occurrence of the expression *stan-ābhivṛiddhi* (prosperity of the udders) immediately after the mention of the gift of *gōsāsa* confirms this view. But Fleet's suggestion that the word may mean a cow-shed is not correct for, it is not possible to derive *gōsāsa* from *gōshṭha;* it is more probable that the word is an abberation of Kanarese rendering of *gō-sahasra.* This is strengthened by the fact that a certain Kōsigara Kōṭeyamma who is described as a *gōsāsi* in one of the inscriptions of Beḷāgi[3] in the

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** Now in Karnataka. - Ed.

Mysore State is described in another record[4] of the same place as *gōsahasram=āḷdam* (i.e., who was the manager or the keeper of *gōsahasra*). The mention first of a gift of *gō-sahasra* and then of a *gō-sāsa* is not found in the Chinchli inscription[5] as supposed by Fleet. In other epigraphs from the Bombay-Karnataka we have similar references to the gifts of *gō-sahasra.*[6]

As regards orthography, B is free from any errors except the use of *s* for *ś* in *Śaka* (1.2), but A is full of mistakes. Unnecessary lengthening of letters such as *Paramēśvarā* for *Paramēśvara* (1.2) and *Indāpāyyā* for Indapayya (1.4) is very common in the record. R is used for the vowel ri, in *prithuvī,* (1.1) and *vriddhi* (1.2).

The inscription A records the gift of a *gōsāsa* by a certain Chidaṇṇa made in the presence of the Fifty *(mahājanas)* of Saraṭavura who had assembled together when Indapayya was governing the *nāḍu* (district). As we are told that Saraṭavura was situated in the Purigeṟe-nāḍu the district which Indapayya was administering was evidently Purigeṟe. From other inscriptions we know that this was a three-hundred district or a district comprising 300 villages. Indapayya who was in charge of this district is introduced to us here for the first time. B is a hero-stone recording the death of a certain Eṟeyamma in a cattle-raid at Nivudi and the setting up of the stone by Guṟevemma, the youger brother of Puḷide-gāvuṇḍa.

Both the epigraphs refer themselves to the reign of Akālavarsha and are dated in the *Śaka* year 805 and A gives, in addition, Sōbhakṛit as the corresponding cyclic year. Thus the English equivalent of the date is A.D. 883-84. Akālavarsha of the records whose proper name Kannarabhaṭāra is also given in A is no other than the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II, the successor of Amōghavarsha I for whom the latest date known so far is A.D. 877- 78. The earliest date hitherto available for Kṛishṇa II was A.D. 888.[7] The present records thus furnish the earliest date for this monarch leaving only a gap of six years after the last known year of Amōghavarsha.

Of the places mentioned Saraṭavura is the modern Soraṭūr where inscription A was found. Nivudi has probably to be identified with Nigadi, a village about 8 miles south-west of Dharwar.

TEXT

A

1 Svasti Śrī[|| *] Akālavarishā(varsha) prithuvī(pṛithvī)-vāllava(vallabha) mārajādi-(mahārājādhi)rā[ja]

2 paramēśvarā(a) śrīmat-Kannara-bhaṭ[ā]rara rājy-ābhivri(vṛi)ddhi saluttum=i-

3 re Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ātīta-saṁbā(va)tsaraṁgal=eṇṭu-nūṟ-āydā(ayda)ne[ya*] Sō(Śō)-

4 bhakṛit eṁbha(ba) saṁbha(va)tsaraṁ pra[va[8]]rttise Indāpāyyāṁ(Indapayyaṁ)nāḍān=āḷutt-i

5 re Purigeṟe-nāḍa Saraṭavurad=ā(a)yvadimbarum=iḷdu nāḍayise Māna-

6 sigara-Chidā(da)ṇṇ[ṁ*] gōsā-

7 sam=iḷdo[ṁ]

8 stan-ābhivṛiddhi[||*]

9 nama[ḥ]

B

1 Svasty=Akālavarsha śrī-pṛithuvī(pṛithvī)-vallabha mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara bhaṭārar[ā]

2 [sa]kala-rājy-ābhivṛiddhige saluttum=ire Sa(Śa)ka-varsham=eṇṭu-nūṟa

3 aydaneya varshaṁ pravarttisutt-ire [Kadalekadhi]pāṇṇā Eṟeyammaṁ Nivudi-turugoḷoḷ=kā-

4 di sattom|| Ī kalla Puḷide-gāvuṇḍa[na*] tamma Guṟeyamma niṟisido ||

REFERENCES

1. Nos. 73 and 59 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27.
2. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 255.
3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1929, p. 152, No. 79.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 151, No. 78.
5. Above, Vol. VI, p. 255, f.n. 2.
6. See, for instance, No. 148 of the Bombay-Karnatak collection for 1926-27 and No. 11 of the same collection for 1928-29.
7. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 189.
8. This letter *va* which is much smaller than the rest was omitted first and inserted later on.

12

JURA PRASASTI OF KRISHṈA III*

This inscription was discovered by Mr. R.D. Banerji, in 1921. It is incised on a stone slab which, Mr.Banerji says, is being used as a lintel in a modern bungalow erected inside an old fort in the village of Jura which is a hamlet some twelve miles away from the Maihar railway station on the G.I.P. railway line. A brief notice of its contents has already appeared in the Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1921-22.[1] I edit it below from the impressions sent by Mr. Banerji in 1922 and kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The writing comprises 37 lines covering a space of 9 inches by 4 feet and is generally well preserved except in lines 3-13. The language of the record is Haḷe-Kannaḍa, lines 1-13 and 33-37 being written in prose and lines 17-33 in verse and the *kanda* metre. The use of the word *nōḍire* as an interjection meaning "behold" is noteworthy. Only one more instance of the use of this interjection is known to me, viz., in verse 11 of the Sogal Inscription.[2] The characters are Kanarese referable to the 10th century A.D. The size of the letters varies from about 1½" to about 1/2". The vowel *u* subscript is denoted in three different ways, e.g., see (1) by *ru* in *maruḷa* 1.4 (2) by *du* in *sōladu* 1.26, and (3) by *dhu* in *vadhu* 1.28. The *ē* sign is formed sometimes by a superscript mark, as in *mē* of *paramēśvara* 1.2, and sometimes by a mark on the left of the letter, as in *bē* of *bērinde* 1.19. No distinction is made between *e* and *ē* when they are combined with consonants. The sign for the vowel *ai* which occurs only once in *Kāmai,* 1.34, is worth notice. In respect of orthography, we may note (1) the correct use of the archaic *ḷ* in *kiḷta* (ll. 20-21), *Choḷa* (1.20) and *iḷd* (1. 32); (2) the doubling of consonants after *r* as in *vaniteyarkkaḷ* (1.11); and (3) the wrong use of *s* for *ś* as in *prasasti* (1.36).

The inscription is a panegyric of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Paramēśvara, śrī-Pṛithvīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja,* Kannaradēva. In the prose passage, with which the record opens, this king is introduced with the *birudas* of nallara-maruḷaṁ, āne-veḍaṁgaṁ, chalake-nallātaṁ, vairi-vlḷāsaṁ, madagaja-mallaṁ, parāṅganā-putraṁ, gaṇḍa-mārtaṇḍaṁ, Akāḷavarshaṁ, Nṛipatuṅgaṁ and Kachchegaṁ.[3] All these epithets except those of *nallara-maruḷaṁ, vairi-viḷāsam, parāṅganāputraṁ* and *Nṛipatuṅgam*[4]-which are met with for the first time in the present inscription-are known to have been borne by a Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III, as has already been pointed out by Dr.Fleet.[5] Again, as is shown by the Atakur,[6] the Solapuram[7] and other records, it was Kṛishṇa III who uprooted the Chōḷas. Accordingly the king eulogised in this record must be identified with him, namely, Kṛishṇa III of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Malkhed.

The only historical event alluded to in the record is the destruction of the Chōḷa power by Kṛishṇa. Verse 2, describing this achievement, tells us that the Āne-veḍeṅga (i.e., Kṛishṇa) "rooted out the Chōḷa who had uprooted the Pāṇḍya." It may be noted in this connection that the expression *Chōḷana bēraṁ bērinde kiḷtan* of this record is a Kanarese rendering of कृत्वा चौलान्वयोन्मूलनं found in the Karhad grant,[8] where we are told that Kṛishṇarāja uprooted the race of the Chōḷas with the intention of subduing the southern region. The Chōḷa who is said to have uprooted the Pāṇḍya was Parāntaka I who ruled from A.D. 907 to 953; for not only was he a contemporary of Kṛishṇa III, but is also known to have waged three wars against the Pāṇḍyas and captured their capital Madura.[9] And we learn from the Kanyākumāri inscription[10] that Parāntaka killed the Pāṇḍya king. It was during the reign of this Parāntaka that Kṛishṇa III fought the famous battle of Takkōlam, killed the Chōḷa prince Rājāditya and took possession of the Chōḷa territory.[11] Thus, it is evidently this incident that is alluded to in the present inscription. Kṛishṇa's occupation of the Chōḷa dominions is also borne out by the large number of his records, found in that part of the country, which give him the epithet *Kanchchiyuṁ Tañjaiyuṁ koṇḍa,* i.e., he who took Kāñchi and Tanjore.

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* Published in *Epigraphia India,* Vol. XIX, pp. 287-

The existence of the present record in Jura near Jubbulpore shows clearly that Kṛishṇa's conquests were not confined to the south, but extended to the north also. The Karhad grant tells us that he conquered the Kalachuri Sahasrārjuna though he was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. The grant, however, says explicitly that his success was one of those achieved by Kṛishṇa while he was yet a prince *(kumāra)* and acting under the orders of his father *(janakājñāvaśa).* But it is clear that the expedition during which our inscription was engraved was undertaken after he became king, since in this record he is described as a paramount sovereign. Consequently, the latter expedition must be different from the one mentioned in the Karhad grant. The record is not dated and it is, therefore, not possible to ascertain precisely the time when this expedition took place. But the allusion to the crushing of the Chōḷa power made in the epigraph would show that it was undertaken after the overthrow of the Chōḷas and after Kṛishṇa III had killed the Chōḷa prince Rajāditya in A.D. 947.[12] It is quite reasonable to surmise, therefore, that the expedition to the north was led by Kṛishṇa III after A.D. 947. In the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa epitaph of the Gaṅga chief Mārasiṁha,[13] we are told that he became known as the King of the Gūrjaras by conquering the northern region of Kṛishṇaraja (III). Evidently, the same campaign is referred to in the Kudlur plates of A.D. 963 which were issued by the same chief and which tell us that Kṛishṇarāja, when setting out on an expedition to the north, himself performed the ceremony of crowning Mārasiṁha as the ruler of Gaṅgapāḍī.[14] If the northern expedition, in the course of which our inscription was written, is identical with the one mentioned in the Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa and Kūḍlūr records, it must have taken place in A.D. 963-64 which was, according to Fleet,[15] the first year of Mārasiṁha's rule. Consequently, the inscription under publication will have to be ascribed to that very year, viz., A.D. 963-64.

The *praśasti* was written by Chimmayya at the instance of Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Kāmaisetṭi. Both these persons appear to be new, for they are not known from other records.

TEXT.

1 Svasti [||*] parama-bhaṭṭāra-

2 ka paramēśvara sri-[16]pri-

3 thvī-va[llabha] maharājā[dhi]-
4 rā[ja ne(na)]llara-maruḷan-ā-
5 ne-[veḍe]ṁgaṁ chalake-na[llā]-
6 taṁ [vairi]-viḷāsaṁ mada[ga]-
7 ja-mallaṁ parāṁganā-pu-
8 traṁ ga[ṇḍa]-mārtaṇḍan=Akāḷava-
9 rishaṁ[17] Nṛi[patu]ṁgaṁ ka[ch]chegam[18] śrī-
10 mat-Kannaradēvaṁ || kanda [||]
11 . . . . . . vaniteyarkka-
12 . . . . . . kanda gaḷum bama-
13 . . . . . . || kanda kaṇḍuṁ nōḍa-
14 du kaṇ=nuḍiyadu bā[y=kū]-
15 ḍadu chittaṁ Parāṁganā-
16 putrakana || [1* ||] Bhārata-
17 doḷ=i[ṟidan=I]ndranoḷ=ōr=ā-
18 sana-[jā]ṇan=enipa Pā-
19 ṇḍyana [kula]maṁ bērinde
20 kiḷta [Chō]ḷana bēram
21 bēri[ndeki]ḷṭan=Āneve-
22 ḍeṅgaṁ || [2 ||*] [Sō]lade para-va-
23 nitege [ka]ṇ=sōladu mo-
24 le-vālan=ūḍi naḍapida
25 tō(tā)yaṁ(yiṁ) mēl=ene bageguṁ
26 nōḍire sōladu chittaṁ
27 Parāṁganāputrakana || [3||*]
28 Nōḍire para-vadhuge
29 manaṁ kūḍadu sūḷ-sū-
30 loḷ[19]=etti na[ḍa]pida
31 tōḷ=uṇḍ=āḍida mole ba-
32 siṟ=oḷag=iḷd=āḍida chittaṁ

33 Parāṁganāputrakana || [4||*]

34 Svasti [||*] Ubbi-Kāmai[20] seṭṭiya

35 tammaṁ Tuyyala Chanda-

36 yyaṁ prasa(śa)stiyaṁ bareyi[si*]-

37 daṁ [||*] baredane Chi[mma]yyaṁ [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines I-10.) Hail! Supreme Master, supreme Lord, favourite of Fortune and Earth, great emperor, he who amazed good men *(by his goodness)*, a marvel with elephants, he who is beautiful on account of firmness of character, he to whom *(encounter with)* the enemy is a sport, a wrestler against rutting elephants, a son to other men's wives, a *(very)* sun among heroes, Akālavarsha, Nṛipatuṅga, he who wears the girdle of prowess; the illustrious Kannaradēva.

(Verse 1.) ....women .... the eye of Parāṅganāputra (i.e., Kṛishṇa III) seeing, does not see, *(his)* mouth does not speak and his mind does not unite.

(Verse 2.) Ānevedeṅga (i.e., Kṛishṇa) rooted out the Chōḷa who had uprooted the Pāṇḍya that had become famous as one who had killed *(his enemies)* in the Bhārata *(war)* and who was so skilful as to share with Indra one half of his throne.[21]

(Verse 3.) Unless one is overcome *(with love)* for another's wife, his eye will not be captivated *(by her)* But see! the mind of Parāṅganāputra regards another's wife as more than his mother who has fed *(him)* on her breast milk and taught *(him)* to walk.

(Varse. 4.) Behold! *(His)* mind cannot be attracted towards others' wives; for it is the mind of Parāṅganāputra who considers himself as having remained in the wombs of others' wives and sported there, who regards their arms as those that repeatedly carried him and taught him to walk and their breasts as those which he had sucked *(as a child)* and played with.

(Lines 34-37.) Hail! Tuyyala Chandayya, the younger brother of Ubbi Kāmaisetti caused this eulogy to be written and Chimmayya wrote it.

REFERENCES

1. P. 119.
2. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 3 and add.
3. On p. 119 of the *A.S.R.*, for 1921-22, the word is read as *kabbega* in the Ātakūr inscription, but the facsimile of the latter (facing p. 54, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI) shows clearly *kachchega* which is Fleet's reading.
4. On the significance of the Rāshṭrakūṭa titles ending in *tuṅga* see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 189.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 178-179.

6. *Ibid.,* pp. 50 ff.

7. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, pp. 194 ff.

8. *Ibid.,* Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

9. *Madras Ep. Report,* 1907, p. 72.

10. *Trav. Arch. Series,* Vol. III, p. 111.

11. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, pp. 82.

12. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82 and 83 and *A.S.R.,* for 1912 f.n. Here it may be pointed out that the late Dr. Hultzsch was of opinion that this event took place in A.D. 949-50.

13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, pp. 151 ff.

14. *Mys. A.R.* for 1921, pp. 17 ff.

15. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, p. 172, Rice held that Mārasiṁha commenced to rule in A.D. 961 *(Coorg Ins.,* p. 12, table).

16. Read° prithvi°

17. Read° Akālavarshaṁ.

18. Though the upper letter in *chche* of this word looks like *bh* it is apparent from the subject that *ch* was the letter intended as in the Atakur inscription; see also *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXXII, p. 216, f.n. 12.

19. Read sūḷ-sūḷoḷ°.

20. Evidently a shortened form of Kāmayya.

21. These legendary accounts of the achievements of the Pāṇḍya kings are also mentioned in the Vēḷvikuḍi and the Siṉṉamaṉūr grants *(Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVII, p. 298, text-line 9 and *S.I.I.,* Vol. III, Pt. IV, pp. 400 and 463).

13

KOLAGALLU INSCRIPTION OF KHOTTIGA; SAKA 889*

The stone which bears this inscription[1] was found at Koḷagallu, which is a railway station on the Guntakal-Hubli section of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. A very brief note on its contents has appeared in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy,* Madras, for the year 1913-14.[2] This is the earliest record of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Khoṭṭiga so far discovered and I edit it below from the estampages kindly placed at my disposal by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription is written in ordinary Sanskrit and in Nāgarī characters closely resembling those of the Dēōlī[3] and the Karhāḍ[4] plates of Kṛishṇa III. The average size of the letters varies from 3/4" to 1". The *ē* sign is written in two ways-(1) by a slanting stroke at the top of the letter and (2) by a stroke beginning at the top of the letter and running down to its bottom on the left side. With the exception of lines 1 to 3, which give the date, the whole of the record is in verse. It may be remarked here that the syntax of verse 5 is faulty. The word *hēmayashṭyāsanō* stands by itself without any connection with the rest of the verse and the verse has no predicate. The form *ṛik-sāmaih* (1.29) is grammatically wrong. The rules of *sandhi* are not observed in *purushōkumārō* (1.31) and *grāmē abhishiktaḥ* (1.33). Apparently this is due to the requirements of the metre. The scanning of the first *pāda* of verse 21 is not in conformity with the rules of prosody for it has one syllable in excess of the actual number required. The text of the inscription contains some technical expression like *daṇḍāsana* and *lōhāsanī* (1.35), the exact import of which is not quite clear. Neither *lōhāsana* nor *daṇḍāsana* finds place in the verse which enumerates the five yōgic āsanas,[5] viz.,

पद्मासनं स्वस्तिकाख्यं भद्रं वज्रासनं तथा ।
वीरासनमिति प्रोक्तं क्रमादासनपञ्चकम् ॥

The word *Kapardin* which generally means Śiva is here possibly used for Kārttikēya. Verse 18 would show that this epithet was applied to the sage Gadādhara also. In respect of orthography,[5] the following points may be noted: (1) A superfluous *anusvāra* is sometimes used before double *n* or before *n* followed by a consonant (e.g., *tasmiṁn-ādhipatyaṁ* in 1.20, *vidvāṁn* in 1.38, *kaṁny-ēva* in 1.42, *anaṁnyāśṛitā* in 1.50 and *sāmāṁnyō* in 1.68; (2) the dental sibilant is used for the palatal in *saravaṇē* (1.23); (3) the letter *v* used in place of *b* in *Ativala* (1.72) and *vrahmachāribhiḥ* (1.79); (4) the consonant *ri* is used for the vowel *ṛi* as in *rik-sāmair* (1.29) and *vice-versa* as in *anaṁnyāśṛitā* (1.50) and *dēvapriya* (1.52); (5) the letter *sh* issued for the *jihvāmūlīya* as well as for the *upadhmānīya* as is seen in *mallash-kurutē* (1.63), *prītish-kapardinaḥ* (1.77), *chakshush=Purushō* (1.31) and *vāpyash=Pārvatī* (1.55); (6) the corrupt or Prakrit form *samvachhara* is used instead of *samvatsara* in lines 1 and 2.

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXL, pp. 260-267.

The record is dated *Śaka* 889 expired, the year Kshaya, Sunday, the Sixth (tithi) of the bright half of Phālguṇa, when Kṛishṇa had died and Khoṭṭigadēva was ruling. This Khoṭṭiga is no other than the homonymous Rāshṭrakūṭa king of Mālkhēḍ, the half brother and successor of Kṛishṇa III.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the images of Kārttikēya and other gods at the village of Kolagala by the *Brahmachārin* Gadādhara. Verses 2 to 8 glorify the god Kārttikadēva (Skanda) and his *āsana* made of gold. His prowess in destroying the demon Taraka and his brilliant form are then extolled (vv. 9 to 12). Verse 13 describes the ascetic Gadādhara as a *lōhāsanī* belonging to the Śāṇḍilya-gōtra and as a crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country. The next verse tells us that he was born in the village Taḍā and that he was the illuminator of the Varēndrī country. Verse 15 is devoted to the praise of his learning and devotion. We learn from verse 16 that he set up the images of the Sun, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka and that he constructed a tank, a monastery and some wells. According to the following verse, these acts of charity established his fame in heaven. Verse 19 states that he was conducting the administration of the realm of the god Kārttikēya. Verse 22 gives the ancestry of the poet Madhusūdana who composed this *praśasti.* In the last verse Gadādhara beseeches future *Brahmachārins* to have the same love as himself for the god Kapardin.

The importance of this epigraph chiefly lies in its date which corresponds regularly to A.D. 967 February 17, Sunday, the *tithi* commencing at . 66 of the day. The earliest correct date hitherto found for Khoṭṭiga is *Śaka* 890, Vibhava, Jyēshṭha śuddha 1, Thursday[6] (A.D. 968 April 30, Thursday). Our record is thus earlier than this by one year. It is also important in another way for, as Khoṭṭiga was the successor of Kṛishṇa III, it helps us to ascertain Kṛishṇa's last date.

But before proceeding to determine the date of Kṛishṇa's death, I think it is necessary to discuss the date of his accession which has not yet been properly fixed. The Karhāḍ grant[7] of A.D. 959 describes at length the conquests of Kṛishṇa III which were achieved by him after he was crowned king; but the Dēōlī plates[8] whose date is approximately 30th April A.D. 940 makes no mention of any of them. On the other hand the account given in them ends with his coronation. It is very likely, therefore, that Kṛishṇa came to the throne shortly before the date of the Dēōlī plates. And the earliest known regular date of this monarch is *Śaka* 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇasaṁkrānti, Vyatīpāta, Monday[9] (A.D. 939 December 23, Monday). But the Isāmudra inscription[10] of his father Baddega Amōghavarsha III is also dated in *Śaka* 861, Vikārin, Uttarāyaṇasaṁkramaṇa. It has to be noted, however, that this latter date does not admit of verification as neither the week day nor the nakshatra is cited. Now, only one of the following two inferences can be drawn from these dates viz., (1) that Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III were ruling jointly or (2) that the date which does not admit of being tested is not correct. That Kṛishṇa III became king only after his father's death is stated in unequivocal terms in the Dēōlī and the Karhāḍ plates. And Kṛishṇa's record of 23rd December 939 gives him such titles as *Mahārājādhirāja* which are indicative of paramount authority. It follows, therefore, that Baddega must have died before this date, which, as stated above, is the earliest available for Kṛishṇa III. Hence the first alternative viz., that Kṛishṇa and his father were joint rulers has to be rejected and the date of the Isāmudra inscription has to be regarded as incorrect. But as has been shown by Kielhorn[11] long ago there are several instances where Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa is wrongly quoted while other details are given correctly. We may not be wrong, therefore, if we leave out of account the Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkramaṇa of the Isāmudra inscription and take as correct the only other detail contained in it, viz., the cyclic year Vikārin. Then, Baddega would still be on the throne in the year Vikarin which began on 23rd February A.D. 939. In all probability, therefore, Kṛishṇa succeeded his father after this date. Thus the initial year of the reign of Kṛishṇa III would fall between 23rd February and 23rd December A.D. 939.

Now let us ascertain the last date of Kṛishṇa. Our inscription tells us that Khoṭṭiga was holding the reins of government on 17th February A.D. 967, after Kṛishṇa's death. Consequently, the latter ruler must have died before this date. And the latest date that we now have for Kṛishṇa is 6th march A.D. 965.[12] Several inscriptions in the Tamil country are dated in the 28th year of his reign and thus prove that his rule lasted for not less than 28 years.[13] Since, as shown above, he ascended the throne after 23rd February A.D. 939 he must have occupied the throne till some time after 23rd February A.D. 966, when his 28th year began. The wording of the present record, viz., परलोकं गते तस्मिन्नाम्ना कृष्णानृपे निधै राज्ये खोट्टिगदेवस्य (ll. 4-5) would indicate that Kṛishṇa's death had occurred not long before the date cited in it (i.e., A.D. 967 February 17). This surmise is further strengthened by the fact that another record of Khoṭṭiga which is later by 4 years does not contain any reference to Kṛishṇa's death, because it was by that time an event which had taken place long ago.[14] The passage in it which introduces the king runs as: पालयति सति प्राज्ञे खोट्टिगे राज्ञि मेदिनीं We may, therefore, conclude that Kṛishṇa III ruled from A.D. 939 to 966-67. From what has been said above, it also becomes clear that the last year of Kṛishṇa's reign was the 28th year.[15]

Gadādhara who installed the images mentioned above appears to have been an ascetic of great repute as can be seen from the high praise bestowed upon him in the record. As stated above, the realm of god Kārttikēya was under his administrative charge. In another inscription of Koḷagallu of A.D. 964, this tract of territory is called Kārttikēya-tapōvana and we are told that he had full control over it and that he was ruling it from Koḷagallu.[16] We learn from an inscription at Kuḍatini[17] that this person set up in that village an image of Skanda. It thus appears that he was an ardent devotee of this god. We do not know when this celebrity came from Varēndrī to the Kanarese country but this much is clear that he rose to this eminence on account of his learning and other qualities. It is possible, however, that Kṛishṇa III met and brought him to the south during the second northern expedition which, as I have shown elsewhere,[18] took place in A.D. 963-64.

All that we know about Madhusūdana, the author of this inscription, is that he was the son of Atibala and grandson of Ṛishi, that he was a *dvija* of the Karmāra-kula and that his ancestors emigrated from Tarkāri. As the preserved portion of the last verse of the Kuḍatini epigraph, referred to above, is an exact copy of the 22nd verse of our record, the former also appears to have been composed by this same Mudhusūdana. I am not able to identify him with any of the poets of this name who flourished in this period.

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Varēndrī "is identified with that part of Bengal which is now called Rajashāhi".[19] As to Tarkāri, there seem to be a number of places of this name[20] but the Tarkāri of the present inscription is, I think, the famous Ṭakāri, 16 miles north-west of Gayā. Taḍā, where Gadādhara was born, has perhaps to be identified with the modern village Tara lying at a distance of about 12 miles south-east of Dinajpur in Bengal. Kolagala is, doubtless, Koḷagallu where the inscription was discovered.

TEXT[21]

[Metres: vv. 1 to 15, 16 to 21 and 23, *Anushṭubh;* 15 and 22, *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.]*

Fist Face.

1 स्वस्ति श्री [।।*] शकनृपकालातीतसंवछ (त्स)[22] [रा]-
2 ष्ठ(ष्ट)शताशीतिनवाधिकक्षयसंवछ(त्स)रे फल्गु-
3 णाशुद्धषष्ठ्यार्कदिने प्रतिष्ठा कृता ॥ प
4 रलोकं गते तस्मिन्नाम्ना कृष्णनृपे नि[धौ] [।*]
5 राज्ये खोट्टिगदेवस्य धर्मसेतुः कलौ यु-
6 गे ॥ [१*] त्रैलोक्य व्यक्तरूपाय विख्याताय
7 [यश]स्विने [।*] स्वामिकार्तिकदेवाय सर्वज्ञा-
8 य नमोन्नमः(नमः) ॥ [२*] ज्ञानशक्तिधरं देवं श्रीम-
9 द्रुद्रात्मजं शुभं [।*] सर्वलोकहितं शांतं
10 नमामि परमेश्वरं ॥ [३*] सुरसेनाधिपश्रे-
11 ष्ठस्त(स्या)स्य सत्वं महात्मनः [।*] शृण्वन्तु विपु-
12 लां कीर्तिं सर्वपापविनाशनीं ॥ [४*] हेमय-
13 ष्ठ्या(ष्टया)सनोथ[23] त्रिर्गुणाः[24] शौर्यं कपर्दिनः ।
14 [द्वि]जश्रेष्ठगदापाणोः शाश्वतं धर्मकी-
15 र्त्तनं ॥ [५*] उत्पादितं प्रयत्नेन रत्नानेकै -
16 र्विशोभितं [।*] तेजसा शुभ्रमत्यंतमिंद्राध्यै-
17 र्वंदितं सुरैः ॥ [६*] दिव्यरूपासनं रम्यं
18 पूर्ण्णेन्दुरिव निर्मलं [।*] पापघ्नं वेधसा सृ-
19 ष्टं कामरूपि सुखावहं ॥ [७*] स्थित्वा दंडा-
20 सने तस्मिं(स्मि)न्नाधिपत्यं दिवौकसां [।*]
21 कृतं द्वादशनेत्रेण सोयं देवेश्व-
22 रांगभूः ॥ [९*] हेमस्य नलिनीगर्भे षण्मु-
23 खो ध्वादशेक्षणाः [। जातस्स(श्श)रवणे बा
24 लो विश्वात्मा परमेश्वरः ॥ [९*] रुद्रव्र(ब्र)-
25 हाध्यवध्यो यस्तारकश्चासुराधिपः [।*]

26 क्रीडया निहतोनेन ध्वादशार्के [क्ष]-
27 णेन सः ॥ [१०*] भुवि ध्यौरेक(ध्यव्येक) एवायं [देव?]
28 स्तेजोमयः कृती । ध्विजास्प्रभ्यक्कठं [त्ये]-

Second Face

29 वं रि(ऋ) कसामैर्वेदपार-
30 गाः ॥ [११*] विश्वतश्चत्तु-
31 ष्पुरुषो कुमारो[25] वि-
32 श्वतोमुखः[26] [।*] श्रीम-
33 त्कोलगलग्रामे अ-
34 भिषिक्तः शुभे दि [ने] ॥ [१२*]
35 लोहासनी च शाण्डि-
36 ल्यस्सुतपस्वी गदाध-
37 रः [।*] विध्वज्जनाश्रयो
38 विध्वां(ध्वा)न्गौडचूडाम-
39 णिर्गुणी ॥ [२३*] स्वर्गवास-
40 निमित्तार्थ तडाग्रा(मो-)
41 त्न(द्भ)वेन तु [।*] स्थापितो
42 दिव्यमन्त्रेण वरेन्द्रा-
43 ध्योतकारिणा ॥ [१४*] ल-
44 क्ष्मीर्यस्य परेभ्य एव भ-
45 वने कं (क)न्येव दातुं स्थि-
46 ता विध्या यस्य समस्त-
47 जन्तुहितकृध्दीपप्र-
48 भेवामला [।*] भक्तिर्यस्य
49 पतिव्रतेव वनिता स्व-
50 स्मादनं(न)न्याश्रृ(श्रि)ता त-
51 स्मै स्वस्ति गदाधरा[य]
52 [व]सुधादेवपृ(प्रि)याया-
53 [नि]शं ॥ [१५*]

Third Face

54 [इ]होपरं(रि) तथैवार्को वेधा विश्णुर्म [हे]
55 श्वरस्तडागमठिकावाप्यष्पार्वती

56 च विनायक: ॥ [१६*] (सु)पृष्ठे स्थापिता[:*] कीर्त्ति-
57 र्विदिता स्वर्गवासिनां [।*] यस्मात्प्रतिष्ठा
58 देवानां कृता ग्रामेत्र धीमता ॥ [१७*] सुरे-
59 न्द्रभुवने कीर्ति गायंत्यप्सरसस्य-
60 दा [।*] जयत्यसौ कपर्दी च मृगांकव-
61 दनो मृनि: ॥ [१८*] राज्यं श्रीस्वामिन[:*] स्था
62 ने विध्वध्विप्रोपकारह्लं [।*] दुर्भिक्षमल्ल-
63 ष्कुरुते यथा वैरोचनो बलि: ॥ [१९*] स्वा
64 मिभट्टारकस्यायं वरग्रामश्चिर-
65 न्तन: [।*] अ [तो] न दत्ता वसुधा वृथ-
66 क्कृत्वा विशेषत: ॥ [२०*] गृहीत्वा परिमि-
67 ता(प्रमिता) दत्ता भूमिर्या सतिलोदका [।*] विप्रे-
68 भ्यस्सा न हर्तव्या सामां(मा)न्यो धर्मसा-
69 गर: ॥ [२१*] श्रीकर्मारकुलाह्वयध्विज-
70 वरग्रामस्तु(ग्रामात्तु) तर्कारितो निष्क्रम्य क्र-
71 मनिर्मलस्समभवत्तस्मिनृषि[ष्यं]
72 डितस्तत्पुत्रष्प्रथित: क्षितावतिव(ब)-
73 लस्तस्मादभूदय(ध्य)स्सुतस्तेन श्रीम-
74 धुसूदनाख्यकविना शस्ता प्रश-
75 स्ति: कृता ॥ [२२*]

Fourth Face.

76 गदाधरेण सहितं
77 यथा प्रीतिष्कपर्दि-
78 न: [।*] तथान्यैरपि क-
79 र्तव्या भविष्यव्र[ब्र]ह्म-
80 चारिभि: ॥[२३*]

TRANSLATION

(Lines 1 to 3.) Hail! Prosperity! On Sunday the sixth *tithi* of the bright half of the *(month)* of Phālguṇa in the *(cyclic)* year Kshaya, when eight hundred years increased by eighty nine had elapsed since the time of the *Śaka* King, the installation *(ceremony)* was performed.

(Verse 1.) During the reign of Khoṭṭigadēva-the king named Kṛishṇa of excellent qualities having gone to heaven-*(this)* bridge of religious merit *(was erected)* in the Kali age.

(V. 2.) Adoration to the omniscient god Kārttikadēva who has a form which is manifest in the three worlds, who has obtained great fame and is glorious.

(V. 3.) I bow to the Supreme Lord who bears the *(weapon called)* Jñānaśakti, who is the son of the celebrated Rudra, is the auspicious and the peaceful One and the benefactor of the whole universe.

(V. 4.) The chief of the commanders of the army of the gods-let people hear the valour of the high-souled One and his wide fame which is capable of destroying all sins.

(V. 5.) *(Let people hear)* the three *guṇas* and the prowess of *(that god),* who possesses a *yashṭyāsana* made of gold, viz., Kapardin, (otherwise of the ascetic with the matted hair) who holds in his hands the best of birds and the *gadā* and the meritorious act *(of the best of Brāhmans Gadādhara)* which is eternal.[27]

(Vv. 6 and 7.) His seat of heavenly form, created with special effort, decked with many gems, extremely pure in its lustre, worshipped by Indra and other gods, which is capable of destroying sins, which was created by *(god)* Brahmā and which can assume the desired form is comfortable.

(V. 8.) Seated in that *daṇḍāsana* was wielded the generalship of the *(army of)* the gods by the twelve eyed *(god).* Such is the issue of the lord of gods (i.e., Śiva).

(V. 9.) This six-faced, twelve-eyed boy, the soul of the universe, the supreme lord was born in the womb of the lotus of gold in the *śaravaṇa* grass.

(V. 10.) That Tāraka, the lord of demons, who could not be slain by Rudra, Brahmā and other (gods) was destroyed in spot by this (god) who has the twelve suns as his eyes.

(V. 11.) He is the only *(god)* on earth and in heaven who is eternal, who is full of brilliance and who has accomplished his purpose. Thus do the twice-born who are well-versed in the Vēdas praise him well by Ṛiks and Sāmans.

(V. 12.) This Kumāra, the eye and the face of the universe (i.e., who has eyes and faces pervading the whole universe), the *Purusha* was anointed at the illustrious village Kolagala on the auspicious day.

(V. 13.) The learned and virtuous Gadādhara, the crest-jewel of the Gauḍa country, who is a *lōhāsanī (ascetic),* who is a Śaṇḍilya and who has practised great austerities is the refuge of learned men.

(V. 14.) By him who was born in the village of Taḍā and was the illuminator of *(the country of)* Varēndrī was *(the god Kumāra)* consecrated with divine hymn with a view to attain an abode in heaven.

(V. 15.) Prosperity be ever to that Gadādhara, who is dear to Brahmans, whose wealth resides in his house only to be bestowed on others like an unmarried girl, whose learning is pure and beneficial to all beings like the glow of a lamp and whose devotion *(to god)* resorted to none but himself like a chaste wife.

(Vv. 16 and 17.) And besides *(the god named above)* the Sun, Brahmā, Vishṇu, Mahēśvara, Pārvatī and Vināyaka *(all these gods)* were installed on beautiful pedestals and a tank, a monastery and wells were constructed. Since the consecration of the gods was performed in this village by his learned man, his fame became well known to the dwellers in heaven.

(V. 18.) This sage who has the face of the moon is victorious and has matted hair (Kapardin) the heavenly nymphs ever sing his praises in the abode of Indra.

(V. 19.) This Durbhikshamalla (i.e., the destroyer of famine) conducts in the realm of the illustrious Svāmin (Skanda) the administration, which is beneficial to the learned and the Brāhmans, like Bali, the son of Virōchana.

(V. 20.) This excellent and ancient village is the property of the worshipful Svāmin. It is especially on this account that no land *(here)* is parcelled out and given.

(V. 21.) The land which is taken possession of, measured and granted with sesame and water to Brāhmans should not be snatched away: *(this is)* the common *(rule of the*) ocean of Dharma.

(V. 22.) A family immigrated from Tarkāri, the village of the excellent twice born Karmāra community and became pure in successive generations. In it *(was born)* the scholar Ṛishi; his son was Atibala renowned in the world; by the poet Madhusūdana the son born to him, (i.e., Atibala) was this excellent *prasasti* composed.

(V. 23.) Just as love was entertained by Gadādhara[28] towards *(god)* Kapardin, so also should it be done by all the future *Brahmachārins.*

REFERENCES

1. No. 236 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.
2. Part II, para. 36.
3. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.
4. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.
5. See *Śabdakalpadruma* under *āsana.*
6. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 50. An inscription of this king found at Hunavaḷḷi *(Ep. Carn,*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 531) is dated *Śaka* 890, Prabhava, Chaitra, śuddha puṇṇame, Ādityavāra, Saṅkrānti. But the details of the date given here do not work out correctly.
7. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 281 ff.
8. Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *Bombay Gazetter,* Vol. I, Pt. ii, p. 420.
9. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 476.
10. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Cd. 77.

11. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXV, p. 293; see also the dates of the Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 114 of 1913, 113 of 1913, 118 of 1913, 475 of 1914, 478 of 1914 and 291 of 1918 calculated by the late Dewan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris,* Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 35 ff.
12. Bombay-Karnatak Collection No. 113 of 1929-30.
13. See, for instance, Madras Epigraphical Collection Nos. 364 of 1902, 125 of 1906 and 159 of 1921.
14. Same collection No. 44 of 1904.
15. The date of the Kīḷūr record which has been wrongly read as the [3]0th year (Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 232 of 1902) was after re-examination found to be the 20th year.
16. *Madras Epigraphical Report,* 1914, Pt. II, para. 36; No. 234 of 1913.
17. Madras Epigraphical Collection No. 44 of 1904.
18. Above, Vol. XIX, p. 289.
19. Above, Vol. I, page 305 f.n. 2.
20. See *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. LX, pp. 16-17.
21. From inked stampages.
22. The letter क is engraved below the line.
23. Possibly this has to be corrected into हेमयष्ट्रासनस्य.
24. Read त्रीन्गुणान्.
25. Read पुरुषः कुमारो.
26. This reminds one of the Vedic hymn विश्वबश्वचुरत विश्वतो मुखी विश्वतोबाहुरुत विश्वतस्यात् । संबाहुभ्यां धनति संपतत्रैर्द्यावा भूमी जनयन् देव एकः ॥
27. There seems to be a *slesha* here upon the words Kapardin, *dvija-śrēshṭha* and *gadā-pāṇi* describing the greatness both of god Kārttikēya and of the ascetic Gadādhara.
28. The word सहितं seems to be superfluous.

14

TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA*

(1 Plate)

The inscription edited below is engraved on a stone slab lying in front of the big mosque at Taḷaṅgere near Kasaragod, the headquarters of the *taluk* of the name in the South Kanara District of the Madras State.** It was reported that the slab was being used for washing clothes and that consequently a portion of the writing on it was getting worn out. It was, therefore, copied during the winter of the year 1952-53 by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, in the course of his official tour in that district.

The record contains 27 lines of writing. The first four lines embody a Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and are engraved in Grantha characters. The rest of the inscription is in Kannaḍa characters and language. The record may, on palaeographical grounds, be placed in the 10th century A.D. The script does not show any peculiarities calling for special remarks. However, attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 9, 23), *ā* (lines 16, 21), *i* (line 7), *ī* (line 20), *u* (line 9) and *ū* (lines 9, 26). The shape of the long *ā* is particularly noteworthy. The form of final *l* (line 6) may also be noted. The specimens of Grantha and Kannada scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayēndiram Plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya[1] and the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvīhosūr inscription of Śaka 884[2] and the Sogal inscription of the reign of Taila II: Śaka 902.[3] That the Grantha and the Kannaḍa scripts of the inscription under study can individually be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the 10th century A.C. leaves no doubt that the epigraph must be assigned to this very period. Except palaeographical indications the record does not afford any clue for fixing its date; it bears no date nor does it refer itself to the reign of any king, whose dynasty is specified.

Among the orthographical features may be noticed the use of a superfluous *anusvāra* in the following cases: *taṁnna* (line 18), *=ettuvoḍaṁm=ēnānuvaṁ* (line 24). The class nasal is used in *kanda* (line 7), *nandana* (line 12), etc., while it is replaced by the *anusvāra* in *akkum-eṁdu* (line 9), *paṁcha* (line 17), etc. The consonants following the *rēpha* are doubled in *=ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ* (line 6), *dharmma* (line 17), *ūrmme* (line 26).

The chief importance of the record lies in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the state of Kannaḍa language and prosody in the period to which it belongs, i.e., 10th century A.C. Consequently, the special linguistic and metrical features and peculiarities found in the record are discussed at some length here.

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** Now in Kerala. Ed.

The language of the inscription, except that of verse I which is in Sanskrit, is old Kannaḍa interspersed with a few forms of middle Kannaḍa, viz., *-aḍe* (line 7), *ippa* (line 10), *toṟeya* (line 13). Of these *-aḍe* comes from the older morpheme *-oḍe*. And *ippa* is derived, through assimilation from *irpa,* of old Kannaḍa. The accusative morpheme *-an* of old Kannaḍa has dropped its final nasal in *toṟeya.* The retroflex mid-palatal *ḷ* characteristic of Dravidian, is correctly employed. The retroflex *ṟ* occurs quite regularly. In *beṭṭam* (line 12) the nominative is used instead of the accusative *beṭṭam-aṁ. Iḷdudaṁ<irdudaṁ* towards the end of line 11 is a case of back-formation based on analogy and is obviously not correct. Such wrong usages are frequently seen in inscriptions as well as old Kannaḍa manuscripts.[4] Kēśirāja (1260 A.C) expressly prohibits the pronunciation of *r* + consonant as *ḷ* + consonant while admitting that older poets have used the two for the purpose of rhyme.[5] This suggests that there was a wide spread practice among the common folk of pronouncing the *r* + consonant cluster as ḷ + consonant group and it may be this that has prompted the composer, the scribe or the engraver, or possibly all the three, to use the form *iḷdudaṁ* in the present record.

-Uṁ and *-aṁ,* the conjunctive morphemes of old Kannaḍa are seen here in more than one context. One of them attaches itself to all the members entering into a conjunction and the last one takes on the required case suffix, the rest being in the nominative. While interpreting, the case suffix must be deemed to be present in all the other members also. As instances (I) *mane-yu nandana-vanavum-aṁ māḍisi* (11. 12-13), (2) *pasuvuṁ brāhmaṇaruma* (1.19), (3) *pullaḍakkan–ettuvoḍaṁ m–ēnānuvaṁ–biḍidoḍa* (1.24) maybe quoted from the inscription. In the first two the particle *-uṁ* is used and in the third the particle *-aṁ* is used in *ettuvoḍam,* and is absent in *biḍidoḍa,* the second member. Such usage as this is rather rare in Kannaḍa, more so in verse than in prose.[6] According to the grammarians, though not expressly so stated, all the members in conjunction must have the conjunctive particle as also the case suffix.

In the sentence *Ūrmme Jōgavveya vaṁśadoḷ=peṇ-gūsugaḷ–allade gaṇḍu-gūsugaḷa-vaṁśakk aḍihāram=allade salladu,* the second *allade* appears to be superfluous. But such usage might have been the prevalent idiom as attested to by the double usage of *mēṇ* (meaning 'or' and later on 'and') occurring in the sentences given below: (1) *osege mēṇ munige mēṇ,*[7] (2) *paḷige mēṇ pogaḷge mēṇ,*[8] (3) *ose mēṇ muni mēṇ,*[9] wherein the use of *mēṇ* twice is analogous to that of 'either' and 'or' occurring simultaneously in English syntax.

A few words of lexical interest occur in this record and deserve careful study: (1) *mōṟa* (line 9) seems to be connected with *moṟaḍi*[10] and *mōḍu* (Tuḷu) both meaning 'a hillock'; (2) *ovaḷ* from the contexts (lines 10, 13, 15) seems to mean 'brackish'. It appears to be related to the first member *uḷai* of the Tamiḷ compound word *uḷai-maṇ, uḷa-maṇ,* meaning 'salty or brackish soil'; (3) *chāvugāmi* (line 16) is derived from the Sanskrit *chatur-grāmin;* (4) *ūrmme* (line 26) has been translated as 'excellent'. This seems to descend from the Dravidian root *ūṟu* meaning 'to increase', by the addition of the suffix *-me* used to form abstract nouns. As the final *-u* of the root is unstable and not radical the noun *ūrme* is directly formed, meaning 'increase, abundance'. It is in this sense that Paṁpa has employed the word in the phrase *vilāsad-urmegaḷ-oḷ*[11] and the reading here with short *u* in the beginning may be a mistake. The variant reading *perme* found in two of the manuscripts of this work is only a substitution of a synonym and is confirmatory of the meaning deduced above. (5) *Aḍihāra* (line 27) is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit word *adhikāra.*

The importance of this record to the student of Kannada prosody cannot be overstated. The *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* of the first verse and the *Kandas* following are quite familiar in Kannaḍa metrics; but verse No. 4 is not so and is a rare specimen. It is called *utsāha* by the composer of the inscription and demands close scrutiny. Nāgavarma has defined the metre and the definition itself is the illustration.[12] According to him the verse has four lines, each consisting of seven *Brahma-gaṇas* plus one *guru,* with rhyme in the second syllable. Of the four varieties of the *Brahma-gaṇa* (– –, U U –, – U, U U U) only two containing three syllables or *mātrās* are used here and the other two consisting of four syllables or *mātrās* are eschewed altogether. The iambic variety (U –) though containing 3 *mātrās* does not enter into the scheme of *Brahma-gaṇa.* The *utsāha* of the present record is in conformity with the above definition. The 1st, 3rd and 4th lines are quite regular and it is enough to show the scansion of one of them: viz., the first line.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
Ūra | *kaḍeya* | *toṟeya* | *taḍiya* | *kariya* | *kalla* | *mōṟa* | *diṁ*
– U U U U U U U U U U U U U – U – U –

The *tāla* or accent falls on the first syllable of every foot. The second line, however, has an extra long syllable in the first foot:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Puttūra | *poleya* | *r-ippa* | *kēri* | *y-ovaḷa* | *nīra* | *bhūmi* | *yaṁ*
– – U

Though the line is hypermetrical, its rhythm is not in any way interfered with by the extra syllable as the accent here falls on the second long syllable. While reciting the line the existence of the first syllable is practically obliterated. From this point of view the line may also be considered to agree with the definition of Nāgavarma. Instance of the occurrence of such hypermetrical syllable are found in some of the literary works. The following is a couplet by Paṁpa (941 A.C.)[13]

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Naneya | *koneya* | *taḷira* | *muguḷa* | *vana-la* | *tā ni* | *kuñja* / *diṁ*
1 2 3
Prasūna | *rajada* | *puñja* | *diṁ*
U – U

The whole verse contains thirteen such couplets. The first foot of the second line of every couplet has one extra syllable at the beginning, the accent falling on the subsequent long syllable. Similarly Kumudēndu (c. 1275 A.C.) has composed a *ragaḷe* comprising 49 such couplets.[14] The following is a sample:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
Janaka | *tanaye* | *-yāga* | *-agra* | *jaṅg-a* | *tīva* | *harsha* / *diṁ*

1 2 3
Mudaśru | *pūra* | *varsha* | *diṁ*
∪ – ∪

It is thus clear that the composer of our inscription attached more importance to the rhythmic effect than to the rules regulating this metre; this is a creative effort. The record is of unique value in the history of Kannaḍa metrics. The *utsāha* verse found here is the only one of its kind known so far in Kannaḍa literature and epigraphy.

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse which states that to Gautama, who was renowned in the three worlds, was born Śaradvat. Śaradvat's brother was Śantanu whose son was Kṛipa. After many kings born in the lineage of Kṛipa down to Śalya had passed away, Jayasiṁha, the crest-jewel among the *Kshatriyas,* is stated to be victorious, i.e., ruling. He was the abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The king is then stated to have made a gift of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttūr to Mōchabbarasi as *kanyādāna,* i.e., gift to a damsel. The land which was barren and rocky was converted into fertile field by Mōchabbarasi. She constructed a house, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. After the usual imprecation on those who attempt to destroy the charity, the record ends with a statement to the effect that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female children in the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve and not on the male offspring; and that in case there were no female issues the right will pass to the male children.

We have no means of ascertaining the family to which the chief Jayasiṁha, the donor of the grant, belonged or the exact period of his rule. The fact that he does not bear any title indicative of paramountcy would point to the conclusion that he was a local chief. However, we know of a ruler named Jayasiṅgarasa whose inscription is found at Kariangaḷa (Ammuṇaje) near Mangalore[15] He bears the titles *Sōmakulatilaka, Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhattāraka.* As these titles are usually associated with the later Āḷupas, the chief Jayasiṅgarasa of the record has been taken to be a scion of this family though the record in question does not specifically call him an Āḷupa. Since Taḷaṅgere, where the record under publication is found, is within a distance of thirty miles, as the crow flies, from Kariaṅgaḷa, the find spot of Āḷupa Jayasiṅgarasa's record, it is not unlikely that the Jayasiṁha of our record belonged to the same family as Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariaṅgaḷa record did. But, on account of the fact that the Kariaṅgaḷa record, which is also undated, is palaeographically about a century later than the Talaṅgere inscription, the two chiefs cannot be regarded as identical.

It is very well known that from the time of king Vinayāditya[16] of the family of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi the Āḷupas were feudatories of the Chālukyas. From a record recently discovered[17] it would appear that the Āḷupas were even matrimonially connected with the Chālukyas. The Āḷupa chief Chitravāhana seems to have married Kuṁkuma-Mahādēvi, the sister of the Chālukya monarch Vijayāditya. The inscription states that king Vijayāditya made a grant at the request of Chitravāhana to the *Jinabhavana* at Purigeṟe constructed by this lady who seems to be described as causing delight to the heart of the Āḷupa ruler. The request was made when Vijayāditya had come to Banavāsi to visit the Āḷupa prince. From an inscription of the reign of Rāshṭrakūṭa Gōvinda III[18] it is known that a Chitravāhana was administering the Āḷuvakhēḍa division under him. This Chitravāhana has been rightly taken to be an Āḷupa ruler on account of his name and the territory which he was governing.[19] This was about 800 A.C. Subsequent to this date hardly anything is known regarding the activities of this family. If, however, our Jayasiṁha is, as suggested above, an Āḷupa ruler, the fact that no paramount titles are borne by him would indicate that about the end of the 10th century, the period to which he has been assigned, the Āḷupas continued to be vassals either of the Rāshṭrakūṭas whose power was declining or the later Chālukyas who were beginning to lay the foundations of the power after overthrowing the Rāshṭrakūṭas. However, by the time of Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariangaḷa inscription, i.e., 11th century A.C., the Āḷupas seem to have been independent as this ruler is given all the paramount titles.[20]

Besides Jayasiṁha, our inscription mentions two other royal personages, viz., Mōchabbarasi and Jōgavve. The exact relationship which existed between Jayasiṁha and these two ladies is neither stated in the record nor can it be ascertained from the nature of the reference to them made in the record. Nor do we know how Mōchabbarasi and Jōgavve were related to each other. Since at the end of the inscription it is specified that the hereditary rights regarding the possession of the land should devolve on female issues it may be gathered that Mōchabbarasi was either the sister or the niece of Jayasiṁha. If she is to be considered the niece, Jōgavve might have been the king's sister. It may thus be inferred that this practice of the family property passing from mother to daughter obtained in this part of the country at least as early as the 10th century. This law of inheritance which goes by the name of *aḷiya-santāna* is in vogue even today in that area.

The only place mentioned in the record is Puttūr. This may be identified with the village of the same name, a few miles to the north of Taḷaṅgere, the find spot of the inscription.

TEXT

1. [21]Svasti Śrī[||*][22] Āsīch=Chitraśikhaṇḍishu tri-bhuvana-khyātō munir=Gautamas=tat=sūnōś=cha
2. Śaradvataḥ Kṛipa iti bhrā[tu]s=sutaś=Śantanōḥ [|*] tad- vaṁśyēshv=adhunā ga-
3. [23]tēshv=amaratāṁ Śaly-ānta-bhadr-ādishu śrēsṭhaś=śrī-Jayasiṁha
4. ēsha jayati kshatr-aika-chūḍāmaṇiḥ || [1*]
5. Śrī chapaḷateya[ṁ] Vachana-śrī Chaturānana-virāmamaṁ bisuṭu Jaya-śrī-chāru-
6. nētre-y=oḍa-nered=ā-chandr-ārkkaṁ virājisal Jayasiṁhaṁ || [2*] Vachana |[|*] Kanyādānamaṁ nina-
7. g=ittan[24]=endoḍe pettu Mōchabbarasi santōsa[ṁ]-baṭṭ=int=endaḍe | Kanda | Inn=appa bhūpar=ellaṁ
8. ninnorega[ṁ] dorege vārar=adaṟiṁd=āruṁ mannisad=ūraṁ guṇa-saṁpanna samant-īvud=enaga[25] kanyā-
9. dānaṁ || [3*] Akkum=eṁdu || Utsāhaṁ || Ūra kaḍeya toṟeya taḍiya kariya kalla mōṟadiṁ
10. Puttūra poleyar=ippa kēriy=ovaḷa nīra-bhūmiyaṁ sāra-bhūruhaṁgaḷ=ōḷiy=oḷage neṟe-
11. da keṟeyan=aṁbhōruhākshi tanna dhanadin=oppe māḍis-iḷdudaṁ || [4*] Vachana ||

12. [26]Nintārum=ollada kalkāḍa beṭṭaṁ sava-taḷaṁ māḍiy=ōḍila maneyu nandana-
13. vanavumaṁ māḍisi keṟeyaṁ kaṭṭisi toṟeya seṟey=iṭṭ=ovaḷa nela
14. naṁ piridum=āyāsadiṁ sukshētraṁ māḍisidud=adu munna[27] mūḍe-
15. y=ikkuv=ovaḷ-uppu-neladā bhūmiyan=oḷakoṇḍ=agaḷan=agaḷi-
16. si āsanna chāvugāmigaḷ=aṟiye kanyādānaṁ-goṭṭa bhūmiyaṁ
17. kāla-kālāntaradoḷ=ārānum=ī dharmmaman=aḷidu koḷal=āṭisida paṁcha-mahā-pāta-
18. kaṁ tanna tāyaṁ koḷal-endu [28]taṁnna tandeyam kondu [28]taṁnna makkaḷa nettaraṁ kuḍi-
19. du pasuvum Bhāhmaṇaruma Kurukshētradoḷ=aḷid ātana puguva nara-
20. kamaṁ puguvan=akke [|*] ī kanyādānamaṁ koṇḍātan=alpāyushyanum=a-
21. putrikanum=appan=akke || Kandaṁ || Ārādoḍ=akke dhātrī-bhārama-
22. n=ārāṁtōr=āṁtara kayy-āṁtā bīranan=irad āṁ bēḍiden ōraṁtir[e] kāvu-
23. d=ī vyavastheyin=ūraṁ || [5*] Vachana [||*] Adeṁt=eṁdoḍe [||*] Arasāḷgaḷ=ūraṁ pokkaṁdu
24. pullaḍakkan=ettuvoḍaṁm(ḍam=)ēnānuvaṁ=biḍidoḍa[29] kolege sāltar ent appa
25. drōhaṁ=geydu baṁd=ūram pokkoḍ=avanaṁ mūṟu-divasaṁ sarvva-parihāraṁ kādu
26. kaḷipuvudu [||*] [Ū]rmme Jōgavveya vaṁśadoḷ peṇ-gūsugaḷ allade gaṇḍu-gū-
27. sugaḷa vaṁśakk=aḍihāram=allade salladu peṇ-gūsugaḷ illadoḍa[29] gaṇḍu-makkaḷga[30] salkuṁ-
(lguṁ) [||*]

TRANSLATION

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the lineage of the Chitraśikhaṇḍins[31] there existed Gautama, famous in the three worlds. Then there was Kṛipa, son of Śantanu who was the brother of Śaradvat, the son of Gautama. After some of his illustrious descendants up to Śalya had attained immortality (i.e., gone to heaven), this eminent Jayasiṁha, the sole crest-jewel of the Kshatriyas is victorious.

Lines 5-9. While the goddess of Fortune, having forsaken *(her)* fickleness, the goddess of Speech, having given up *(her)* resting- place in Chaturānana (i.e., Brahma) and both, having associated themselves with the fair-eyed goddess of Victory, were resplendent till the moon and sun *(endure)*; Jayasiṁha, having said to Mōchabbarasi "I have made you a gift due to an unmarried girl[32] *(of the family)*", she received *(it)*, felt glad and said thus: "All those who will be born kings hereafter do not come to your level or equal you, and therefore, Oh! *(you)* rich-in-virtue give me willingly as a gift *(called) kanyādāna* a locality which none would value". He replied "Be it so".

Lines 9-11. The brackish[33] water-logged land *(adjoining)* the street wherein reside the untouchables of Puttūr *(which was situated at some distance)* from the hillock of black stones, on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village and the reservoir complete with rows of essential trees-(these two) the lotus-eyed (lady), by her own wealth had caused to be finely constructed;

Lines 12-23. Thus, having made a level ground of the stony wild hillock which none desired *(to have)*, having caused to be made a tiled house and a garden, having imprisoned the stream, (i.e., built a dam across it) and having converted with great effort the brackish soil into fertile land and, prior to that, having caused a moat to be dug *(around)* the land, comprising the brackish salty soil *(used for)* keeping bundles of grain,[34] made over this land, with the knowledge of the four nearby villagers, as a gift to a damsel; in the course of *(endless)* time, whosoever having destroyed this pious *(deed)*, desires to appropriate *(it)* for *(himself)*, may that committer of the five great sins go to that hell into which, he, by murdering his father with the intention of appropriating his mother, by drinking the blood of his children *(and)* by destroying cows and Brāhmaṇas in Kurukshētra enters; may he who takes over *(to himself)* this gift to a damsel become short- lived and daughterless.

Whoever he may be that carries the burden of the earth *(in future)*, I beseech that hero, who obstructs the hands of (i.e., *prevents)* those who carry away *(the gift)*, to regularly protect the village in this manner.

Lines 23-26. If it be asked how it is *(the reply is):* When the king's men enter the village, if they carry off heaps of straw and if they take anything by force they are fit to be killed. He who having committed any kind of crime comes to the village and enters *(it)* must be protected for three days after exempting him from all imposts and *(then)* sent away.

Lines 26-27. In the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve the right *(of succession)* goes to the female children and not to the line of male children; when there are no female issues it goes to the male children.

REFERENCE

1. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.
2. Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 285 ff. and plate.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 1 ff. and plate.
4. *Adaḷde<adarde:* A *Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions* by Dr. A.N. Narasimhia, p. 256, No. 21 of about 700 A.C., *peḷchuge<perchuge, ibid,* p. 256, 1.8 of about 675 A.C., *peḷdoṟe<peṟdore,* above, Vol. XII, p. 294 *lidau<irdu,* above, Vol. XIII, Nidugundi inscription, 1. 16, of 1107 A.C., Ed. L.D. Barnett, etc., manuscripts of *Vaḍḍārādhane:* earliest date 1403 A.C. *poḷdidom<pordidom.*
5. *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (Ed. Kittel, Rev. 1920), sūtra 24.
6. See *Vaḍḍārādhane* (Prose work of the 10th century) Ed. D.L.Narasimhachar: *balmeyuṁ valitanamuṁ sāhasamuṁ gaṇḍa-guṇamu-man=aṟiyal-akkuṁ,* p. 29, lines 25-26, *Purigeṟe-mūnūṟuṁ Beḷvola-mūnūṟuṁ Banavasepannirchchhāsiramuṁ Kundūr-sāsiramumaṁ: Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions,* Vol. I, part II *(S.I.I.,* Vol. XI, part II) Ed. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, No. 127, line 8.
7. *Kavirājamārga* (Ed. Pathak, Bangalore), I-134.
8. *Ibid.,* I-135.
9. *Paṁpa-Bhārata* (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishad ed.), VI-26.
10. Kittel has spelt this word with a cerebral or alveolar *-ra-* in the middle but it is highly doubtful. Janna, a famous poet and composer of the Tarikere inscription of 1197 A.D. has in verse 52 definitely used the word with a retroflex *-ṟa-* in the rhyming place.

11. *Paṁpa-Bhārata* (Kannada Sahitya Parishad ed.), I-106.
12. *Chhandōmbudhi:* Kāvya Kalānidhi edition, verse 258.
13. *Paṁpa-Bhārata,* I-58.
14. *Kumudēndu Rāmāyaṇa,* IV-after 98.
15. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, part i, ins. No. 399.
16. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 571, *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. XI, Dg. 66.
17. C.P. No. 49 of *A.R.I.E.,* for the year 1945-6.
18. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 10
19. Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.
20. A later Jayasiṁha is mentioned as a contemporary of the great Dvaita teacher Madhvāchārya in the literary work *Madhvavijaya* (sarga 13, verses 21 ff). He was a ruler of Kuṁbḷa. Madhvāchārya is stated to have visited a place called Vishṇumaṅgala, about three miles from Kāsaragōḍ, where Jayasiṁha came and paid homage to him. This village lay within the jurisdiction of prince Jayasimha of Kuṁbḷa. Perhaps he was also an Āḷupa chief.
21. Floral design.
22. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.* Lines 1-4 are written in Grantha characters.
23. The medial *ē* sign of *tē* is written at the end of the previous line.
24. Read: *=itten=*
25. Read: *enage.*
26. Read: int-*ārum=*
27. After this there are two horizontal strokes which apparently stand for punctuation.
28. Read: *tanna.*
29. Read: *oḍe.*
30. Read: *ge.*
31. These are the seven sages, Pulaha, Pulastya, Marīchi, Atri, Vasishṭha, Aṅgiras and Kratu.
32. *Kanyādāna* is a compound word which is usually taken to mean "making over an unmarried girl to a bride- groom in marriage". In this sense the first member of the compound should be construed as having the possessive case suffix. But here it seems to take the dative suffix. That this is the intended sense finds some support in the last two lines of the inscription.
33. This seems to be the meaning of the word ovaḷ.
34. This seems to be meaning of *mūḍe-yikku.*

15

TWO INSCRIPTIONS ON COPPER-PLATES FROM NUTIMADUGU*

These copper-plates which were in the possession of a peasant of the village Nūtimaḍugu in the Anantapur District were shown to Mr. C.N.Jeevanna Rao, B.E., Minor Irrigation Supervisor of the District, when he had gone to the village during one of his periodical official visits. It appears that while the cattle-shed attached to the house of the peasant was being repaired, the plates were found buried under the lower wooden hinge of the door of the shed. Mr. Rao kindly brought them to the notice of Mr. M. Srikanta Srouty, B.E., Local Fund Assistant Engineer, Anantapur, who sent them on to me for examination. As they were some what corroded when I got them, they were sent to the Archaeological Chemist in India who was good enough to clean them. I edit them below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The plates are three in number each of which is 5 1/3" in breadth and 9 1/3" in length from the centre of the arch at the top. They are strung together on a copper ring which did not bear any seal when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. It was found that the ring had not been soldered. So it is difficult to say definitely whether this is the original ring which held the plates when they were issued; it is not impossible that the original ring to which the royal seal was attached, might have been lost and the present ordinary ring substituted in its place. The rims of the plates are slightly raised in order to preserve the writing. The weight of the plates, with the ring, is 116 *tolas.*

At the outset it must be observed that the set of plates is a palimpsest containing two records, one, an Eastern Chālukya grant of the 10th century A.D. and the other, which has been engraved over the earlier inscription, of the time of the Vijayanagara prince Triyambaka. I am unable to explain the circumstances under which the original Chālukya document was used by prince Triyambaka of the first or Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara for writing his own charter more than five centuries after the original was engraved and why it was defaced and a new one incised upon it.

Of the original Eastern Chālukya grant which I shall call A, both the beginning and the end are missing. The extant portion starts on the first side of the second plate of the Vijayanagara grant (hereafter called B) and after being continued on its second side and on the first (outer) side of the first plate ends on the second side of the latter, after giving the name of the king and the geographical division in which the donated village or land was situated. The portion which must have contained the details of the gift such as the name, *gōtra,* family, etc., of the donee, the name of the village or land granted and its boundaries, the date of the grant and the imprecatory verses, is lost. This must have been engraved on a separate plate which was probably removed at the time when the Vijayanagara grant was engraved and the third plate of the present set which is altogether a new one inserted in its place. Both the plates of the earlier grant are inscribed lengthwise like all Eastern Chālukya grants. It should be noted that these two plates have been slightly cut out at both the corners on the top (i.e., on the left-hand side when held lengthwise) in order to give them the shape of the arch like all Vijayanagara copper-plate grants. During this process some letters in each line have been lost. The later grant was engraved upon three of the four sides of the earlier one. Even on the side that was not defaced by being again written upon (i.e., the first side of the first plate of B) a portion on the right-hand side is damaged by corrosion and some of the letters cannot be read. Of the second side of the second plate of B, only half portion of the original document has been written upon and the letters on the other half, though well beaten, are visible and can be read. Of the remaining portion of the inscription only faint traces are seen but with the help of the other grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty I have succeeded in deciphering to a great extent the preserved portion of the record. The alphabet is ancient Telugu of the 10th century A.D and language of the extant portion is Sanskrit.

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXV, pp. 186ff

In spite of the shortcomings noted, above this inscription (A) which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya (II) is valuable as it is the first and only record of the king yet discovered. As pointed out above, its beginning, which must have been written on a plate which does not now form part of the set, is missing. The first king mentioned is Jayasiṁhavallabha (i.e. Jayasiṁha I) who, as in all other records of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, is given a reign of thirty years. Then follows the genealogy of the dynasty recording the length of each reign, down to Vikramāditya (II) who is introduced in the usual prose preamble to the grant (ll. 25-27) with the *biṛudas* of *Samastabhuvanāśraya, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Paramabrahmaṇya.* He issues a command to the Rāshṭrakūṭas and others inhabiting the Kaṇḍērvvāḍi *vishaya.* The name of this *vishaya* occurs in different forms as Gaṇḍēruvāṭi, Kaṇḍēruvāṭi, Kaṇḍēṛuvāḍi and Kaṇḍravāḍi in several Eastern Chālukya inscriptions and its chief town Kaṇḍēṛu, after which the district was named has been identified with Kantēru in the Guntur District.[1] The grant portion which was recorded next and the date, if it was given, are lost thus depriving us of some valuable facts.

No information of any historical importance that is not already known can be gathered about the predecessors of the donor, viz., king Vikramāditya II. Attention may, however, be drawn to the length of reign assigned to Vijayāditya II, the builder of 108 temples of Narēndrēśvara. He is here started to have reigned only for 40 years as in the majority of the Eastern Chālukya copperplate grants. The verses describing the reign of Vikramāditya (II) are new and not found in any other record of the family so far known. The first of them states that he regained the ancestral throne which had been forcibly seized by Tālapa after killing him. the verses that follow praise his prowess in war in a conventional style, but one interesting fact which one of them (v. 5) discloses is that he fought one hundred battles for eight years and took the kingdom (from his enemies) along with Fame. But it is not possible to say whether this refers to his fight with Tāla or to another war as a result of which he made some conquests and extended his kingdom. If by the expression *rājyaṁ kīrttyā samam–agrahīt,* his obtaining the ancestral kingdom is meant, we would get an idea of the period of time that was taken by

Vikramāditya in regaining the throne from Tāla. No doubt the Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II tells us that Vikramāditya (II) slew "at the head of a rough battle this Tāla-rāja together with crowds of different vassals, who were joined by a superior army (and) had troops of furious elephants"[2]. It is, however, not certain whether Vikramāditya was engaged in fighting Tāla and his allies after Tāla became king. But all the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions assign to Tāla a reign of only one month. If, however, the rival claimants were engaged in warfare for eight years, it is difficult to guess who ruled the country during this long interval between the period after the ejection of Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta by Tāla, and the time when the latter succeeded temporarily in seizing the Chālukya throne. No clue to such an interregnum is available from any of the Chālukya records. The question can be solved only by future discoveries.

Of inscription B the second plate is written on both sides, the first and third being written on the inner side only. But the lower half of the second side of the second plate and the upper half of the third plate are left blank. The plates are numbered one, two and three respectively in Kannaḍa numerals. The record, like many other grants of the Vijayanagara kings, is written in Nandināgarī characters except the sign-manual *śrī-Triyambaka* in line 68 which is in Kannaḍa-Telugu script. The alphabet employed is regular for the period to which the record purports to belong and closely resembles that of the Śrīraṅgam plates of Mallikārjuna[3] dated Śaka 1384, and the Śrīśailam plates of Virūpāksha of Śaka 1388.[4] The language is Sanskrit and excepting the words *śrī-Gaṇādhipatayē namaḥ* in the beginning of l. 1 and *śrī-Triyambaka* in the last line the whole inscription is in verse. Many faults common to Vijayanagara grants such as mistakes of spelling, dropping of *anusvāra* or *visarga,* using them in places where they are unnecessary and omissions of letters, are found in this one also. As they have been corrected in the body of the text or in foot-notes it is not necessary to notice them here in detail.

The record is important as it is the second known grant of the *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka; the only other inscription of this prince is published in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1925,[5] though its importance had not been recognised or discussed. The genealogical portion from Saṅgama down to Triyambaka is common to both the grants. Opening with invocations to the Boar-incarnation of Vishṇu and Gaṇēsha respectively, the present grant mentions the Moon and his descendant Yadu who ruled the earth. The following genealogy is then given:-

Saṅgama
|
Bukkarāya m. Gaurī
|
Harihara (II) m. Mēlāmbikā
|
Dēvarāya (I) m. Dēmāmbikā
|
Vijaya-Bhūpati m. Nārāyaṇīdēvi
|
Dēvarāya (II) m. Lakumādēvi
|
Triyambaka

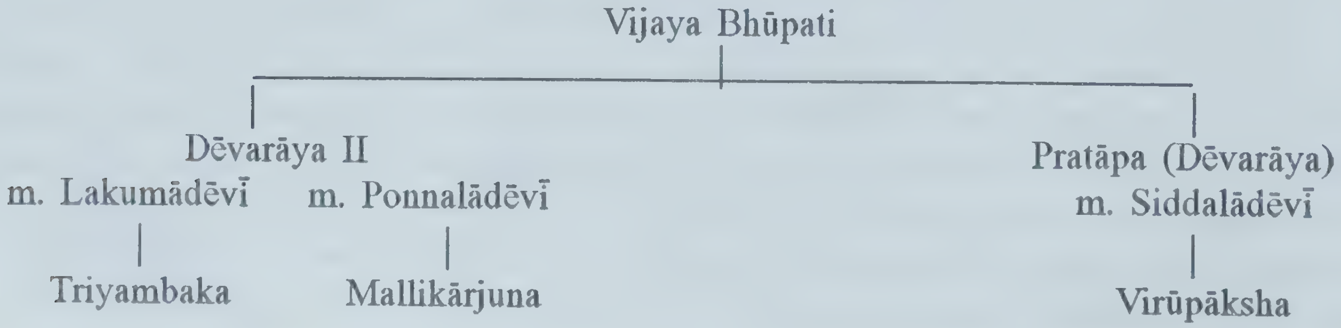
The epigraph further proceeds to state that after Triyambaka's father had gone to heaven, Immaḍi Prauḍha-Dēvēndra (i.e., Mallikārjuna[6]) became king. Verses15 to 17 tell us that he bore the paramount tiles of *Rājādhirāja* and *Rājaparamēśvara* and give a list of the king's birudas-the usual epithets of the Vijayanagara kings of the first dynasty. He is stated in verse 18 to have anointed his elder brother Triyambaka as Yuvarāja. This prince who was also called Chikkoḍeya was established (as Governor) at Ghanādri (i.e., Penugoṇḍa) by the king (v. 19).

The object of the inscription is to record that while Prince Triyambaka was governing his province (of Ghanādri) he granted the village of Bommehāḷu, renaming it as Lakshmīpura, after the name of his mother, to the Brāhman Māchivōkta, son of Vallabhōkta of the Śuklayajuś-*śākhā* on Monday, the full-moon day of Kārttika in the cyclic year Yuva, the Śaka year being 1377 which is expressed by the numerical words *dhātu* (7) *adri* (7) *guṇa* (3) and *bhū* (I). The date is slightly irregular as the full-moon day of Kārttika in the year cited fell on Saturday, the 25th October A.D. 1455. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that the engraver might have written Sōmavāra by mistake for Saurivāra; or it is not impossible that, while the grant was actually made on Saturday, it was recorded on Monday and this later day was cited by mistake. The donee is stated to have been well versed in *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and to have mastered the science of polity *(nīti-śāstra).* The *Yuvarāja* made the grant in the presence of god Triyambaka at Bhāskarakshētra (i.e., Hampi). The donated village Bommehāḷu was situated in Paṇḍemēru *māgaṇi,* which was a sub-division of Gutti *rājya* in the *vaḷita* (district) of Penugoṇḍa. After the imprecatory verses the record closes with the signature of the *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka.

The donor *Yuvarāja* Triyambaka is known, as already stated, only from two records (including the one under publication) and not noticed in any of the genealogies of the first dynasty of Vijayanagara so far published. From vv. 11-12 of the present record we learn that he was the son of Dēvarāya. But the most interesting fact revealed by our inscription is that he was the elder brother of the king Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndra (i.e., Mallikārjuna). If he was actually the elder brother, how could his younger brother Mallikārjuna succeed to the throne? The question can be answered in two ways, one is to consider that Mallikārjuna who ascended the throne after the death of Triyambaka's father, was the son of the *paṭṭamahishī* (senior queen) and Triyambaka, though older in age, was the son of a junior queen and that consequently the throne passed on to Mallikārjuna after his father's death. The second is to regard Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as sons of brothers, that is to say, Mallikārjuna belonged to the senior line and Triyambaka to the junior line, for it is quite common among Hindus to address and mention cousins as brothers.[7] This raises an important issue, viz., if Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were actual brothers, were they the children of Dēvarāya II or his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya? From the use of the epithet *prauḍha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ* which is applied in the present grant to Dēvarāya, the father of Triyambaka, it would appear that they were the sons of Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is considered by some scholars to have had the distinctive title of Prauḍha-Pratāpa.[8] From the inscription under publication we learn that Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndra became king after the death of Triyambaka's father who, if Triyambaka and Malikārjuna were brothers, would also be the father of the latter. This would mean that the father of the brothers i.e., Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, the younger brother of Dēvarāya II, was the predecessor of Mallikārjuna on the throne of Vijayanagara. And in support of this conclusion it may be argued that some inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of a certain Vijaya and bear dates later than the death of Dēvarāya II (A.D. 1446)[9] might have been issued by Pratāpa-Dēvarāya, who is known from an inscription[10] to have had the surname of Vijaya. But there is one serious objection to this theory. Abdur Razak, who was an envoy from Persia to the court of Dēvarāya II, and who had an audience with him has recorded that the younger brother (Pratāpa) was killed in A.D. 1443, i.e., 3 years before the death of his elder brother.[11] And there appears to be no reason to doubt the veracity of the statement of this contemporary writer. If, however, Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka were the sons of Dēvarāya II this difficulty would not arise. But in this case we would have to admit that Dēvarāya II, the father and predecessor of Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndra was also described as *prauḍha-pratāpa-vibhava.* This expression, then, is to be regarded as either being used indiscriminately as a *biruda* both of Dēvarāya II and his younger brother Pratāpa-Dēvarāya or, that it was not a *biruda* and had no special significance but was merely a descriptive epithet. This view is further strengthened by the fact that while all the known copper-plate grants of Virūpāksha, besides stating that his father was Pratāpa, contain a reference to Pratāpa's elder brother (i.e., Dēvarāya II), Mallikārjuna's copper-plate records mention only his father Dēvarāya II. We have also inscriptions[12] of Dēvarāya II where he is described as *prauḍha-pratāpa-prakaṭita-mahimā* or *prauḍha-pratāpa-vibhavaḥ.* If this surmise is accepted, the inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Vijaya, after the date of the death of Dēvarāya II, will have to be attributed, as suggested by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri,[13] to Mallikārjuna himself.

Now let us examine the possibility of taking Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as cousins, the latter being the son of a junior member of the line though older in age than the former. As pointed out above, according to our inscription Immaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēndra (i.e., Mallikārjuna) succeeded Triyambaka's father Dēvarāya after the latter's death. In other words Mallikārjuna (who belonged to the senior line) succeeded his uncle. Since Dēvarāya II is not known to have had more than one brother who was variously called Pratāpa, Dēvarāya and Śrīgiri, it follows that Pratāpa did reign at least for some time after the death of his elder brother. But this surmise again comes into conflict with the definite statement of Abdur Razak who was a contemporary of Dēvarāya.

It, therefore, appears to me that the most satisfactory solution of the problem is to consider both Mallikārjuna and Triyambaka as the sons of Dēvarāya II from two different queens and that Mallikārjuna, being the son of the *paṭṭa-mahishī* (senior queen), ascended the throne after his father. As a matter of fact, we know that Mallikārjuna's mother was Ponnalādēvi;[14] and Triyambaka's mother was Lakumādēvī. If this view is correct the order of descent of the princes of this family from Vijaya-Bhūpati downwards would be as shown below:-



Attention may be drawn to another interesting fact revealed by the inscription, namely, that Triyambaka had the surname Chikkoḍeya. Nuniz mentions after Dēvarāya II a prince named Pinarao who was assasinated.[15] If we could rely upon this writer's account-in many places his statements are inaccurate-there would be no impossibility in considering Chikkoḍeya to be identical with Pinarao, the latter name being but a Telugu variant of the Kannaḍa form Chikkoḍeya.

Of the geographical places mentioned in the inscription it is well known that Bhāskarakshētra is Hampi (Bellary District) which was the capital of the Vijayanagara kings. The donated village Bommehāḷu may be identified with Bommepatri situated at a distance of seven miles from Anantapur. Gutti, after which the division Gutti *rājya* was named, is Gooty, the headquarters of a taluk in the Anantapur District. Ghanādri is the Sanskritized form of Penugoṇḍa which is also the headquarters of another taluk in the same district. It was from the time of Harihara I and Bukka I the seat of a Viceroyalty[16] and became the capital of the Vijayanagara kingdom after the destruction of Hampi following the Taḷikōṭa disaster. The sub-division Paṇḍemēru *māgaṇi* was apparently named after the stream Paṇḍamēru which feeds the big tank of Bukkarāyasamudram at Anantapur.

TEXT OF A.[17]

[18]Second Plate; First Side.

1 ......Tat-putrō Jayasiṁha-vallabhas=trayastriṁśad[19]-va[rshāṇi] | tad-anu-

2 [j-Ēndra-rā*][20]jasya priya-tana[yō] Vishṇuvarddhanō nava [vatsa]rān | tat-sutō Maṁgiyu-

3 [varājah pa*]ñchaviṁśati[ṁ*] | tat-putrō Jayasiṁhas=trayōdaśa vatsarān [|*] tad-dvaimātur-ānujaḥ

4 [Kōkki*]liḥ shaṇ=māsān | tasya [jyēshṭhō] bhrātā Vishṇuvarddha[naḥ] sv-ānujam=ājā[v=u]-

5 [chchā*]ṭya saptatriṁśat[19] | tat-tanujō Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakaḥ ashṭā[daśa]

6 [varshāṇi*] tad-aurasō Vishṇurājaḥ shaṭtriṁśad-abdān[21] | tat-sutō Vijayādityaś= chatvāriṁśata

7 ......[22][a]shṭōttara-śata-śrīman-Narēndrēśvara-kārakah [|*] tad-ātmajah [Ka]li-Vishnu-varddhanas=s-ārddha-

8 [samāṁ | tat-sutō*] Vijayāditya[h] chatuschatvāriṁśad[23]-varshāṇi | tad-bhrātur=yuvarājasya Vi-

Second Plate; Second Side

9 [kramādityasya*] tanayaḥ Chālukya-Bhīmas=triṁśad[23]-varshaṇi |[24] tat-sutō Vijāyadi-

10 [tyah shaṇ=māsā*]n |[25]sapta-saṁvatsarān=ta(rāṁs=ta)sya sūnur Amma-mahīpatiḥ [*] Yātē Gaṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū[bhu]

11 ∪ ∪ - prāpt-ābhishēkas=ta[ta]s=sūnuṁ - ∪ vaśāt=sa - ∪ Vijayādityaṁ punas=Tālapa[h|*]

12 - - - ru-gataṁ vidhāya ba U - - [bhūya] bhūmīśva[rō] bhūmiṁ pālayati

13 U - U U U taṁ śrutvā vachō - U - [||1*][26] Āgatya drutam=āyata-pratimukha

14 - - U - n=uddhatān=hatvā tad-rudhirā U bhīma-[ba]la-nistriṁśa-bhāsvad-bhuja[h ||] tan=dagdhvā

15 U U - U - U U U śrīmad-Vikramāditya-bhūpālas=Tālapam=ēsha paṭṭam=avahach=chū

16 - U - - U - [||2*][26] Viśāl-āvakāśam=imaṁ........kshiti-payōrāśi[shu]kūla-śālī

Third Plate, First Side

17 ....t-prabhur=adhipatēr=yyasya sarōruhāsanaḥ || [3*][27] Yad-asi

18 U U - - tv-āgādhammahad-ripur=ambugair=vviśati vimukhō vārām rāśiṁ sphuradraṇa-raṁgataḥ | ya

19 U U vanitā-chakshur=vvāri-prasikta-tanus-satīn=asakṛid-akhilā jajñē - - U - U

20 U - U - || [4*][28] Vikram-alika-sahāyō-shṭau yu[d*]dhvā yuddha-śataṁ samā[ḥ|] yuddhē labdha

21 U - rājyaṁ yaḥ kīrttyā samam=agrahīt || [5*][29] Yat-kānti-vikrānti-kṛit-ābhibhūti la

22 - U - - U U chitta-vṛirtī(vṛittī) [|*] chandrō mṛig-ārāti-ruchāv=ap=īmau jātau U - - U guhā

Third Plate; Second side

23 U - - [||6*][30] [A]panudati parēshāṁ rāga-mō[hau ya]dīyō [di]śati cha karavāla

24 - U - - U - -| chirayati samagraṁ bhūri-sāṁsāra-mōhan=Nara iva

25 [bhu ?]vi siddhō lōka-vikhyātā-kīrttiḥ || [7*][31] Sa samastabhuvanāśraya-śrī-

26 [Vi]kramāditya-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāra-

27 [ka=pa]ramabrāhmaṇyaḥ Kaṇḍērvvāḍi-vishaya-nivāsinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhā-

28 [n=kuṭumbinas=sa]rvvān=ittham=ājñāpayati viditam=astu | ....mādityā..[32]

TEXT OF B.[33]

[Metres:- Vv. 1, 3-35 *Anushṭubh,* v. 2 *Sragdharā,* v. 36 *Śālinī*]

First Plate

1 Śrī-Gaṇādhipatayē namaḥ | Avyād=vaḥ prathamaḥ Pautrī(Pōtrī) sarasā

2 m=udvahan=rasā[m |*] priy-āṁga-saṁga-saṁjāta-śā(sā)ndra-svē(svē)d-ōdayām=i-

3 vaḥ(iva) ||[|1*] Riṁga[n*]n=utsaṁga-raṁgē nija-radana=dīyā (dhiyā) Saṁ(Śaṁ)karaḥ

4 s-ōttamāṁgād=a(ā)karshan(nn)=indu-lēkhāṁ pitari gata-rada-stēyam=

5 ārōpayaṁś=chaḥ(cha) [|*] mātuḥ prōtsāhayaṁtyā smita-śuchi-vadanaṁ vīkshamā-

6 ṇa(ṇaḥ) sa-hāsaṁ bālō vāskalya (vātsalya)-bhūmiḥ kalayatu muditō maṁ-

7 galānyakadantaḥ(lāny=Ēkadantaḥ) ||[| 2*] Asti kaustubha-kalpadru-kāmadhēnu-sahōdarā-(raḥ) [|*]

8 Rāmānuja[ḥ*] Sudhānāthaḥ kashīra-sāgara-saṁbhavaḥ ||[|3] Udabhūd=anvayē ta-

9 sya Yadu-nāmā mahīpatiḥ | pālitaṁ yat-kulīnīna(nēna) Vasudēvēna bhū-

10 talaṁ(lam) ||4*] Abhūd=asya kulē śrīmān=abhaṁ[gura*]-guṇ-ōdayaḥ | apāsta-durit-ā-

11 saṁga[s*]=Saṁgamō nāma bhūpatiḥ | [|5*] Dik-karīdra(ndra)-du(dhu)r-ādhāra-dakshiṇa-

12 skandha-bandhuraḥ | Bukkarāya[s*]=tataḥ śrīmān=āsīd=āhava-ka-

13 rkasaḥ(śaḥ) ||6*] Ahīna-bhōga-śaṁ(saṁ)saktir=asau rāja-śikhā-

14 maṇiḥ | gōptā Hariharaṁ Gauryāṁ kumāram=upapā-

15 dayat ||[| 7*] Sishṭāṁ(Śishṭān) saṁra[ksha*]tō yasya dushṭān=api pi(ni)gṛi-

16 hṇataḥ | labdh-ārthair=vidushā[ṁ*] sārthai[ś*]=ślāghyāṁ(ghyā) Hā(Ha)ri-

17 Har-ātmatā ||[|8*] Tasya Mēlāṁbikā-jānēs=tanayē vina-

18 y-ōnntaḥ || (|) Pratāpa-Dēvarāy-ākhya[ḥ*] putra[s*]=Sutrāma-

19 vikramaḥ [|9*] Tasya Dēmāṁbikā-jānēs=ta[na*]yō [vinay-ō*]na(ōnna)taḥ |

20 vidyā-vinaya-vijñāna-nidhir=Vijaya-bhūpati[ḥ || 10*]

21 Tasya [Nā]rāyaṇīdēvyā[m*] prādurāsīd=[d*]urāsada[ḥ*] | prau

22 ḍha-pratā[pa*]-vibhavō Dēvarāya-mahīpathiḥ ||[|11*] Tasya śrī-

23 Lakumādēvī bhāry=ābhūd=bhūpā(pa)tēḥ priyā [|*] Lakshmīr=iva Murā-

Second Plate; First Side

24 rātē[ḥ*] Pārvat=īva Pināki[naḥ] ||[|12*] Tayō[ḥ*] prāchīna-puṇyānāṁ

25 paripāka-viśēshataḥ | tasyā[ṁ*] Trutanbaja[s*]=sākshāt=kumāraḥ sa-

26 majāyata ||[| 13*] Bhuvaṁ hitvā divaṁ yātē tāte tasya mahātmani |

27 Iṁ(I)mmaḍi-Prauḍha-Dēvēṁdrō rāj=ābhūj=jagatīpatiḥ ||[|14*] Rājādhi-

28 rājas=tējasvī yō rājaparamēśvaraḥ [|*] bhāsh-ōllaṁghi-mahīpāla-

29 bhujaṁgama-vihaṁgarāṭ ||[| 15*] Vairi-bhūpati-Vētaṁḍa-chaṁḍa-

30 khaṁḍana-kēsarī | gaj-augha-gaṁḍabhēruṁḍō gajēndra(ndra)-mṛi-

31 gayā-rata[ḥ*] ||[| 16*] Tri-rāja-bhujag-ōnnaddha-para-rāja-bhayaṁ-

32 karaḥ | Hi[ṁ*]du-rāyā-suratrāṇa ity-ādi-bhi(bi)rud-ōnnataḥ ||[| 17*]

33 Jyāyā[ṁ*]saṁ bhratāraṁ rājā Triyambaka=mahīpati[ṁ] (tiṁ) | prada-

34 rsa(eśa)ya[ṁ*]ś=cha saubhrātraṁ yauvarajyē=bhiśēsa(shēcha)yan ||[| 18*] Śrīma

35 ch=Chikkoḍey=ākhyjaṁ cha Ghanādrau sthāpan-ātaraṁ(āntaram) | ēvaṁ

36 bhrātrā pradattē tu rājyē Chikkoḍahō(Chikkoḍeyō) balī ||[| 19*] sva-rājya[ṁ*]

37 pālayann=atraṁ(atra) dīvyati śrī-Triyaṁbakaḥ |||-||| (|) Śāli-

38 vāhana-nirṇīta-Śa[ka*]-varsha-kram-āgatē ||[| 20*] Dhātv-adi(adri)-guṇa-

39 bhū-yuktē Śak-ābdē Yuva-vatsarē | Kārttikyāṁ su(śu)kla-pa-
40 kshē cha pūrṇamyā(ṇimā)yā[m*] mahā-tithau |[21*] Sōma-vārē[34]puṇya-
41 kāl-ōdayē tathā | pavitrē Bhāskarakshētrē śrī-Tri-
42 yaṁbaka-sannidhau |[| 22*] Penugoṁḍ-ākhya-valitē Gutti-rā-
43 jyē samanvagē(nvitē) || (|) Paṁḍemērū-māgaṇau cha sthitāṁ(taṁ) bādhā-
44 vivarjitaṁ(tam) |[| 23*] Bommēhāḷu-nāmānaṁ grāmaṁ hi sarva-
45 sasyakaṁ | Gururāyasya hōbaḷyā vaṁcha chāru svākṛitaṁ[35] || [24*] Nidhi-ni-

Second Plate; Second Side

46 kshēpa-vāry-as(ś)ma-sidda-sā[dhy-a]kshiṇ=īti cha | āgām=īty=a-
47 shṭa-bhōg-āḍhyaṁ tēja-svāmya-samanvitaṁ(tam) | |[| 25*] Kuly-ārām-ādi-
48 saṁyuktaṁ samasta-baḷi(li)-saṁyutaṁ(tam) agrahāram=imaṁ sarvaṁ
49 mānyam=ā-chaṁdra-tārakaṁ(kam) |[|26*] Sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka[ṁ*] dā-
50 na[ṁ*] dhārā-pūrvaṁ yathā-vidhi | nityaṁ Lakshmīpuraṁ
51 ch=ēti mātur=nāmnā vidhāya cha | [| 27*] ū | ū ū
52 Śukla-yajuḥ-śākhā-pāram-gatas=tathā[34] | Vallabhōkt-ā-
53 tmajō vidvān Māchivōktō dvij-ōttamaḥ |[| 28*] Vēda-śā-
54 stra-pravīṇaś=cha nīti-śāstra-parāyaṇaḥ | par-ō-
55 pakāra-kuśalaḥ Śiva-pūjā-paras=tathā |[|29*] Natvā ta-
56 smai dvij-ēdrā(ndrā)ya bhōktuṁ dātuṁ yath=ēpsayā | sa prādādd=yu-
57 varāj-ākhyas=Triyaṁbakā(ka)-mahīpatiḥ |[| 30*] Brāhmaṇaḥ sa cha saṁ-
58 hṛishṭaḥ [itra-pautra-samanvitaḥ] / rājānam=āśishaṁ cha-
59 krē śchi(chi)raṁjīvī bhavatv=iti |||| [31*]

Third Plate

60 Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasuṁdharāṁ(rām) | shaṁshṭir[36]=varsha-sa-
61 hasrāṇi vishṭhāyāṁ jāyatē krimiḥ |[| 32*] Sva-datvā(dattād=)dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ paṁ(pa)-
62 ra-datt-anūpālanaṁ(nē) | para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bha-
63 vēt |[33*] Ek=aiva bhaginī lōkē sarvēśā(shā)m=ēva bhūbhujāṁ(jām)[|*] na bhōjyā na ka-
64 ra-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuṁdharā |[| 34*] Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch=chhrē-
65 yō=nupālanaṁ(nam) | dānāt–svargam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ padaṁ(dam) |[| 35*]
66 Sāmānyō=yaṁ dharma-sētu[r*]=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ [|*]
67 sarvān-ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārthiv-ēṁdrān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachaṁ[draḥ] [|| 36*]
68 śrī Triyaṁbaka

REFERENCES

1. *Ep.Ind.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 56.
2. Above, Vol. IX, p. 55.
3. Above, Vol. XVI, plate between pp. 350 and 351.
4. Above, Vol. XV, plate facing p. 22.
5. Pp. 98 ff.
6. See *Ep. Carn,* Vol. III, Seringapatam 89 and Kielhorn's *Southern List,* No. 497.
7. As it is not known from any source that Mallikārjuna was nominated as the successor to his father in preference to his elder brother, this alternative is not considered here.
8. Above, Vol. XVII, p. 195.
9. *An. Rep. A.S.I.,* for 1907-08, p. 251.
10. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1921, p. 30.
11. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire,* pp. 73 ff.
12. See e.g., *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. XI, Chitaldroog 29 and *ibid.,* Vol. VIII, Nagar 65.
13. *An. Rep A.S.I.,* 1907-08, p. 246.
14. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol VIII, Nagar 65.
15. Sewell: *A Forgotten Empire,* p. 303.
16. *An. Rep. A.S.I.,* 1907-08, pp. 239 and 241.
17. From the original plates.
18. The first plate is lost. As the extant portion of the genealogy starts with Jayasimha I, the second ruler of the Eastern Chālukya line, it is not likely that more than one plate is lost.
19. Read° *śataṁ varshāṇi.*
20. The portion enclosed within square brackets with asterisk have been lost and here supplied with the help of other Eastern Chālukya grants.
21. Read° *śataṁ abdāni.*
22. From here up to *kārakaḥ* the text appears to be half an *Anushṭubh* verse.
23. Read° *'śataṁ varshāṇi*
24. This punctuation mark has been engraved after erasing a superfluous *ṇa*
25. From here up to *mahīpatiḥ* the text seems to contain a half verse in *Anushṭubh.*
26. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*
27. Metre may be *Ārya.*
28. Metre: *Hariṇī.*

29. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*
30. Metre: *Indravajrā.*
31. Metre: *Mālinī.*
32. The continuation is missing.
33. From the original plates and ink-impressions.
34. Four syllables are missing in the first quarter of this *Anushṭubh* verse.
35. The second half of this verse is corrupt and I cannot suggest any emendation.
36. Read *shashṭiṁ varsha.*

16

A NOTE ON THE ARJUNAVADA INSCRIPTION OF YADAVA KANNARA*

In the transcript of the Arjunavāḍa inscription published above, Mr. Srikantha Sastri's reading of the tenth verse is defective and, I think, requires correction. It is true that portions of the verse are damaged. But the impression would show that only one letter is completely lost in 1.35 and two more letters, one of which occurs in the same line and the other in the next line are only partly mutilated and can be restored with certainty. Since the letters *ṁgaikaṁ* and the (1.36), *i* sign of the mutilated letter in 1.35 are clearly visible, the broken letter with which the *i* vowel is connected might be safely read as *li.* Only one more short letter will be wanting to complete the metre of the verse and that letter which is now lost must have been *ja.* In the next line, the bottom portion of the mutilated letter and the *ā* sign attached to it would indicate that the letter in all probability was *Kā.* With this restoration the verse will be read as:-

1.35 Saṁgana-Basavana agra[ja li]ṁgaikaṁ

1.36 Dēvaraja-munipana tanayaṁ [|*]jaṁgama-parusaṁ [Kā]vara-

1.37 saṁgaṁ priya-sutan=enippa Kalidēvarasaṁ ||

Accordingly the translation of the stanza will be like this:

"Saṅgana-Basava's elder brother who was absorbed in the *linga* was Dēvarājamunipa; to his son [Kā]varasa, who was a touchstone to the *Jaṅgamas,* was born the dear son Kalidēvarasa."

The verse, thus, becomes very important from a historical point of view, for it supplies us with the genealogy of Saṅgana-Basava and his descendants for three generations. This has not been properly made out by Mr.Srikantha Sastri in his interesting article, and I should like to elucidate it here. From the next verse (i.e., v. 11) we learn that Kalidēva's son was Hāla-Basavidēva, the donee of the present grant; and lines 8 and 9 tell us that Saṅgana-Basava was a son of Mādirāja, the lord of Bāgavāḍi. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the following genealogy:-

Mādirāja
|
Dēvarājamunipa — Saṅgana-Basava (*cir.* A.D. 1160-1185).
|
Kāvarasa (*cir.* A.D. 1185-1210).
|
Kalidēvarasa (*cir.* A.D. 1210-1235).
|
Hāla-Basavidēva (*cir.* A.D. 1235-1260).

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI, pp. 16-17.

As a matter of fact, it is in this genealogy that the value of the inscription chiefly lies, for it enables us to determine the period in which Sangana-Basava flourished and to identify him with the great Lingāyat reformer of that name. The record tells us that Chauḍi-Seṭṭi, a minister of the Yādava king Kannara (i.e., Kṛishṇa), and his friend Nāgarasa granted the village Kaviḷāsapura to the ascetic Hāla-Basavidēva in Śaka 1182 (–S.D. 1260). If we suppose this to be the last year of Hāla-Basavidēva and allot him a period of 25 years, his date would be about A.D. 1235-1260. As we have seen above, two generations intervene between Saṅgana-Basava and Hāla-Basavidēva. Allowing roughly 25 years for each generation we get A.D. 1160-1185 as the approximate time of Saṅgana-Basava. According to the *Basavarājadēvara Ragaḷe,* the *Basava-Purāṇa* and the *Chenna-Basava-Purāṇa,* the great reformer Basava, who was also known as Saṅgana-Basava and who was the son of Mādirāja of Bāgevāḍi, was a minister of the Kaḷachurya king Bijjala, who, we know, ruled from A.D. 1156 to 1167. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the Saṅgana-Basava of the Arjunavāḍa record is identical with the 'Apostle of Liṅgāyatism' of that name. Thus we have in this record the first epigraphical confirmation of the tradition regarding the contemporaneity of Basava, the reviver of the Virasaiva faith, with king Bijjaḷa.

17

THREE COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS*

A

CHIMAKURTI PLATE OF VEMA

This plate was secured on a loan from the Karnam of Chīmakurti in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District in the year 1920[1] . It is a single copper plate with no rim, oblong in shape and a little broken at the bottom. It is 10 ³/₄" in length and 6 ³/₄" in breadth. There is a very small hole at the top of the plate to allow a string to pass through. Only one side of the plate bears the writing. At the top of the plate are engraved the figure of a *liṅga* and a bull facing it. The weight of the plate is 37 tolas.

The inscription on the plate is written in Telugu characters and language except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The alphabet and orthography of the document bear close resemblance to those of the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma[2] and the Phirangipuram inscription of Kōmaṭi-Vēma[3] though these two are later in point of time. It is therefore likely that the present document is a later copy of the original, though it is nowhere stated so. There seems to be no objection, however, to take the historical facts contained in it as correct, for the *birudas* of king Vēma found here, which give all the historical information, are almost similar to those found in his Amaravāti inscription.[4]

The inscription records the grant of the village **Rāmatīrtham** situated in the **Śrīśailabhūmi** and the Ammanaṁbrōlu-sima as a *sarv-āgrahāra* to Chiṭṭamūri Timmana-Bhaṭṭa who was the son of Kāmēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka and who belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Yajuś-śākhā and Āpastamba-sūtra. Besides this the donee was granted a fourth portion of the produce of the wet lands, betel- leaf gardens and sugar cane fields, of each of the five villages **Chīmakurti, Bhīmēśvaram, Pulikoṇḍa, Mailavaram** and **Kumārapurī** and a sixteenth portion of the produce of the remaining three-fourths. A fifth part of the money income *(suvarṇ-ādāya) (of these villages)* and the water of the Pedda-cheruvu (big tank) were to be given to him. Over and above these the donee was to receive one-tenth of the produce of the other villages *(in the division?)* and land at the rate of 200 *kuṇṭa* measured by a pole of 16 *bāru* in big villages and 100 *kuṇṭa* in small villages. It is interesting to note that the present Karnam of the village Chīmakurti who is now in possession of this copper-plate claims to be a lineal descendant of the donee and is still enjoying some of the gifts registered in the plate.

The date of the document is Śālivāhana Śaka year 1257, Yuva Kārttika śu. 12, Thursday, Manvādi. This is the earliest record of the king being earlier by 10 years than the Madras

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXI, pp. 267-277 (A joint article with Sri A.Rangaswami Saraswati)

Museum plates[5] of the same king. If the cyclic year Dhātu is substituted for Yuva the details of the date would correspond to A.D. 1336 October 31, Thursday.

The importance of the document lies chiefly in the fact that some of the king's *birudas* mentioned in it would, if they are properly interpreted, yield new information about the history of the Reḍḍi chiefs. For instance, *Chaṁchumala-chūrākara,* or *Cheṁjimala-chūrakāra* as given in the Amarāvati inscription, means "one who reduced the hill fort of Cheṁji or Gingi." How Vēma could reduce this fort will be shown below. Another biruda *Rāchūridurgavibhāḷa* means "the destroyer of the fort of Rāchūru" i.e., Raichur in the Nizam's Dominions. A third title in the list *Kaliṅgarāya-māna-mardana* means "one who destroyed the pride of the King of Kaliṅga."[6] The title *Manniyarāya-mriga-vēṇṭakāra* means "one who hunted like deer the chefs of Manniya hilly country". The term *Manne* is generally applied in later Telugu literature to the hilly tracts near the eastern ghats in the Godavari, Vizagapatam and Ganjam districts. Similarly the titles *Voḍḍiyarāya-nirdhūma-dhāma* and *Janturnāṭarāya-halla-kallōla* signify victories over the kings of the Voḍḍiya (Odhara) country, the modern Orissa, and the Jantur nāḍu which is perhaps the modern name of Dantapura-nāḍu. Dantapura was an early capital of the Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga, from which, for instance, the Narasāpaṭam plates of Vajrahasta II were issued. The title *Pāṇḍyarāya-gaja-siṁha* means "one who was a lion to the elephant in the form of the Pāṇḍya king" suggesting thereby that the king probably routed the Pāṇḍyas. The title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpaṭṭa* seems to signify some victory won by the king or his immediate ancestors over the chiefs called respectively Appaya and Gōpaya. The Tiruvēndipuram inscription of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III dated in his 15th year[7] records the victories of two Hoysaḷa generals *Jaganobbagaṇḍa* Appaṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka and Samudra-Gōpaya-Daṇṇāyaka over the Pallava chief Kōpperuñjiṅga who overcame the Chōḷa sovereign Rājarāja III and had for a time kept him prisoner at Śēndamaṅgalam. The chiefs that are referred to in the title *Appaya-Gōpaya-diśāpaṭṭa* of Vēma seem to be identical with the Hoysaḷa generals of the Tiruvēndipuram inscription.

The exploits referred to in the titles of Vēma must have been achieved by him or by his ancestors while they were the subordinates of the Kākatīyas. During the days of the decline of the Chōḷas all the neighbouring powers attempted to capture as much of the territory as possible. The Pallava general Kōpperuñjiṅga who endeavoured to establish for a time an independent kingdom extended his conquests over the territories of the Chōḷas of Nellore and other chieftains as far north as Drākshārāma where an inscription of his is found. The Chōḷas of the Nellore District who had the titles Madhurāntaka-Potappi-Chōḷa and Gaṇḍagōpāla extended their kingdom to the south and for a time, occupied Kāñchīpuram and Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. Against these Sundara-Pāṇḍya led an expedition from the South and celebrated the anointment of heroes at Vikramasiṁhapuram (Nellore). The Kākatīya sovereign Gaṇapati led an expedition first in aid of one of the Telugu Chōḷa chiefs of Nellore and later on to Conjeevaram, where his inscriptions are found. After Gaṇapati his daughter Rudrāmbā and later her grandson Pratāparudra continued the campaign on Conjeevaram. The triumph claimed in these *birudas* over the Pāṇḍya king and the Hoysaḷa generals Appaya and Gōpaya should also have been won during this period of constant warfare. Similarly, the victories over Kaliṅgarāya, Oḍḍiyāraya, the Janturnāṭarāya as well as the reduction of the fort of Rāchūru should have been achieved in the wars of the Kākatīyas against the surrounding countries.

The inscription also says that Vēma founded many *agrahāras* on the banks of the rivers Brahmakuṇḍī (the Guṇḍlakammā), the Kṛishṇavēṇī i.e., Kṛishṇā, the Gōdāvarī and the Mahānadī, and laid out gardens in the vicinity of various towns. We are further informed that he gave food in charity houses *(sattras)* in many holy places and built steps to the famous shrines of Śrīparvata and Ahōbala. Vēma is called in this inscription the lord of the Eastern Sea, the establisher of the sole sovereign *(ēka-rāya-sthāpān-āchārya)* and the only ornament to the throne *(ēka-siṁhāsan-ālaṁkāra).*

B

PACHCHANI-TANDIPARRU GRANT OF ANNA-VEMA.

Next in chronological order comes the Pachchani-Tāṇḍipaṟṟu grant of Anna-Vēma. It is registered as copper-plate No. 6 of Appendix A to the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919- 20. The set of plates on which the grant is engraved was borrowed from M.R. Ry. Devi Hanumacharlu of Koḍitāḍiparru, in the Tenali Taluk of the Guntur District, in the year 1919.

This grant is written on five oblong copper-plates which have slightly raised rims but no rings or seal attached to them, though holes for passing a ring are to be seen in them. The plates measure 9 ¾" in length and a little over 4" in breadth and weigh 88 *tolas.* The inscription is written in Telugu script and Sanskrit language. The portion giving the boundaries of the village (ll. 47-72) is, however, in the Telugu language. Plates iib, iiib, ivb, and vb are marked with the numerical symbols 2, 3, 4 and 5. As to the palaeography of this grant only one feature may be noticed specially: The letters of this grant as well as of the following one (C) appear more archaic than those of A although the letter professes to be much earlier than either B or C.

The donor of the grant is Anna-Vēma who is here called the son of Prōlaya-Vēma i.e., Vēma of the previous grant. The record opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Vishṇu. The second verse is devoted to the praise of the Sun and Moon. The next verse says that a caste was born from the lotus feet of Vishṇu which evidently means the Śūdra caste *padbhyāṁ Śūdrō-bhijāyata.* In it was born Prōlaya-Vēma who constructed the flight of steps leading to Śrīśaila and made all the gifts enumerated by Hēmādri (v. 4). He performed various meritorious deeds and defeated several hostile kings (vv. 5 to 8). To him were born two valorous sons namely Anna-Vota and Anna-Vema (v. 9). Anna-Vōta, the elder, is said to have exhibited great prowess on the battlefield and to have ruled the Āndhra country extending from the eastern portion of Sringa (i.e., Śrīśaila) to the eastern ocean (vv. 10 and 11). The Telugu work *Vishṇu-purāṇam* tells us that this Annavōta defeated a chief called Rāvutu Kēśa near the river Kṛishṇavēṇī before the very eyes of god Amarēśvara. The work also says that king Pōta had some literary works written by poets of the Vennalagaṇṭi family and got them dedicated to him. Sūrana, the author of this Telugu work belonged to this family. Anna-Vōta's younger brother Anna-Vēma who was a great warrior ruled over his father's kingdom after the death of his elder brother (vv. 12 to 15). The genealogy of the donee is then given. In the *gōtra* of Harita there was a pious Brāhman named Nṛisiṁha who was a lion to the elephants, viz., the disputants (v. 16). His son was Bhīmēśvara-Sōmayājin who had performed many Vēdic sacrifices (v. 17). His son was Pōtibhaṭṭa; to him was born Guṇḍayāryya whose son was Peddi-Vidvān, the crest jewel among astronomers (v. 18). To this Peddi-Vidvan king Anna-Vēma granted, on the date specified, the village Pachchani-Tāṁḍipaṟṟu (v. 19). Then follows a description of the boundaries of the village (ll. 47 to 73). After three imprecatory verses, the concluding verse of the grant tells us that this edict was composed by Bāla-Sarasvati, the court poet of Anna-Vēma. The inscription ends with the king's signature **Pallava-Triṇētra.**

The details of the date recorded in the inscription are the Śaka year counted by *rasa* (6), *ratna* (9) and *Bhāskara* (12), i.e., 1296, Nabhasya (Bhādrapada), full moon, Tuesday, lunar eclipse. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris,* the English equivalent of this date is A.D. 1374 August 22, Tuesday, when there was a lunar eclipse.

The grant under publication does not say anything new about the donor king Anna-Vēma. The donee Peddi-Vidvān seems to have been a great scholar in astronomy. He seems to have been patronised by the kings of the Reḍḍi family even after Anna-Vēma for we learn from two copper-plate grants[8] of Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma that this Peddi was the recipient of the village Kalvavāmulu in Śaka 1329 and of Nandamūru in Śaka 1333. In both these records he is described as having mastered the quintessence of Siddhāntas like those of Brahmā and Sūrya. One of them says that he had knowledge of the present, past and future on account of his learning in Jyautisha śāstra.

Nothing is known from other sources about Bāla-Sarasvati who composed the record and who calls himself a poet of the court of Anna-Vēma. It may be noted, however, that he was the author of another inscription of the same king at Śrīśailam.[9] Another poet in this king's court, viz., Trilōchanāchārya is already known to us. He composed the Vānapalli[10] copper-plate inscription of this king.

C

PINAPADU GRANT OF KOMATI-VEMA

This is the last of a set of copper-plates whose other plates are lost. It measures 12½" in length and 5½" in breadth, and weighs 47 *tolas.* In the middle of its proper right margin there is a hole for passing a ring through. It bears writing only on one side. Though it is a little damaged the writing is in good state of preservation. It was secured in the year 1920 from Mr. Ponukapāti Ramayya who discovered it buried underground at Pinapāḍu near Tenāli and has been registered as No. 8 of Appendix A in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for that year.

The portion of the inscription preserved on this plate is in Telugu characters and contains a description in Telugu of the gift village Pinapāḍu and five verses in Sanskrit. The first verse says: "The donor is king **Kōmaṭi-Vēma,** the recipient of the grant is the preceptor **Śaṅkara,** the village granted is **Pinapāḍu,** the composer is the poet **Śrīnātha-Bhaṭṭāraka,** the time of the grant is the occasion of the holy Śivarātri and the witness the great **Śrīgiri.** Why should not poets extol the gifts under these circumstances?" The other four verses are imprecations. The inscription ends with the king's signature **"Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇasya".**

From the above verse it is apparent that king Kōmaṭi-Vēma, the donee Śaṅkara and the poet Śrīnātha were at Śrīśaila on the Śivarātri day. According to the *Śivarātri-māhātmya* of this poet, which is dedicated to a scholar named Śāntayya, a disciple of Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti, Śrīnātha once visited the sacred shrine of Śrīśaila during the Śivarātri festival and paid his respects to Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti. While the poet was seated in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti, the head of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha* on the hill asked him to write a Śaiva poem and dedicate it to one of his disciples. This Śānta-Bhikshāvṛitti appears to have been a patron of Telugu literature. The Telugu poet Gaurana dedicated his *Navanātha-charita* to this pontiff. His successors seem to have been treated with great respect even by the Vijayanagara kings. Siddha-Bhikshāviṛtti, who was the donee of the Śrīśailam grant of the Vijayanagara emperor Virūpāksha, was one of the gurus of the Vīraśaiva *maṭha* on Śrīparvata.

The descendants of the donee of the grant under publication, viz., Śaṅkara, are found even today in the village Pinapāḍu. Though they are Brāhmans they officiate as Āchāryas to several Śaivas who are not Brāhmans.

A

TEXT

1 Śrī-Tripurāntakēśvara [||*]

2 Svasti Śrī [||*] Vijay-ābyudaya-Śālivāhana-śaka-varshaṁbulu 1257 agunēṭi Yuva-

3 nāma saṁvatsara Kārttikaśuddha 12 Guru-vāsara manvādi mahāpuṇyakālamunaṁ-

4 du Yaju[ś*]-śākh-ādhyāyan-Āpastaṁba-sūtra-Kauṇḍinya-gōtr-ōdbhavaluṁnnu(lunnu) śrīmad-yaja-

5 n-ādi-shaṭkarma-niratal-agu Kāmēśvara-bhaṭṭarakuni-vāri pautṛi(tru)luṁnnu(lunnu) Koṇḍu-bhaṭṭārakuni-

6 vāri-putṛi(ru)lunn-agu Chiṭṭamūri Tiṁmmana(Timmana)-bhaṭṭu-śastrulavāriki svasti [||*] sakala-guṇa-gaṇ-ālaṁ-

7 kāra Chaṁchumala-chūrakāra Viśva-viśvaṁbhar-ābharaṇa-vahana-daksha-dakshaṇa (kshiṇa)-bhujā-daṁḍḍa

8 Jaganobba-gaṁḍa āniya(anya)-maṁḍalikara-gaṁḍa rāya-chēkōlu-gaṁḍa rāya-mīsara-gaṁḍa

9 arthi-pratyarthi-Hēmādri-dāna-nirata prajā-paripālana-chatura haraṇa-bharaṇa rūpa-

10 Nārāyaṇa Vīra-Nārāyaṇa bhuja-bala-Bhīma kōdaṁḍa-Rāma aparimita-bhū-dāna-Paraśu-

11 rāma anēka-nagar-ōpākaṁṭha-pratishṭhāpita-bahu-vidh-ārāma saṁggaḍi-raksha-pālaka jaga-ra-

12 ksha-pālaka jagada-Gōpālaka Gujjari-daṭṭa-vibhāḷa ghana-bhuja-virājamāna-Karavāla

13 Rāchūri-durga-vibhāḷa jala-durga-jaladhi-baḍabānala sthala-durga-havana-Halāyu-

14 dha anavarata-purōhita-kṛita-sōma-pāna Śrīparvata-Ahōbala-nirmita-sōpāna dhiḥ(dik) [kāṁ]-

15 ttā-manōhara kīrti-kusum-āmōda Kuṁḍiprabhā-Saṁhya(Sahya)jā-Gautamī-

16 jala-krīḍā-vinōda Kaliṁga-rāya-māna-mada-marddana maṁniya-rāya-mṛiga-

17 vēṁṭakāra Voḍḍiya-rāya-nirdhūma-dhāma Jaṁtur-nāṭa-rāya-halla-kallōla a-

18 ri-rāya-basava-Śaṁkkara virōdhi-nṛipa-dānava-Narasiṁhva(ha) Pāṁḍya-rāya-gaja-siṁ-

19 hva(ha) prajñā-chatur-vidh-ōpāya Kēḷadi-rāya nitya-paripālita-satya Pallv-ādi-

20 tya ripu narapati-gōdhūma-ghaṭṭana-gharaṭṭa Appaya-Gōpaya-diśā-paṭṭaṇa(paṭṭa) saṁgrā-

21 ma-samuddaṁḍa-chaṁḍḍa-bhuj-āsi-vikhaṁḍḍita-kṛita-kīlāla plavamāna-Braṁhma(ahma) kum-

22 ḍī-Kṛishṇavēṇī-Gōdāvarī-Mahānadī-taṭī-dvayan(ya)-madhya-dēśa-anēk-āgrahā-

23 ra agaṇya-puṇya-kshētra-sastra-bahu-vidh-āhāra Pūrva-samudrādhīśvara

24 ēka-rāya-sthāpan-āchārya ēka-siṁhavā(hā)san-ālaṁkāra | śrīma[t*]-Tripurāntakadē-

25 va-divya-śrī-pāda-padm-āradhakul-aina śrīmatu-Vēmaya-Reḍḍigāru vrāyiṁchi yi-

26 chchina bhū-dāna-dharma-śāsanaṁ || mad bhujā-daṁḍḍa- paripālanam-aina sāṁbrā(mrā)jya-

27 m-aṁdu Śrīśaila-bhūmini Aṁmma(Amma)naṁbrōli śī(sī)malō Rāmatīrthaṁ sarvāgrahāramuṁ-

28 nnu(munnu) Chīmakurti-Bhīmēśvara-Pulikoṁḍḍa-Mailavaraṁ-Komārapuri-grāma-

29 mulu ayidiṁṭṭiyaṁdunnu veli-polaṁ-lōnunnu charvula kriṁda māṁgā-

30 ṇi-lōnunnu āku-tōṁṭalu-cheruku-tōṁṭala-lōnu bhūmi chathurth-āṁśaṁ

31 sarva-mānyaṁ-gānuṁnnu(nnu) migilina muppātika bhūmini paṁḍina nānāphalā-

32 dulakuṁnnu(nnu) shōḍaś-āṁśaṁ mērānu suvarṇ-ādāyānaku paṁchamāṁśamunnu

33 pedda-chervu nīḷḷanu yī grāmālu gāka yitara grāmāla paṁḍḍina dhānyānaku daśam-āṁ-

34 śamunnu śī(sī)mā-mūlaṁ prati-grāmamulaṁduṁnnu(nnu) padahāru-bārala ghaḍanu

35 pedda vūr[i*]iki innūru kuṁṭaluṁnnu(nnu) chinna vūriki nūru guṁṭṭala kshētramu-

36 nnu sarva-mānyamulaṁnnu(nnu) yī-lāgu nirṇayaṁ chēśi Rāmatīrthaṁ modal-aina ā-

37 ru grām-ādulayaṁdunnu ashṭa-bhōga-svāmya-svataṁtramulunnu chaturvi-

38 dha-yōgyaṁ-gā sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka-dāna-dhārā-purvaṁ-gā yippiṁstimi ganuka . . .

39 . . . tra-pāraṁparyyamunnu aṁddula vachchina phalaṁ ā-cha . . . . .

40 . . . . ḍuvāru || dāna-pālanayōr-madhyē dānāch-chhrē . . . . .

41 . . . . nchyutaṁ padaṁ || ēk-ai[va] . . . . .

42 . . . . vipra-dattā . . . .

B

TEXT

First Plate, First Side

१ श्रीनाध(य)स्य वराहदिव्यवपुषो वः पातुदंष्ट्रा चिरं स्यूतोन्नित-
२ महीतलोपरितटीनिर्य्यातशृंगंकुरा । यामात्मीयजलो-
३ दितां शाशिकळामाशंक्य जातः [ज्ञ] णां सौहार्द्देन विजृंभमाणासलि-
४ लारंभो महांभोनिधिः ॥[11][1*॥] तमो हरेतां तव पुष्पवंत्तै राका-
५ सु पूर्व्वापरशैलबा(भा)जौ । रथांगलीलाभिवदर्शयंत्तौ पुरा पुरारेः[12]
६ पृधिवो(थ्वी)रथस्य ॥[13][2*॥] पादारविंदादरविंदनामेर्ग्गमेव पुराया ध-
७ न जीवनश्रीः । जाताभिजाता शतथा(धा) विभिन्ना जातिश्चतुर्थी जगतां
८ हिताय ॥[11][3*॥] तस्यामभूत्प्रोलयवेमनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविधा-
९ नशाली ॥ (।) हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदक्षो निस्सीमभूदाननिरूढकीर्त्तिः[15] । वेम-

Second Plate, First Side

१० क्षितीशो वृषममेकपादं खंजमचारं कलिकालदोषात् । दत्ता-
११ ग्रहारहिजवेदशक्या पदक्रमैरस्खलितं चकार[16] ॥[4*॥] धर्म्मात्मजो दा-
१२ शारधि(थि)ः पृथुश्चेत्युदीर्यमाणानि युगांत्तरेषुं । वितर्क्कये वेम-
१३ नरेश्वरस्य पुण्यानि नामानि पुरातनानि[17] ॥[5*॥] यत्कीर्त्तिलोलमनसा
१४ सुरगांगनानामालोकितुं च सुखरागमनंगमूलं[18]
१५ श्रोतुं च गीतरचनां युगपन्नदक्षो नागाधिपो न सहते नयन-
१६ श्रुतित्वं[19] ॥[11][6*॥] संग्रामपार्त्थस्य शरैर्विभिन्ना यस्यारिचूडामणयो
१७ विचेलुः । आक्रामतस्संयति राजवंषान् प्रतापवह्नेरिव विस्फुलिं-

Second Plate, Second Side

१८ गाः ॥[20][7*॥] तस्माच्च वेमनृपतेरूदयादिवाद्रेर्जातौ प्रतापवरकांत्तिनिधी कु
१९ मारौ । सूर्थ्येंदुतुल्यमहसावनवोतभूपः [:*] श्रीयन्नवेम-
२० नृपतिर्जगरक्षपालः ॥[21][8*॥] वीरश्रीयनवोतभूतलपतेर्गाबो(भी)रभेरो-
२१ रवैः । शत्रूणां हृदयेषुं संगरमुखे भिन्नेषु पूर्व्व र-
२२ सं । यहीरं निरकासयदभयरसो वेगात्कुतोप्या-

२३ गतो [।*] युक्तंप्राक्तनमंबु निर्ग्गमयति प्रत्यग्रमत्यूर्जितं[22]
२४ ॥[23][9*॥] शशास यः श्रीनगपूर्व्वबा(भा)गादापूर्व्वरत्नाकरमंध्रदे-
२५ शं। आमेरवलं मेरवलभूधरस्य जिताहितक्षीयनवोतभूपः ॥[24][10*॥]

Third Plate, First Side

२६ तस्यानुजस्तामरसायताक्षः[:*] श्रीयन्नवेमः क्षितिपालरत्नं।
२७ शूराग्रगणयः क्षुरिकासहायो विबा(भा)ति वीराहवके लिलोलः [25][11*॥] श्रोय-
२८ न्नवेमनृपतेः(तिः) क्षुगि(रि)काष्टहायो वीरारिवक्षसि विलेखनके लिदक्षः। सो-
२९ यं करस्सुभगतूलिकया विचित्रं कांत्ताकपोलमकरीकरणो स-
३० कं पः ॥[26][12*॥] श्रीयन्नवेमनृपतेर्जयिना करेणा प्रत्यर्त्थिनां युधि
३१ बलादवरोपितानि ॥ (।) आरोपयत्युपगमाच्चरणां तदीयं कोटी
३२ रचामरसितातपवारणानि [27][13*॥] सोयं ब्रा(भ्रा)तुरनंत्तरं निजमाही-
३३ बा(भा)रं वहन् पैतृकं राज्यश्रीरमणीस्वयंवरपतिः [28][14*॥] श्रीयन्नवे-

Third Plate, Second Side

३४ मप्रभुः। ग्रामान् पूर्व्वनृपालकै श्च गुरूणा ब्रा(भ्रा)[28]त्रा च विप्रार्प्पितान्
३५ सर्व्वानाप्यनुपालयन्नपि दिशन् जागर्त्ति लोकोत्तरः ॥ अथ प्रातिग्रहो-
३६ त्तृवंशावळी ॥ असीदंबुजसंभवान्वयभुवां गणयो वरेण्यस्स-
३७ तां विरव्यातो हरिताह्वयो मुनिवरः कर्त्ता स्मृतेर्व्वेदवित्। त-
३८ द्गोत्रे परवादिकुंजरधटासिंहो नृसिंहोभवद्यस्यो-
३९ दाहरणं चकित्रमनधं वेदोक्तसत्कर्म्मणां ॥[29][15*॥] तस्यात्मजो या
४० गविधानशाली बभूव भीमेश्वरसोमयाजी। यदीयहोमानल-
४१ धूमरेखा दिगंगनापल्लवकर्ण्न (र्ण्ण)पूराः ॥[30][16*॥] पुत्रस्तदीयः किल पोति-
४२ भट्टो गुणी ततोजायत गंड्यार्य्यः। तनूभवस्तस्य च पेद्दिविद्वा[न्]

Fourth Plate, First Side

४३ दैवज्ञचूडामणिरेष बा(भा)ति ॥[31][17*॥] शाकाब्दे रसरत्नबा(भा)स्करमिने मासे [नभ]
४४ स्ये तिथौ राकायां धरणीसुतस्य दिवसे पुण्ये शशांकग्रहे। प्रादा-
४५ त्पात्रतमाय पेद्दिविदुषे श्रीयन्नवेमाधिपो ग्रमं पच्चनितांडि
४६ पळ्ळुमसमाष्टैश्र्यभोगान्वितं ॥[32][18*॥] ॥ अस्य ग्रामस्य सीमाचिह्नानि ॥

४७ ऊरि ईशान्यं वडडंगिकुंटनुंडि प्रदक्षिणामुगानु अमृतलू-

४८ रि पोलसुसंधुन नाग्नेयदक्षिणां सागि बलुसुंवुट्टल मीं-

४९ दं बडुमळिचि दाक्षिणामै नल्लंगुंट मोचि चालुपुट्टल मों

५० द नाग्नेयदक्षिणामै तुळुमिंडि पोलमु मोचि पडुमळिञ्चि

५१ पेद्दपुट्टनुंडि दक्षिणामै अमृतलूरि डोंक्क दांटि जम्मिपुट्ट

Fourth Plate, Second Side

५२ मींद नैरु(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै जंमिपुट्ट मींद दक्षिणामै कोञ्चलपुट्ट मींदं बडु-

५३ मळै जंमिपुट्ट मोचि दक्षिणामै उप्पिपुट्टल मींद मूलवंप्पुपुट्ट मोचि

५४ पडुमळै बीरवंक उप्पिपुट्टल मींद नैर(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै दक्षिणमिंचि पडुमळ सागि

५५ चोक्ल मोचि पुट्टल मींदं बडुमळै दक्षिणमिंचि तुळुमिंडिभ्रोंपळिति-

५६ पोलमुसंधु चोडु मोचि आसंदि चालुपुट्टल मींद नैरृ(ऋ)तिपश्चिममै ओंगं

५७ ट इट्टिकावमु दक्षिणानंगानु पडुमळै तोंकगोलमु तूर्पुग-

५८ नु उत्तरं मुट्टिन मडुक जम्मिपुट्ट मोचि दक्षिणमैं गारकुंट तूर्पु[33]

५९ गट्ट मोचि पडुमळै कं देपिपोलमु मोचि असंदिनुत्तरमै अवुळनल्लंबु-

६० लु गु क्ल मींद वायव्योत्तरमै कं देपितेरुपुट्टल मींद उत्तरपु जं-

६१ मिनंदि ळाति मींद नवुळुपल्लेमु पडुमटंगानु कं भंपुट्ट मीं-

६२ दे बडुमळिंञ्चि उत्तरमै पालकोटि मींद म्रींतुकूरि आलपाटि सं

Fifth Plate, First Side

६३ डु पेद्द[नंदिकंभं मोचि आल]पाटि सध्यु(धु)नंदूर्प्पै पुट्ट अवुळुगुंट [मोंद]

६४ दक्षिणा[मिंचि तूर्प्पै अवुळु]गंटल मींदं गोर्च्चपुट्टलु मोचि उत(त्त)रमिंञ्चि

६५ तूर्प्प जम्मिपुट्टल मींद नवुळोद्दिपुट्ट मोचि उत्तरमै मूलपुट्टनुंडि तूर्प्पै जम्मि

६६ मींद मूलपुट्टनंडि जटलम्मपाटि तूर्पुकै। उत्तरं सागि जम्मि मींद मू-

६७ लपुट्ट मोचि जंमुल मींदंगां दूर्प्पै दाक्षिणामिंचि तूर्पुसागि नल्लंज-

६८ ट तिप्प पेद्दपुट्टवोद्दि जम्मि मोचि उत्तरमै गारपुट्टल मींदंगां बुलुवुडुं -

६९ बुट्ट मोचि तृर्प्पै आवुळुगंटल मींदंगां बेदपूंडि आलपाटि संदु

७० चवुटगुंट पडुमट नेङगलगेनपुट्ट मोचि जम्मि मींद दक्षिणां सागि जम्मि-

७१ पुट्ट मोचि तूर्प्पै [पे] दपूंडि आलपाटि संदु चौडु मोचि दक्षिणामिंचि गोल्ल-

७२ कुंट तूर्पुननुंडि चालुपुट्रल मिंदं दूर्पु सागि वडंगिगुंट मो-

७३ चेनु ॥ एतेषां मध्यवर्तिक्षेत्रं ॥ स्वदत्ताडि(हि)गुणां पुण्यं परदत्तानुपा

Fifth Plate, Second Side

७४ लनं परदत्तापहरिणा स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् [34]।[।*19॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां[35]

७५ वा यो हरेत वसुंध्ध(ध)रां । षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां[35]

७६ जायते क्रिमिः[34] ॥[20॥*] एकै व भगिनो लोके सर्व्वेषामपि भूभुजां[35]

७७ न बो(भो)य्या न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंध्द(ध)रा [34]।[।*21॥] अन्नवेमनरें[35]

७८ द्रस्य विद्वान् बालसरस्वती । अकरोदाकरो वाचा न्निर्म्म [लं][35]

७९ धर्म्मशासनं[35] ॥[22॥*] मंगळमहाश्री[:*] श्री श्री

८० श्रीपल्लवत्रिणेत्र [॥*]

C

TEXT

१ ट्रं दांकां बोयि मगुडि उत्तरपुमुखमै ऊडुगुलकर बट्टि वच्चि रेल्लंबडिय

२ दापुन मूडूक्ल मुत्तलनुंडि देशमुडोंक्ककु वञ्चि कुनि पडमटिकि दिगि वंदु-

३ ळुदापुन मगुडि उत्तरानकुं बोयि देशमुकुंट्ट तूर्पुन मगुडि तूर्पु-

४ मुखमै कुनि पञ्चारुलपल्लपु नेल तिरिगि दक्षिणानकु नडचि कुनि तम्मडिकुंट्ट दक्षि-

५ णान वोरसि उत्तराभिमुखमै पोयि कुनि तूर्पुमुखमै नडचि गरुवु येक्कि तूर्पु

६ नडचि कुनि दक्षिणामुखमै कुनि तूर्पुसुखमै ईंदुपडुव नडुमुवट्टि नडचि ग-

७ स्वुन मगुडि दक्षिणमुखमै वच्चि यथास्थानानं गूडेनु ॥ दाता कोमटिवेम -

८ नाम नृपतिः पात्रं गुरुः शंकरः स्थानं चेत्पिनपाडुरत्र तु कविः श्रोनाथ भट्टारकः ।

९ कालश्चेच्छिवरात्रिपुण्यसमयः साक्षो महान् श्रीगिरिः श्रेयः ह्निं न तु वर्ण्यते सुक-

१० विभिः श्रुण्वंतु तच्छासनं ॥[36][1॥*] सर्वमान्यकृतधर्मशासनं पालयंतु भुवि भाविपार्थि-

११ वाः अग्रहारपरिरक्षणादृते नास्ति नास्ति हि यशो महोभृतां ॥[37][2॥*] स्वदत्ताद्वि (द्वि)गुणां

१२ पुण्यं परदत्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहरिणा स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥[38][3॥*] एकैव भ

१३ गिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजां न भोज्य न करग्राह्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ॥[38][4॥*] स्व-

१४ दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां । षषिृर्वर्षसहस्रणि विष्टायां[39] -

१५ जायते क्रिमिः ॥[38][5॥*] एतड़र्मानुशासनं ॥ श्री ॥ श्रीवीरनारायणास्य ॥

REFERENCES

1. No. 5 of App. A to the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1919-20.
2. *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.
3. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 313 ff.
4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 243.
5. Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 ff.
6. Some of these titles are explained in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1900, page 22.
7. Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.
8. A.R. on *South-Indian Epigraphy,* 1919-20, Nos. 13 and 14.
9. See A.R. on *South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1915, Part II, para. 59.
10. Above, Vol. III, pp. 60 ff.
11. Metre: *Śārdūlavīkrīḍitam.*
12. The *visarga* is written in the next line.
13. Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*
14. Metre: *Indravajrā.*
15. Metre: *Indravajrā.*
16. Metre: *Indravajrā.*
17. Metre: *Upajāti.*
18. The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.
19. Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*
20. Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*
21. Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*
22. The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.
23. Metre: *'Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.*
24. Metre: *Upajāti.*
25. Metre: *Upajāti.*
26. Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*
27. Metre: *Vasantatilakā.*
28. Metre: *'Śārdūlavikrīḍitam'.*
29. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.*
30. Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

31. Metre: *Upēndravajrā.*

32. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam.*

33. The *anusvāra* is written in the next line

34. Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

35. The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

36. Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam*

37. Metre: *Rathōddhatā.*

38. Metre: *Anushṭubh*

39. The *anusvāra* is written in the next line.

18

INSCRIPTION ON A SMALL PILLAR IN FRONT OF THE FORT GATE AT KOILKONDA, DISTRICT MAHBŪBNAGAR

First face

1 Śubham=astu Kali-yuga-pramā-
2 ṇaṁ nālugu-lakshaluṁnn[1]u mu[p*]-
3 pai-reṁḍu-vēlu yēṁḍlu
4 Svasti Śrī[||*] Jay-ābhyudaya Śāli-
5 vāhana-Śaka-varshālu veyiṁ-
6 ni na[n*]nūṭa-de[b*]bhai-reṁḍu yēṁḍlu
7 agun=ēṭi Sādhāraṇa-nāma saṁ-
8 vatsara Māgha-śud[d*]ha paṁchamī Sō-
9 mavāramu-nāḍu Yiburā-
10 himu-Śaha Kutubuna-Mulu-
11 ka-Voḍa(e)yalu-gārki Kōyala-
12 koṁḍa haśeṁ nilipina śyā(śā)sana-
13 kaṁbhaṁ śrī śrī śrī [||*]
14 Śrī [||*] Āditya-Chaṁdrō=Vanija-gni(jña)-Jī-
15 vāḥ Śukr=Ārka-puträv=api Rāhu-
16 Kētūṁnu (Kētū) yē tē = pi khē=
17 ṭāḥ sakal=ārtha-sid[d*]hiṁ ku-
18 ruvaṁ(rvvaṁ)tu nityam sthira-kā-
19 la-bhōgāṁnu(n) Śrī śrī śrī [||*]

Second face

20 Hajarati Khājāyevaṁda Mesanada-
21 Āli Manasaba Moali Vulugu Ājam
22 Malika yiburāhimu Śaha
23 Kutubuna-Maluka-Voḍa(e)yalu-
24 gāru Vija[ya*]nagarānan=uṁḍa-gā-
25 nu Kā(Kō)yalakoṁḍa samastam=ai-
26 na nāyaṁkavāḍiluṁnu

27 laskariluṁnu haśemuṁnu
28 tupa(ā)kiluṁnu bājenaparu-
29 luṁnu kūḍi Pīru-Miyā-
30 gāri yiṁtiki pōyi māṭl-a(ā)-
31 ḍi Sayidu-Āli-Miyānu aṁ-
32 pi sāhebunu tōḍi tepiṁsti-
33 mi Piru-Miyākuṁnu Sayidu-
34 Āli-Miyākuṁnu nēmu yi-
35 china bhāsha tapamu adi-gāka
36 tiruga-baḍi dēvara[vā]ri sō-
37 pā-lōnu kurchuṁḍi mammu
38 pilichi nēnu Vija[ya*]nagarāna vuṁ-
39 ḍa-gānu tōḍuka-vastiri nammu-
40 dunā ani ānatistiri aṁdduku
41 nēmu dēvaraku yichina pramā-
42 ṇikālu Yiburāhimu-Śe(a)ha-
43 Kutubana-Maluka-Voḍa(e)ya-
44 lanē tappa mari Davulata-Kuli-
45 ni-gāni Subhānu-Kulini-gāni Sa-
46 yida-Khāni Ayinana-Malukaṁ-
47 gāni takkina-vārini-gāni chē-paṭi-
48 timā a(ā)yidhaṁ katinavānik=e-
49 llānu Kōyalakoṁḍa da[rvā]-
50 jā tūrinavāru vāriki digu-ba-
51 ṁtanu gōvu-brāṁhmani Vāra-
52 ṇāsi-lōnu chaṁpin=aṁtta dōshāna
53 bōdumu yidi-gāka mūti-mī-
54 da mīsaṁ mōchinavāḍ=a(e)llānu tapi-
55 na adi vārakāṁta śashpāl=īy=idi-gāka
56 tapirā tama mānamu chaluvadā-
57 rulaku yichinavāralu yidi-gāka tama
58 mānamu gāḍuduku yichinavā-
59 ru yidi-gāka tapitimā Kōyali-
60 koṁḍa-lōnu āyid[h*]amu ka-
61 ṭinavārik=a(e)llānu yidi nēmamu

Third face

62 adi-gāka Turukalak=a(e)llānu
63 paṁdini Makkā-lōnu chaṁpin=aṁ-
64 ta dōshāna pōdumu adi-gāka
65 manalōna yevaṁḍ-aṁnānu ha[2]
66 tapinā Musāphu āna Yi
67 mānu-Husaini chaṁpina dō-
68 shāna pōdumu adi-gāka ma-
69 nalōna yavaṁḍ=aṁnānu harā-
70 mukhōrigi vichārāla bō-
71 yanā vāniki yidi nēmamu
72 vāni peṁchenāna vēyavalenu
73 adi-gāka tapitimā mānisi
74 puṇuka-lōnu śuṇuka-māvu(ṁ)saṁ(sa)-
75 munnu kāki-māvu(ṁ)samunnu
76 surānu vaṁḍḍuka sēviṁstunna
77 gāḍiden=ekki paḍu[va*]ṇa-mokham=ai na-
78 ḍachina dōshāna bōdumu yidi
79 Kōyilakoṁḍa kārukūnāluṁ-
80 nnu hudārluṁnnu killā-nāya-
81 kavāḍaluṁnnu laskariluṁnnu
82 tupākiluṁnnu kaṁmaravā-
83 ruṁnnu vaḍlavāruṁnnū
84 vuparvāruṁnnu gaḍekārlluṁnnu
85 kāvivāruṁnnu bājenaparluṁ-
86 nnu sarvam=aina marr(r)damānā-
87 luṁnnu maṁnnevāru Parāku-
88 rāvu Kēsāni Navareṁ-Khā-
89 nuḍu Maṁḍage Balavaṁtta-
90 rāvu Māraka Kadaṁbarāvu
91 Kēsāni Tiṁmmi-Nēḍu Nalako-
92 ṁḍa-manaḍu Sāḷuvarāvu Aṁ-
93 kamu Maliki-Nēḍu Gōvu Kadaṁ-
94 barāvu Bhūlōkarāvu Kavula
95 Tiṁmmi-Nēḍu Dēvarāju Vu-

96 daṁḍarāvu bāje maṁnnevā-

97 ru aṁddaramunnu yēkastu-

98 kan=ai mā sanu(saṁ)ruchini vrāsi yi-

99 china nēmanu yidi-gāka Mali-

100 ka Yiburāhimu-Śā Kutubuna-Ma-

101 luka-Voḍa(e)yaluku yevaḍ=aṁnānu

102 harāmukhōrigi chēśinā mā parivā-

103 ramulōni bāsa tapinā vāni tega-

104 jūḍavalenu[||*]

TRANSLATION

1-9. Prosperity! The extent of Kaliyuga is four lakhs and thirty- two thousand years. Hail prosperity ! In the victorious and prosperous Śālivāhana-Śaka year 1472, the cyclic year Sādhāraṇa, on Monday, the fifth *(tithi)* of the bright half of Māgha,

10-13. the inscription (inscribed) pillar was set up by the retinue *(of the village)* of Kōyalakoṇḍa to *(register the undertaking given to)* Yiburāhimu - Śaha Kutubuna-Maluka Voḍeya (Ibrāhim Qutb Shāh). Great prosperity.

14-19. Prosperity ! The Sun, the Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu, Kētu and any other *(planets)* that move about in the sky may they always bring everlasting success in all undertakings.

20-24. While Hajarti Khājāyevanda Mesanada Āli Manasaba Moali Vulugu Ājam Malika Yiburāhimu-Śaha Kutubuna-Maluka-Vodeya was residing at Vijayanagara,

25-35. all the *Nāyakavāḍas*, the army, the retinue, the artilery and the bandmen of Kōyalakoṇḍa went in a group to the house of Pīru-Miyā and after a conversation among themselves sent Sayidu Āli-Miyā and had the Sāheb brought *(from Vijayanagara)* and declared *(to him)* as follows "We will not break the promise that we have made to Pīru-Miyā and Sayidu-Āli-Miyā".

35-42. Further, sitting in the master's sofa, turning to us and addressing us, you (i.e., the Sāheb) said thus "You brought me who was at Vijayanagara; shall I trust you? "and the following are the oaths which we gave *(you)* our master:-

42-53. *(We swear)* that if any of us, the arm-bearers that have entered the gates of Kōyalakoṇḍa, join hands with Daulata- Kuli, Subhānu-Kuli, Sayidakhāni Ayinana-Maluka or any person other than Śaha Kutubana-Maluka-Voḍeya, they must be considered to be very low and they will incur the sin of having killed cows and Brahmans at Vāraṇāśī.

53-61. Further, if any *(among us)* who wears a moustache on the face violates *(this promise)* his moustache is as good as the hair on the private parts of public women. If they still violate it they will be considered to have given their wives to low class people and if they still violate it they will be considered to have given their wives to asses.

This is an oath *(which applies)* to all the arm-bearers of Kōyalakoṇḍa.

62-71. Further, the Muhammadans that violate this will incur the sin of killing pigs at Makkā and if any one among us does not keep *(this promise)* the oath of *Musāphu(?)* will be on him and he will incur the sin of having killed Yimamu-Husain.

These oaths apply to any one of us who entertains any treacherous ideas and he should be thrown into a frying pan.

72-78. Further, those of us who violate *(this)* will incur the sin of eating the flesh of dogs, crows and wine cooked in a man's skull as they go to the west riding on a donkey.

79-99. This is the oath given in writing, jointly and with a free will, by all the following people:-

the *Kārakūns,* officers, the *Nāyakavāḍas* of the fort, the army, the artillery, the blacksmiths, the Oḍḍas, the well diggers, the guards, the *Kāvis,* the bandmen, all males, feudatories, Parākurāvu, Kēsāni Navareṁ-Khānu, Maṇḍage Balavantarāvu, Māraka Kadaṁbarāvu, Kēsāni Timmi-Nēḍu, Nalakoṇḍa-manaḍu Sāḷuvarāvu, Aṅkamu Maliki-Nēḍu,Gōvu Kadambarāvu, Bhūlōkarāvu, Kavula Timmi-Nēḍu, Dēvarāju Vudaṇḍarāvu and the Bāje chiefs.

99-104. Further, if any one does any *(act of)* treachery to Yiburāhimu-Śaha Kutubana-Maluka-Voḍeya or if he breaks the oath taken by our group he must be cut off."

REFERENCES

1. A superfluous *anusvāra* before double *nn* is, in several cases, used in the inscription.

   Other orthographical errors are also to be found in the record. Consonants are freely used in place of vowels: *e.g. voḍaya* for *oḍaya* in 1. II. The necessary doubling of the consonants is in many instances omitted: *e.g. tapamu* for *tappamu* in 1. 35.

2. This letter appears to have been written and erased.

19

INSCRIPTION OF IBRAHIM QUTB SHAH PANGAL TANK, NALGONDA DISTRICT*

TRANSLATION

During the reign of Abul Muzaffar Sultān Qutb Shāh (Ibrāhim), on the 14th of Ramaḍān 958 H. (15th September, 1551 A.D.) His Honour (lit. His Refuge), the wielder of authority, Sayyid Shāh Mir Isfahānī, son of Sayyed Aḥmad Ṭabaṭabā'ī (may he be blessed!) rebuilt the embankment of the Pangal tank, which had fallen out of repair thorough age, and spent money (on this work) for recompense in the next life. The person who worked hard and supervised (the repairs) was Raḥmat Ullah, son of 'Abdul Karīm Khwān Shāhī(?). The embankment was breached from ...... to the boundary of the river Krishna and water flowed from the tank through the breach (of the dyke) to the town of Pangal......... The share of Musalmans from (the lands of) the tank................ remain ....! 958 H. (1551 A.D).

1 Śri[||*] Svasti Śrī Jay=ābhyudaya Śālivāha-

2 na-Śaka-varushaṁbulu 1472 yagunāṭi Pramō-

3 da-saṁvvatsara Māgha śu. 15 Bhaumavāraṁ | Śrīma-

4 n-mahāmaṁḍḍalēśvara Yiburāhim Kutubu

5 śa rājyamu-śeyaṁgānu vāri maṁnnana-sabhi-

6 kuṁḍu Sayidu Sādātu Sayidu Śahā-Mī-

7 ruku puṇyamugānu āyananija-hitu-

8 ḍu vivēka-bhūshaṇuḍu maṁnnana-tējō

9 nidhi ayinaṭhavaṁṭi Rāmattullāgāru Pānu

10 gaṁṭṭi Vudayasamudraṁ kāluva yiṁddu-

11 pukela-sīmalō Namile-vadda Musi-yēṭi kattuva khi

12 lamai vuṁḍḍaṁgānu punar=ōddharakamugānu

13 kattuva-gaṭṭi kāluva śēyiṁchchi ā nīḷlu U-

14 dayasamudramuniṁchchi āiigi nīḷlu Kri-

15 shṇa-gāmini śēyiṁchi Namile-kattuva moda-

16 lu-koni Krishṇa yīmadhya cheruvulu kuṁṭalu

17 kāluvalu niṁchchi yiṁdula pala-paḍḍa dhānyānaku da-

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica,* 1925-27, p. 24-25.

18 śabaṁddamu Pānugaṁṭṭi kindda nadachēnu ā-chamdr-ā-
19 rka-sthāyigā || Yi Vudayasamudraṁ ve-
20 nuka pāḷla vivaramu rājuku pālu
21 1 prajaku paluṁnn=ara 1½-m Turukala-
22 ku Brāṁhmalaku pāḷlu reṁḍḍu 2 yī
23 choppana ā-chamdr=ārkka-sthāyigā i-
24 stimi || Yī dharmaṁ pratipāliṁchinavāri-
25 ki yaṁttō puṇyaṁ || sva-dattā dvi-guṇaṁ pu-
26 ṇya[ṁ] para-datt-anupālanaṁ | para-datt-āpa-
27 hārēṇa | sva-dattaṁ nishphalaṁ bhavēttu || Śrī[||*]
28 nashṭaṁ kulaṁ bhinna-taṭāka-kūpaṁ | babhra-para-
29 rājyaṁ śaraṇ=āgataṁ chcha | gāṁ Brāhmaṇāṁ dē
30 va-gṛih=ālayaṁ chcha y=ō[d*]dharē[t*] pūrva-chatur-guṇa[h*].
31 śyāt || Maṁgaḷa mahā-śrī śrī jēyu-
32 nū || Śrī[||*]

TRANSLATION

ll. 1-5. Hail! On Tuesday, the 15th day of the bright half of Māgha, in the cyclic year Pramōda, the Śālivāhana Śaka year being 1472, while *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Yiburahiṁ Kutub Śa (Ibrāhim Quṭb shāh) was ruling.

5-19. Ramattulla (Raḥmat-Ullah), who had prudence as his ornament and who was the treasure of brilliance among the favoured, seeing that the channel from the Udayasamudram (tank) in Pānugallu and the dam of the river Musi near Namile in the Yindupukela-*sīma* had been dilapidated, got the dam rebuilt and the channel dug and made the water flowing from the dam and that overflowing the Udayasamudram (tank) run into the river Kṛishṇā. (It was also ordered) that all the crops under the tanks, canals and ponds between the Namile-dam and the Kṛishṇā river would have the benefit of *daśabandhaṁ*[1] tenure in Pānugallu as long as the sun and moon last. (These acts of charity) were done for the merit of Sayidu Sādātu Sayidu Śāhā-Mīru (Sayyidu-s-Sādāt, Sayyid Shāh Mir) who was an honoured councillor (of the king).

19-25. The shares (of income) from the lands irrigated by the Udayasamudram (tank) are as follows:-

One share to the king, one share and a half to the subjects, two shares for Turukas (i.e., Musalmāns) and Brahmans are granted by us (i.e., Raḥmat-Ullah) to endure with the sun and the moon. Those who protect this charity will acquire immeasurable merit.

25-31. Two imprecatory verses.

31-32. Great prosperity shall accrue.

REFERENCE

1. Dasabandham is 'an Inam or copy-hold taxed at one-tenth of the produce'.

20

KAP COPPER-PLATE OF KELADI SADĀŚIVA-NĀYAKA; SAKA 1479*

This copper-plate was secured by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, from Kāp, a village in the South Kanara district of the Madras Presidency,** in 1921 and has been noticed in the *Annual Report of South Indian Epigraphy* for that year as No. 8 of Appendix A.

"The plate which is rectangular in shape is 16.4" long and 11.5" broad. At the top of the plate, just in the centre, there is a flat projection 1.4" broad and 1" high shaped into the form of an arch. There is a small hole in the arch through which passes an ordinary copper ring 1.75" in diameter. The plate has suffered a slight damage at its proper right corner at the top. But the writing on either side is in a good state of Preservation. The plate with the ring weighs 230 tolas."

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Kannaḍa. The first six verses are in Sanskrit and the next six in Kannaḍa, the rest being in Kannaḍa prose. The Kannaḍa verses are defective both in diction and in prosody. The record is written in Kannaḍa alphabet and is rather indifferently inscribed. The letter *va* is often written like *ra* and it is not easy to distinguish *pa* from *ru* (as in *Tirumarasa* in line 17). The aspirates are generally distinguished by means of the vertical stroke at the bottom except in the case of *dha.* The secondary form of *va* is sometimes used *(vuḷḷa* in 1.36 and *vūroḷage* in 1.37). With respect to orthography: (i) the consonants are invariably doubled when they are preceded by *rēpha* (ii) the nasal is generally changed into an *anusvāra* before consonants of the same class; (iii) the consonants are freely used in place of vowels (e.g., *ye* for *e* in 1.21 and *vo* for *o* in 1.14); (iv) the letter *sa* is sometimes wrongly used for *sha* (11.8 and 42); and (v) double *na* is used for *ṇa* as in *arnnava* (1.9).

The object of the inscription is to register a grant of land made by Madda-Heggade, the chief of Kāp, with *(the consent)* of the assembly (*nāḷinavaru*)[1] communal and professional guilds *(gaṇa-paṇa)* and subordinate officers,[2] for offering to Dharmmanātha, the 15th Jina Tīrthaṁkara. The gift was made at the instance of the Jaina teacher Dēvachandradēva for the spiritual welfare of his *guru* Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvakīrttidēva.

The date of the record is Śālivāhana-Śaka 1479, the cyclic year Naḷa, the first *tithi* of the bright half of Kārttika, and Sunday. According to L.D. Swamikannu Pillai's *Ephemeris* the details correspond regularly to A.D. 1556, October 4, Sunday.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Dharmmanātha which is followed by a verse in praise of the *Jina-doctrine (śāsana).* It then invokes Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra), the 24th Jina.

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* Published in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XX, pp. 89-97.

** Now in Karnataka - Ed.

Verses 3 to 6 describe the high spiritual attainments of a Jaina sage named Bhānu who belonged to Tintriṇī-gachchha, Kāṇūr-gaṇa and Mūla-saṁgha. The Kannaḍa verses, which follow, extol the donor Madda-Heggaḍe but tell us nothing material except that he belonged to the Paṅguḷa line *(baḷi)* and that he was the administrator of the beautiful town of Kāp. (Vv. 7-12.) The inscription then states that Rāmarājayya,though he was the lieutenant of king Sadāśivarāya, was ruling the (*Vijayanagara*) empire (11. 18-21) and that Sadāśiva-Nāyaka (of *Ikkēri)* was the ruler of the districts of Bārakūru and Maṅgalūr. Next comes an eulogy of Madda-Haggaḍe in an elaborate prose passage which tells us that he was administering the chief town of Kāp with *(the help of)* the assembly, communal and professional associations and subordinate officers. Then follows the formal portion of the grant. The lands granted were situated in the village of Mallāru and yielded an income of 80 *varāhas.*[3] This income, it states, was to be utilized for the daily rice offering, for the *hālu-dhāre* (milk-bath?) and for feeding the assembly (of sages) on the 17th and 25th days of every month. Provision was also made for extra expenses to be incurred when either of these days happened to be a Maṅgala(ā)-trayōdaśī. Muni Charaṇavijayajī from Poona has kindly pointed out that, according to the colophon of the Digambara Jaina work *Yaśōdharachariyā,* Maṅgalā-trayōdaśī is the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Āśvina.

Sadāśiva-Nāyaka of the record was the first prominent chief of the Ikkēri-Keḷadi family which held sway over the whole of South Kanara and parts of the Mysore State from the 16th to the 18th century A.D.[4] Since very little is known about him, a short account of his career may be given here. He was the elder of the two sons of Chauḍappa, the governor of Malladēśa, the younger being Bhadrappa. Soon after Sadāśiva succeeded his father, his first act was to reduce to submission by the order of Rāmarājayya, who was the *de facto* ruler of Vijayanagara, the kings of Bijāpur and Kalyāṇa. Immensely pleased with this achievement of Sadāśiva, the emperor appointed him governor of Chandragutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷuru, besides bestowing on him the title of *Kōṭe-kōlāhala*[5] (disturber of forts) and the privilege of affixing the term of honour *rāya-nāyaka* to his name. Sadāśiva's next expedition was against the rebellious chiefs of Chandragutti and Bidar and in recognition of his achievements he got the *biruda* of *Śatrusaptāngaharaṇa.* He next put down the chiefs of Tuḷu and Kēraḷa and set up a pillar of victory. Shortly afterwards, he punished the defection of two chiefs named Yeḍava and Murāri in the country of Jālihāḷu and received as a reward the title of *Yeḍava-Murāri* from the emperor. Some time later, he marched against Mādarasa of Baṅkāpura and took him prisoner. By this time Sadāśiva's younger brother Bhadrappa who had gone on a pligrimage came back. After governing the provinces conjointly with his brother for some time, Sadāśiva nominated him as his successor with the surname Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka and retired to the forest.[6]

The date of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka may now be ascertained. Our grant is dated in Śaka 1479 (A.D. 1556). The latest date available for him, viz., Śaka 1486, Dundubhi[7] (A.D. 1562) is furnished by a record at Maṇigārakēri near Bārakūr. And Śaka 1473, Sādhāraṇa[8] (A.D. 1550) is the earliest date that we have for him from his inscriptions. In Śaka 1488, Kshaya[9] (A.D. 1566) Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka is known to have been ruling. Sadāśiva-Nāyaka must, therefore, have ceased to rule sometime between A.D. 1562 and A.D. 1566. So the period in which he flourished may be taken to be A.D. 1550-1562. The date assigned to him by Rice, viz., A.D. 1513-1545, is, therefore, not correct.[10] Here it is necessary to say a word about Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka's place in the genealogy of the Keḷadi family. Though a number of his inscriptions[11] has been discovered he has not been included in the table[12] of the house published by Rice, perhaps, because his relationship to other members of the dynasty was not known to that scholar. Now the work *Śivatatvaratnākara* enables us to say that Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was the younger brother and successor of Sadāśiva.

The sage Bhānu, who has been highly eulogised in the record, must have been one of the Jaina teachers of that name who were replaced by Lalitakīrtis in about Śaka 1286.[13] Nothing is known about Dēvachandradēva at whose instance the grant was made, his *guru* Munichandradēva and his *guru* Abhinavadēvakīrttideva.

With regard to the geographical names occurring in the inscription, the village Mallāru may be identified with Mallūru in the Uḍipi Taluk; Beḷuguḷa is the well-known Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore State; Kopaṇa is Kopaḷ, a famous place of pilgrimage of the Jainas in the Nizām's Dominions; Parvata is probably identical with Śrīśailam in the Kurnool District, which is one of the twelve great centure of Saiva worship.[14] Gōkarṇa is the village of that name in North Kanara; Tirumale is the celebrated Tirupati in the Chittoor District. Ūjjantagiri, which appears as Ūrjayat-giri in the Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman,[15] is the Mount Girnar on which there is an ancient temple of Nēminātha.

TEXT

First Side

1 Śrī-Dharmmanātha[nē] śaraṇu || Śrīmat-parama-gambhīra-syādvād-āmōgha-lāṁchhanaṁ [|*]jīyā-

2 t=trailōkya-nāthasya śāsanaṁ Jina-śāsanaṁ || [1*] Svasti Śrī sakala-jñāna-sāmrājya-pada-rājita[ḥ*] | Va-

3 rthdha(rddha)māna-Jināddhīśa[16]-syādvāda-maṭha-bhāsurah || [2*] Tiṁtriṇī-gachchha-vārāśēs=sudhāṁśur=jñāna-dī-

4 dhitiḥ [|*]sa[d*]-dharmma-sarasī-haṁsaḥ pravādi-gaja-kēsarī || [3*] Kāṇūr-gaṇa-nabhō-bhāgē bābhāti muni-

5 kuṁ[ja]raḥ | ajñāna-timir-ōddhūti[ḥ*]Śrīmān-Bhānu-mun-ī[śva]raḥ || [4*] Paṁch-āchāra-śara-dhvasta-paṁcha-

6. bāṇa-[śa]ra-vrajaḥ | akhaṁḍa-śrī-tapō-lakshmī-nāyakō Bhānu-saṁyamī || [5*]Śrīmad-Bhānu-mu-

7 n-īśva[rō] vijayatē syādvāda-dharmm-āṁbarē śrīmad-jñāna-vinūt[na]-dīdhiti-[śa]ta-dhvast-āṁdhakā-

8. ra-vrajaḥ[|*] śrī-Mūl-āmala-samgah-nīraja-mahā-shaṁḍēśv[17]–akhaṁḍa-śriyaṁ vyāta[nva]-n=muni-

9. kōka-chāru-nikaraṁ saukhy-ārnn(ṇ)avē magnayan[18] || [6*]Tuḷu-dēśav=emba bhūpana poḷeva mahā-pa-

10 dakad=aṁte yesarg(se)guṁ nichkaṁ[19] 1 dharey-oḷage Kāpina nagarada nelanan=āḷva bhūpa Madda-Heggaḍey=eṁbaṁ || [7*]

11 Paṁguḷa-baḷi adhipatiyanu poṁ-gaḷasade(a) nelake tānu nṛipa-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ | Saṁgatasabheyoḷu

12 po[gaḷgu]ṁ Aṁgaja-jaya-Jina-pad-ābja-madhukaran=eṁbaṁ || [8*] Bhū-dēviya mukha-kaṁnaḍi bādēṁ [hēḷva]-

13 rgge Kāpuv=enisida nagaraṁ | ādaradiṁn=adaro[ḷg=ā] mēdini-mata-Dharmmanāthan=ena(se)guṁ Jinapaṁ || [9*] Ā-nagara-

14 kk=adhipatiyuṁ Śrī-pati Tiru[ma]rasa-nṛipa [a]vanī-tilakaṁ | vōmanadali[20] ātānuṁ vōtu karaṁ Mukti-La-

15 kshmig=ittaṁ manamaṁ || [10*] Yēn-eṁbe Madda-Heggaḍe dāna-chatu[r]-vvidhakke tāne chiṁtā-ratnaṁ sanmu(nnu)ta-guṇa-gaṇa-

16 nniḷeyaṁ[21] uṁnnata[22]-śīlavanu tāḷda [nṛi]pa-ripu-saṁhāraṁ || [11*] Dharmmadoḷaṁ [dṛiḍha]-chittanu nirmmala-

17 guru-bhaktiyalli Tirumarasa-nṛipam Dharmma-Jina-Jaina-śāsanamaṁ voṁ-manadiṁ tānu māḍi kriti[ya]-

18 ṁn(nn)=ittaṁ || [12*] Svasti Śrī [||*] Jayādbhudaya[23] Śālivāhana-Śaka-varsha 1479 neya saṁda Naḷa-saṁvatsara-

19 da kārttika-śuddha 1 Ādityavāradalu Śrīman=mahārājādhirāja rājaparamēśvara satya-ratnākara

20 śaraṇāgata-vajra-paṁjara chatu[s*]samudr-ādhīśvara Kaliyuga-chakravartti śrī-vīrapratāpa Sadāśiva-

21 rāya-rāja-rājēṁdra-daskhiṇa-bhāga-bhāgya-dēvata-saṁnibharum=appa Rāmarājayya-navar[u] yē-

22 ka-[chha]tradiṁ rājya[va]nu pratipālisut=irdda kāladalu Bārakūru Maṁgalūralu Sadāsi(śi)va-Nāyakaru

23 rājyavaṁ ge[yi]t[24] =irdda kāladalu Tuḷu[va] dēśa-kāminī-mukha-kamala-tilakāyamā[n]-ānādi-si-

24 ddha-prasiddha-Kāpi-siṁhāsan-ōday-āchal-ālaṁkaraṇa-taruṇa-[t]araṇī-prakāśaruṁ ananyarājanya-sau[ja]-

25 nany[25] -[au]dāryya-vīryya-dhairyya-[mā]dhuryya-gāṁbhīryya-naya-vinaya-satya-śauch-ādy-anaṁta-guṇa-

26 gaṇa-nūtna-ratn-ābharaṇa-gaṇa-kiraṇ-ōdyōtita-Bharatādi-sakala[pu]rāṇa-satya-Purusharum=appa

27 Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyaru avara nā[ḷi]navaru gaṇa-paṇa-sāvantaru Kāpina rājyava-

28 nu pratipālisut=irdda kaladalu[26] [||*] Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-rāya-rāja-guru-maṁḍal-āchāryya mahā-

29 vāda-vādīśvara rāya-vādi-pitāmaha sakala-vidva[jj]ana-chakravarttigaḷuṁ[27] ity-ādy-anēka-bi-
30 rudāvalī-virājamānaruṁ Kāṇūgra[28]-gaṇ-āgra-gaṇyarugaḷum=appa Śrīmad-Abhinava-
31 dēvakīrttidēvarugaḷa śishyaru Munichaṁdradēvarugaḷu [a]varugaḷa śishyaru Dēvachamdradē-
32 varugaḷu tamma guru Munichamdradēvarugaḷige svargg-āpavarggakke kāraṇav-āgi Kāpina-
33 lu dharmmāvanu māḍabēk=eṁba chittadiṁda Tirumalarasar=āda Madda-Heggaḍeyara kūṁ(kū)-
34 ḍeyu avara nāḷinavaru gaṇa-[p]aṇa-sāmaṁtara kūḍeyu Kāpina halara sahāyadiṁ-
35 da dharmmakke voṁdu kshētravanu koḍabēku yeṁdu chittaisal-āgi avarugaḷu dharmma-
36 pariṇāma-svarūpavane vuḷḷavar=āda kāraṇa guru-bhaktiyiṁda tamma sīmeya-
37 lu Ma[llā]r=eṁba[vū]r-oḷage paḍu[va*]ṇa dikkinalu Kaḷaṁtōpatina bāḷkeyalu agaḷi-
38 ṁda voḷage beṭṭina gadde 1 kkaṁ bīja baḷḷa mū[va]ttara lekkada batta mūḍe 2 mattaṁ a-
39 gaḷiṁdaṁ horage Pāpinadiy=eṁba ga[dde] 1 kkaṁ bīja baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada bīja
40 mūḍe 4 mattaṁ bāgila gadde 1 kkaṁ bīja baḷḷa mūvattara lekkada mūḍe 4 gadde mū-

Second Side.

41 rakkaṁ bīja mūḍe 10 ī bhūmigaḷige vuḷḷa kare mure mane bāvi halasu māvu su-
42 ṁbe nikkil=urkkaṁrdde kadiru jala pāśā(shā)ṇa saha mūla-dhāreyanu yera(eredu) ko-
43 ṭṭu yisikoṁda doḍḍa vara(ā)ha ga 80 akshā(a)radalu yeṁbhattu vara(ā)ha yī ho-
44 nnige yeraḍu beḷeyalu saha varsha 1 kke baha akki aṁgaḍiya horigeya
45 baḷ[ḷ]a aivattara lekkada akki mūḍe 24 ī akkige naḍava dharmmada vivara Kāpina basti-
46 ya keḷagaṇa neleyalu Dharmma-Tīrtha[m*]kara-sannidhiyalu madhyāhna-kāladalu nityada-
47 lu dina voṁdakke voṁdu baḷḷa akkiya naivēdyakku [Mu]nichaṁdradēvarugaḷa hesa-
48 rinalu naḍa[va] hāla-dhāregu saha akki mūḍe 10 tiṁgaḷu tiṁgaḷu tappade tiṁ-
49 gaḷalli 17 hōhāga naḍava vāra 1 mattaṁ ippatta-aidu 25 hōhāga naḍava
50 vāra 1 aṁtu tiṁgaḷalli yeraḍu vāra samadāya[29] naḍavudakke akki mūḍevu[30]
51 12 ī vāraṁgaḷalli Maṁgala(ā)-trayōdaśi bahāga ā Maṁgala(ā)-trayōdaśi naḍava-
52 [d=e]ṁ[du*] viśēshav-āgi yirisida akki mūḍe 2 aṁtu akki mūḍe yippatta-nālku
53 yī dharmmada sthaḷadalli Baḷḷāḷarige anāya sanāya salladu illa ā stha[ḷa][31] gadalu[32] idda
54 vokkalige biṭṭi biḍāra salladu kāṇike dese appaṇe padadalli yettu(a) salladu yeṁdu
55 sarvvamānyav-āgi Tirumalarasar-āda Madda-Heggaḍeyaru avara nāḷinavaru ga-
56 ṇa-paṇa-sāmaṁtaru saha tamma dharmma-pariṇāma-nimittav-āgi tamma svarū(ru)chi-
57 yiṁda guru-bhaktiyiṁda voḍaṁbaṭṭu barasi koṭṭa tāṁbra-śāsana iṁt=a-
58 ppudakke sākshigaḷu ati(dhi)kāri Kāṁta-seṭṭi Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi Sāmaṇi Saṁkara-
59 seṭṭi Rāja-seṭṭi Bagge-[se*]ṭṭiya aḷiya Kēsaṇa Mūḷūra Beḷile Birumāḷa
60 Dugga Baṁḍāri Birusāmaṇi yiṁt=inivara vubhay-ānm[ta*]diṁ Ma-

61 ṁgalūra Saṁkai-Sēnabōvana baraha [|*]yiṁt=ī dharmma-śāsa[na*]kke maṁgaḷa-

62 mahā-śrī śrī śrī[||*]Sva-dattā[d*]=dviguṇaṁ puṇyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ[|*]

63 para-datt-āpahārēṇa sva-dattaṁ niḥ(sh)phalaṁ bhavēt || Dāna-pālanayōr=mmadhyē

64 dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanaṁ dānāt=svarggam=avāpnōti pālanād=achyutaṁ

65 padaṁ || yi(ī) dharmma-śāsanakke āvanām=obba Jainan=ādava tappidare Beḷugu-

66 ḷada Gummaṭanātha Kopaṇada Chaṁdranātha Ūjjaṁta-giriya Nēmīśvara-

67 modalāda Jina-biṁbagaḷan=oḍa(e)da pāpakke hōharu Śaivan=ādare Pa-

68 rvvata-Gōkarnna-modalādavaralli[33] kōṭi-liṁgavan=oḍa(e)da pāpakke hōharu

69 Vaishṇavan=ādare Tirumale-modalādavaralli kōṭi-Vishṇu-mūrtiyan=oḍa(e)-

70 da pāpakke hōharu || Bhadraṁ bhūyāj=Jina-śāsanasya [|] Śrī[||*]

TRANSLATION

L. 1. Obeisance to *Dharmmanātha* !

V. 1. For the translation of this verse see *Ep.Ind.*, Vol. XIII, p. 22.

V. 2. Hail ! The illustrious Vardhamāna, the lord of Jinas, who adorns the seat *(symbolic)* of universal sovereignty of all knowledge and who brightens the *Syādvāda* school.

Vv. 3 & 4. Bhānu, the lord of sages, the ray of enlightenment of the moon to the Tiṁtriṇī-gachchha ocean, the swan in the lake of pure faith (i.e., Jainism), a lion to the elephant of religious disputants, the dispeller of the darkness of ignorance, the elephant among ascetics, shines in the sky of Kāṇūr-gaṇa.

V. 5. The sage Bhānu who broke asunder the multitude of arrows of Cupid by his arrows, the five practices *(āchāras*[34]*)* is the lord of the ever prosperous Goddess of Penance.

V. 6. The illustrious Bhānu, the lord of sages, the reducer of the masses of darkness to dust by hundred fresh rays of knowledge, stands victorious in the heavens of *Syādvāda* religion fostering eternal prosperity among the assemblage of lotuses in the *(lake of)* the pure Mūla-saṁgha and immersing sages, the herds of lovely *kōkas,* in the ocean of happiness.

V. 7. Madda-Heggaḍe, the ruler of the city of Kāp-be he ever radiant on the earth like the shining pendant worn by the king, in the form of the Tuḷu country.

V. 8. *(This)* jewel of the community of kings, the lord of the territory adorned by golden pinnacles, born in the Paṅguḷa lineage, a bee at the lotus feet of Jina the conqueror of Cupid, is being praised in assemblies *(of great and learned men).*

V. 9. The city known as Kāpu is the mirror of the goddess Earth; therein shines the Jinapa Dharammanātha honoured by the world.

V. 10. The lord of that city and the favourite of Fortune, king Tirumarasa, the ornament of the goddess Earth, gave himself up with one mind and with great zeal to (the service of) the Goddess of Final emancipation.

V. 11. How shall I describe *(him)?* Madda-Heggaḍe is the wish-giving gem *(chiṁtāratna)* for the kinds of gifts, the abode of all virtues and the vanquisher of enemy kings who have haughty demeanour.

V. 12. King Tirumarasa possessed of firm faith in *dharmma* granted a Jaina-śāsana *(endowment)* with one mind and with great devotion to his spiritual preceptor and got an inscription written *(to that effect).*

Ll. 18f. Hail! Prosperity ! In the prosperous Śālivāhana Śaka year 1479 expired *(corresponding to)* the cyclic year Naḷa, on the 1st *(day)* of the bright half of Kārttika, on Sunday,

Ll. 19ff. when Rāmarājayya, who was, as it were, the Goddess of Fortune on the right side of the *Mahārājādhirāja,* the *Paramēśvara,* ocean of Truth, and adamantine cage for those who seek refuge, the lord of the four oceans, the emperor of Kaliyuga, Vīrapratāpa-Sadāśivaraya, was protecting the kingdom under one umbrella and while Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was ruling *(as viceroy)* the *(provinces of)* Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru,

Ll. 23ff. and while Madda-Heggaḍe who had the name Tirumalarasa, an ornament to the lotus face of the damsel the Tuḷuva country, the young sun *(emerging from)* the eastern mountain, viz., the throne of Kāp which is from time immemorial famous in all directions, *(the incarnation as it were of)* all the ancients like Bharata[35] radiant with the rays of multitudes of ornaments of fresh gems, the collection of many virtues, which were possessed by no other man of royal descent, viz., friendliness, generosity, prowess, sweetness, profundity, policy, politeness, truth and purity, etc., was ruling the chiefdom of Kāp assisted by his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his subordinate officers;

Ll. 28ff. hail ! Munichandradēva, the disciple of Abhinavadēvakīrtidēva, the *āchārya* of the circle of royal preceptors, the lords of great disputants, emperor of all learned men, resplendent with several such *birudas,* the foremost *(follower)* of the *Kāṇūr-gaṇa;*

Ll. 31ff. his disciple Dēvachandradēva requested Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggaḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and his officers to grant a piece of land with the help of several (*people*) of Kāp, with the intention of instituting a charity at Kāp for the final beatitude of his guru Munichandradēva;

Ll. 36ff. and as they were of a charitable temperament, they, out of devotion to their preceptor, granted, with pouring of water, on the western side of the village of Mallāru *(situated)* within their province, in the place called Kaḷantōpatina-bāḷke, on the inner side of the trench, one *beṭṭu*[36] land requiring seed *(for sowing)* of 2 *mūḍe* of paddy calculated at 30 *baḷḷa*[37] *(for each mūḍe)* and outside the trench one wet land called Pāpinadi requiring 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḷḷa* and a *bāgila* land requiring seed of 4 *mūḍe* calculated at 30 *baḻla; (in all)* three wet lands requiring seed of 10 *mūḍe,* with the properties attached to them, viz., *kare, mure,* house, well, jack-trees, mango-trees, *suṁbe, nikkil, urkkaṁrdde,* crop, water and stone; (and Dēvachandradēva) received 80 big *varāhas* - in words eighty - *(being the money income of the said lands).*

LI. 44f. From this gold *(was to be purchased),* at both crops, 24 *mūḍe* of rice calculated at 50 *baḻla* of the standard prevalent in the bazaar. The *(following are the)* details of the charities to be managed with this rice:

LI. 46ff. 10 *mūḍe* of rice for the rice offering at noon at the rate of one *baḻla* each day and for the *hālu-dhāre,* conducted in the name of Munichandradēva to Dharmanātha-Tīrthaṁkara in the lower storey of the temple at Kāp; 12 *mūḍe* of rice for feeding Jain ascetics *(samudāya)* on 2 days in the month, viz., the 17th and 25th day. If either of these days happened to be a *Maṁgalā-trayōdaśī,* 2 mude of rice were provided for the extra expenses that would have to be incurred to celebrate that *Maṁgalā-trayōdaśī.* Thus the total is 24 *mūḍe.*

LI. 53f. In this place of charity the taxes *anāya*[38] and *sanāya*[39] were not to be levied by the Ballāḷas[40]; the Vokkalu had no *biṭṭi*[41] and *biḍāra*[42] and the fees *kāṇike, dese* and *appaṇe* could not be raised.

LI. 55ff. *(This is)* the copper-plate inscription recording the *sarvamānya* gift caused to be written and granted by Tirumalarasa *alias* Madda-Heggaḍe, his assembly, communal and professional guilds and subordinate officers out of their own free will and devotion to their *guru.*

LI. 58ff. The witnesses for this *(transaction)* are: Atikāri *(Adhikāri)* Kāṁta-seṭṭi, Chaṭa Bikra-seṭṭi, Sāmaṇi Saṁkara-seṭṭi, Rāja-seṭṭi, Bagge-seṭṭi's nephew Kēsaṇa, Mūlūra Beḷile, Birumāḷa Dugga and Baṁḍāri Birusamṇi. With the consent of all these, Saṁmkayi-Sēnabōva of Maṁgalūr wrote this. Prosperity and good fortune to this charity deed!

LI. 62ff. Imprecatory verses.

LI. 65ff. Any one who violates this charity, if he is a Jaina, shall incur the sin of breaking the images of Gummaṭanātha of Beḷaguḷa, Chandranātha of Kopaṇa and Nēmīśvara of Ūjjantagiri and other Jaina idols; if a Śaiva, he shall incur the sin of breaking a core of liṅgas at Parvata, Gōkarṇa etc.; if a Vaishṇava, he shall incur the sin of breaking a crore of images of Vishṇu in *(holy)* places like Tirumale. May there be prosperity to the *Jina-śāsana* (doctrine). Fortune.

REFERENCE

1. *nāḷinavaru* is the corrupt form of nāḍinavaru which comes from *nāḍu* meaning assembly.

2. *gaṇa* 'is an aggregate of *kulas'* (*kulānāṁ hi samūhas=tu gaṇah saṁprakīrtitah:* Kātyāyana, Vīramitrōdaya, p. 426; quoted by Dr. Pran Nath in his *"Economic Condition of Ancient India",* p. 54); and *paṇa* is a sectarian division. Eighteen *paṇas* are referred to in an inscription of the 17th

century, viz., *Vyavahārikas, pāñchāla* (five sects of smiths). *kumbhālikas* (potters), *tantuvātins* (weavers), *vastra-bhēdakas* (cloth dyers ?), *lila-ghātakas* (oil millers), *kuranṭakas (kuraṭakas?.* Shoemakers). *vastra-rakshakas* (tailors), *dēvāṅgas, parikeliti (parikelettē. taru?* Keepers of pack-bullocks), *gōrakshakas* (cow-herds), *kirātas* (hunters), *rajakas* (washermen) and *kshaurakas* (barbers). These formed a recognised part of the local assemblies. *(Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1918, part II, paragraphs 84 and 85.)

3. A *varāha* is equal to 3½ rupees. But the expression used here is *doḍḍa*-(big) *varāha,* the exact significance of which is not clear.

4. For an account of this family see A.S.R. for 1911-12, pp. 196 ff; and Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* pp. 156.

5. This title as well as others that follow are found in most of the inscriptions of the Nāyakas of Ikkēri.

6. This account is based on *Kallōlas* 2-5, *Taraṅga* V of the Sanskrit Encyclopaedia *Śivatatvaratnākara* edited by Messrs. B. Rama Rao, M.A., LL.B. and Vidvān P. Sundara Sāstrī.

7. No. 168 of 1901, *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy,* 1901.

8. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Nagar 77.

9. *Ibid.,* Nagar 1.

10. *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* table on p. 157.

11. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Nagar 2, 3 and 4.

12. *Mysore and Coorg,* p. 157.

13. Above, Vol VIII, p. 129, f. N. 2.

14. Nandolal Dey's *Ancient Geography of India,* p. 193.

15. Above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.

16. Read *Jinādhīsaḥ.*

17. Read *shaṇḍēshv-*

18. Read *majjayan.*

19. Read *nichcham.*

20. Read *ommanadali.*

21. Read *nilayam.*

22. Read *unnata.*

23. Read *Jay-ābhyudaya.*

24. Read *geyyutt-*

25. Delete *na.*

26. Read *kāladalu.*

27. These *birudas* are also borne by Bhaṭṭākaḷaṅka, the author of *Śabdānuśāsana,* the Kannaḍa grammer in Sanskrit, and several other Jaina teachers.

28. Read *Kāṇūr-*

29. Read *samudāya.*

30. Read *mūḍe.*

31. The letter *[ḷa]* is written below the line

32. Read *sthaḷadalu.*

33. Read °*davugaḷalli.*

34. The five *āchāras* are: 1. Darśan-āchāra (to induce steady, faith), 2. Jñān-āchāra (to increase knowledge), 3. Charitr-āchāra (to improve one's daily life), 4. Tapa-āchāra (to become a great ascetic) and 5. Vīry-āchāra (to increase the power of one's inner self). (Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa Inscriptions, Translations p. 54, f.n. 2).

35. Bharata was the brother of Bāhubali or Gommaṭa and son of Ādinātha, the first Tīrthankara. (Above, Vol. VII, p. 108 and *Mysore Arch. Rep.* for 1913, p. 5).

36. *beṭṭu* is a wet land capable of yielding one crop annually.

37. *baḷḷa* is equal to 2 *seers* generally.

38. *āya* generally means income but the importance of *anāya* is not clear.

39. *sanāya* is perhaps a mistake for *sēnāya,* i.e., tax paid towards the maintenance of an army.

40. *Ballāḷas* are, like the *Heggaḍes,* a sect of the Bant class *(South Canara Manual,* Vol. I, p. 159).

41. *biṭṭi* generally means free labour.

42. *biḍāra* is perhaps a mistake for *birāḍa,* a tax. (See *S.I.I.,* Vol. IV, Nos. 255 and 275).

21

TWO TAMIL INSCRIPTIONS IN MAHAKOSHAL*

In 1951, during the course of my official tour, I copied two *Tamil* inscriptions on two tomb-stones at Sleemanābād (Sihōra Tehsil, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh) at mile 39/5 of the Jabalpur-Katni road. The existence of these inscriptions was brought to the notice of the Epigraphical Department by Muni Kanti Sagar, a Jain ascetic who has been taking keen interest in the discovery and preservation of Indian antiquities and who is the editor of a Hindi Journal called "Jñānōdaya", published at Banaras.

These inscriptions provide us with contemporary epigraphical evidence of the military operations connected with the Great Indian Mutiny of 1857 in this part of the country, viz., Mahakoshal. The earlier of the two records (called A in the sequel) is *dated* Friday the 6th November, 1857, and the other (called B) Saturday the 29th May 1858. A records the death of *Rāmasāmi* who is described as a Gun Lascar, of the Third Battalion of the Madras Artillery. He is stated to have died as a result of being hit on the forehead by a bullet in the battle of *Muruvāḍa.* B says that Sepoy Daniel, belonging to the 3rd company of the *First Martin Madras Native Infantry* of the 28th regiment, died of a delirious fever, when his company was camping at *Śilamāṇbād.*

The accuracy of the information contained in these inscriptions is vouched for by Lt. Colonel E.G.Phythian Adams, who has made a thorough use of the records of the Military Department, while writing his book "The Madras Soldier 1746-1946". This veteran soldier to whom I referred the contents of these inscriptions was kind enough to enlighten me on many points. The relevant portions from his letters to me on the subject are quoted below.

"Gun Lascar Ramasami no doubt belonged to one of the three companies of Madras Foot Artillery Serving with General Whitlock's Madras Division in that area. At that time there were three European, and one Indian battalions of Foot Artillery on the Madras establishment, the former each of four companies and the latter of ten. So Ramasami's company might have been either D or T, according to which he was serving with. Indian Gun Lascars were on the establishment of all Artillery companies whether European or Indian."

"The 28th Madras Native Infantry were at Hoshangabad in 1857 and later on active service in Bengal. That accounts for their presence so far afield. This regiment was named "Martin-ke- Paltan", after its first commandant, and I expect "pastu Māṭṭin" refers to that".

"When writing my book "The Madras Soldier 1746-1946", I found it extremely difficult to trace the movements of the many Madras Units engaged during that period in so many parts of India. No less than 18 of our 56 Madras Infantry Regiments were employed, as well as

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* Published in *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XX, pp. 392-395.

Madras Cavalry, Artillery, Sappers and Rifles; so there must be many hundreds of graves of our men who died outside the Madras Province, between 1857 and 1860."

There are two views regarding the purpose of the Indian Mutiny. One is that it aimed at bringing about the freedom of India from the British yoke and consequently that it was a war of independence. The other view is that it was just a sporadic military uprising with which all sections of the army were not in sympathy. If we take the latter view, the two Madras soldiers, Rāmasāmi and Daniel, who were fighting on the side of the British during the Mutiny may be regarded as disciplined soldiers, loyal to their army. Whether we regard them as loyal soldiers or as men who lacked patriotism, the fact that the inscriptions are in Tamil, proves amply the burning love of the Tamil soldier for his mother tongue, however far he might be from his own native province.

Of the *places* mentioned in these inscriptions Śilamāṇbādai and Śilamāṇbād are clearly Śleemanābād, where the inscriptions were found; Muruvāḍa is Murwara near Katni. Sleemanābād was named after Sir William Sleeman, who was the British Resident at Lucknow from 1849 to 1856.

TEXT OF A[1]

1. 1857 varu/Nava
2. mbaṟ mā/6 ti/Maḍṟāsh
3. Āṭṭilleṟi 3ṇā
4. paṭṭāḷam T-kampa[ṇi]
5. gaṇ - lashkāṟ Rāmaśāmi
6. Muruvāḍā śaṇḍa
7. yil guṇḍu netti
8. yil paṭṭu Veḷḷi-
9. kiḷamai kālambaṟa
10. 6½ maṇikki maṟaṇa
11. m=aḍandār Śilamāṇ
12. bādaiyil koṇḍu-van-
13. du aḍakkilam śeydā
14. [r]gaḷ yidu aṟiyavum [||*]

Engraved sidewise

15. Yivaruḍaiya tambi Vēmbili śey[dār] [||*]

TRANSLATION

On the 6th day of November 1857, Rāmasāmi, a Gun Lascar attached to the T (or D) company of the Third Battalion of the Madras Artillery, received a gun-shot on his forehead at the battle of Muruvāḍā and died on Friday[2] in the morning at 6½ 1/2 hours. He was brought to Sleemanābād and buried. May this be known.

(This was) set up by Vēmbili, his younger brother.

TEXT OF B

1. 1858
2. Varu/28-va-
3. du r̤ichimen-
4. r̤u Madr̤ās Nē-
5. r̤r̤iv = iṇpe-
6. r̤r̤i Pasṭṭu Māṭṭiṇ 3 Kam-
7. paṇi Śilamān̤bāttukku davu-
8. ḍu vandu yirukkum pōdu 3 Kamp-
9. pan̤i Śippāyi Ḍāṇiēlukku kāch-
10. chal kaṇḍu jan̤n̤i purandu Mēy mā
11. 29 tēdi Śan̤ikkil̤amaik-kāla-
12. mē 5½ maṇikki Ā-
13. ṇḍavaruḍaiya para-
14. gati aḍaindār̤
15. adē 3 Kamppa-
16. ṇiyil yirunda Ki-
17. r̤isttavargaḷu-
18. m ṭeṇr̤r̤u-lās-
19. kkar Gir̤āmm Mekka-
20. ēl eṇmbava-
21. rum ellārum yē-
22. kōppittuk-kū-
23. [ḍi] yindak-kalla-

24. rai kaṭṭi-vai-

25. ttōm [||*]

TRANSLATION

In 1858 when the First Māṭṭin (Martin) 3rd Company of the Madras Native Infantry belonging to the 28th Regiment came on a military march to Śilamānbād and lay in camp there, Sepoy Daniel of the 3rd Company developed fever and delirium and on Saturday the 29th May in the morning at 5½ hours attained the abode of the Almighty. The Christians in the same Company as well as Tent Lascar Giṟāmm (Graham?) Michael, all in joint endeavour, had this stone tomb erected.

REFERENCES

1. The Tamil used in both these records is not quite chaste. Evidently the writers were not well educated.
2. This Friday coincides with the 6th November, 1857 cited above.

SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY

22

THE DATE OF PALLAVA PARAMĒŚVARA II*

It is well known that the date of the Pallava rulers of Kāñchī can be fixed, even approximately, only with the help of synchronisms of these monarchs with those of the kings of other dynasties as no Śaka dates are given in Pallava inscriptions. Almost from the very beginning of their political career the kings of the Siṁhavishṇu line, with whom we are concerned in this article, were engaged in constant wars with the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, so much so that the Pallavas are referred to in some records of the Chālukyas as their 'natural enemies' (*prakṛity-amitra*). This fact is of great advantage in working out the chronology of the Pallava rulers of this line particularly for the reason that a large number of the inscriptions of the contemporary Chālukya kings bear Śaka dates with corresponding regnal years.

In spite of this factor, it has not been possible to determine with any degree of exactitude the actual periods of reign of individual kings of the line. All that is definite about their dates is the contemporaneity of some of them with certain kings of the Chālukya dynasty as recorded in literature or inscriptions. Siṁhavishṇu, the founder of the line, is known to have been living at the same time as Chālukya Vishṇuvardhana (I) and the Gaṅga king Durvinīta.[1] Of the time of his son and successor, Mahēndra I, we have no specific mention of any contemporary ruler. The next king Narasiṁha I is described in the Kūram copper plate inscription of his grandson Paramēśvara I[2] as having defeated the Chālukya king Pulakēsin, i.e. Pulakēsin II. As a result of this victory he appears to have captured Bādāmi and become famous as Vātāpikoṇḍa Narasiṁgapōttraiyar[3] i.e., Narasiṅgapōttaraiyar who took Vātāpi. He is also mentioned in the inscriptions[4] of the Chālukya monarch Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-681) as the latter's adversary. Similarly the two kings who came after him viz., Mahēndra II and Paramēśvara I are known both from Chālukya and Pallava inscriptions[5] to have fought with Vikramāditya I. But we have no such evidence establishing the contemporaneity of either Narasiṁhavarman II (Rajasiṁha)[6] or Paramēśvara II,[7] the son and grandson respectively of Paramēśvara I. Recently a stone inscription has been found which shows that Paramēśvara II was living towards the end of the reign of he Chālukya king Vijayāditya. The object of this paper is to ascertain with the help of this record, as nearly as possible, the period of rule of Paramēśvaravarman II and incidentally that of his predecessor Narasiṁhavaraman II.[8]

This inscription was discovered in the village of Ulchāla about 10 miles to the west of Kurnool, the headquarters of the district of the name in the Madras State. It states that in the 35th year of the reign of the (Chālukya) king *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara* Vijayāditya, Vikramāditya-*Yuvarāja* after he returned from Kāñchi having raided that city and levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava, made a gift of (the villages) Uḷchaḷu and Pariyaḷu to Durvinīta-Ereyappōr of the Koṅguṇi (family). The latter finding that the villages were not in a flourishing condition granted certain concessions to the inhabitants of the places. Uḷchaḷu, one of the gift villages is of course Ulchāḷa the find-spot of the inscription and Pariyaḷu is the modern Parla a few miles south of Ulchāḷa both situated not far from the southern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā.[9] The wording of the epigraph would indicate that the historical events recorded therein, namely, prince Vikramāditya's invasion of Kāñchī and the collection of tribute from Paramēśvara were of recent occurrence on the date of the inscripition, i.e., the 35th year of the reign of Vijayāditya. On the basis of the Aihoḷe inscription of this king, Fleet has fixed the date of the commencement of his reign as falling in the month of Śrāvaṇa (August-September) of A.D. 696.[10] Accordingly, his 35th regnal year should have begun about August-September A.D. 730. Allowing about a year or so for the Chālukya prince's march on Kāñchī and the subjugation of the Pallava ruler from whom he levied tribute, the Chālukya invasion of Kāñchī may be placed about A.D. 729-30. It has to be observed here that a copper-plate inscription of Vijayāditya dated in the 36th year of his reign[11] does not, however, mention this expedition of Kāñchī undertaken by his son Vikramāditya. For the following reasons the absence of any mention of this event in this record need not be regarded as incompatible with the information found in the Ulchala inscription. The Ulchāla inscription which is dated in the 35th regnal year of the king is set up in the village which was the object of the grant. And it is clearly stated therein that the gift was made after the return of *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya from Kāñchī. A glance at the map would show that this place lies on the way from Kāñchī to Bādāmi, the capital of the Chālukyas. It is thus evident that Vikramāditya made the gift while still on his way home, before reaching the capital. Apparently the interval between the time of the Ulchāla inscription and that of the copper plate under reference was too short for this exploit to be incroporated in the approved official draft of the preamble of Vijayāditya's grants recounting hs achievements.[12] It may be added that no inscription of Vijayāditya before his 35th regnal year mentions any victory over the Pallavas during his reign and this would support the conclusion that prince Vikramāditya's invasion of Kāñchī was an event which occurred either during the 35th regnal year of his father or immediately before that year. The Paramēśvara of the Pallava dynasty who was ruling on this date could be no other than Paramēśvara II. The Narwan plates[13] of this very Vikramāditya II which are dated in the 8th year of his reign (i.e., A.D. 741 or 742) state that he defeated a Pallava king but his name is given as Nandipōtavarman (i.e., Nandivarman Pallavamalla). As the Pallava defeat mentioned in the Ulchāla epigraph should have taken place before the date of the Narwan plates, the Paramēśvara from whom *Yuvarāja* - Vikramāditya II levied tribute in 729-30 must be Paramēśvara II, the predecessor of Pallavamalla.[14] It is thus clear that Paramēśvaraman was the ruler of Kāñchī in 729-30.[15]

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* Paper read at the Indian History Congress, Nagpur, 1950.

There is only one dated record, assigned to this king, in the Vīraṭṭanēśvara temple at Tiruvadi in the South Arcot District.[16] Scholars are agreed that his reign was short and uneventful. And the well-known Vaikuṇṭhaperumāḷ temple inscription[17] at Kāñchi states explicity that since after his death the country had no ruler, Nandivarman Pallavamalla of a collateral line was chosen by the people to succeed Paramēśvara. The third regnal year of Paramēśvara may therefore be regarded as the last year of his sovereignty. The three years of his rule may consequently be taken to have started one year prior to the date of Vikramāditya's first invasion of Kāñchī and to have continued for one year after the invasion. As the date of this campaign has been shown to be A.D. 729-30, Paramēśvara may be considered to have ruled from circa A.D. 728-29 to 730-

31. Having fixed the period of the reign of Paramēśvara we may try to find out the date of his predecessor Narasiṁhavarman II, who, as noted above, is not referred to in any contemporary document other than his own inscriptions which, as usual, do not contain a date in any known era. It is needless to say that A.D. 728-29 which was the first year of the reign of Paramēśvara was also the last year of the reign of Narasiṁha II. From the Gadvāl plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya I,[18] it is known that Paramēśvara I was this Chālukya ruler's contemporary in A.D. 674. Consequently the interval between A.D. 674 and 728-29, i.e., about 55 years, must have covered a part of Paramēśvara's reign and the whole of the reign of Narasiṁha II. Since Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655 to 681) claims victory over three successive Pallava kings, namely, Narasimha I, and Īśvara (Paramēśvara I), the last of them could not have come to the throne long before A.D. 674, the date of the Gadvāl plates. Obviously then, this period of 55 years was made up of a major portion of the reign of Paramēśvara I and the entire reign of Narasiṁha II. Assuming that Paramēśvara's reign started about 670, the period of 59 or 60 years between this date and 728-29 may be apportioned almost equally to the two rulers. Thus we may not be wrong if we place the initial year of the reign of Narasiṁhavarman II in A.D. 700; that is to say, he ruled from Cir. 700 to 728-29.[19] It is indeed remarkable that this date arrived at on inscriptional evidence is corroborated by the notices of certain Chinese embassies of the 8th Century. According to them, in A.D 720 the Pallava king Narasimha or Narasiṁhapōtavarman II sent an ambassador to the Chinese emperor who in turn sent an ambassador to the Pallava court in the same year.[20]

Now that A.D. 728-29 to 730-31 has been arrived at as the date of Paramēśvara II the dates of Nandivaraman Pallavamalla and his successors until the final overthrow of this dynasty by the Choḷa king Āditya I will have to be reconsidered. This and allied chronological problems will be discussed in my forthcoming paper on the Ulchāla inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

REFERENCES

1. *(Avantisundarīkathā-Sāra).* Edited by S.K.Ramanatha Sastri, *Dakshiṇabhāratīgranthamālā,* No. 3 (1924), Introd. pp. 2-3, text pp. 3 ff. See also *J.O.R.,* Vol. I, p. 199.

2. *S.I.I.,* Vol. I, p. 148, text-line 16.

3. *An. Rep. on S.I.E.,* 1932-33, p. 55; Narasimha's inscription at Bādāmi, (*S.I.I.,* Vol. XI, pt. i, p. 1) not only confirms this fact but also proves that he was in actual occupation of this city.

4. Gadval plates: *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, p. 103, verse 3.

5. *Ibid.,* Kūram grant, *S.I.I.,* Vol. I, pp. 146 ff.

6. It may be noted, however, that the Kēndūr and Vokkalēri plates (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 206 and Vol. V, p. 204, text-lines, 45- 46) of the Chālukya king Kīrtivarman II say that his father Vikramāditya II 'acquired high merit by restoring heaps of gold to the stone temples of Rājasiṁhēśvara and other gods which had ben caused to be built by Narasiṁhapōtavarman'. That this statement of the Chālukya plates is no mere boast is proved by the existence in this very temple of an inscription of Vikramāditya (II) himself recording the very same gift. This Narasiṁhapōtavaraman has been

rightly considered to be Narasiṁha II. This is the only mention of this Pallava king in a Chālukya record though it is not a contemporary document.

7. Venkayya and other scholars are of the opinion that Mahēṇdra III, another son of Narasiṁhavaraman did not probably rule at all. He is known only from a single inscription in the Kailāsanātha temple at Kāñchīpuram which describes him as the son of king Rājasiṁha (i.e., *Narasiṁha* II) and the grandson of Lōkāditya (i.e., *Paramēśvara* I) and records the fact of his having built the shrine of Mahēndrēśvara.

8. As already pointed out (f.n.7, above), Mahēndravarman III the brother of Paramēśvara does not appear to have ascended the throne. It is not even known whether he was the elder or the younger of the two brothers. Mr. Venkatasubba Aiyar, however, regards him as the predecessor of Paramēśvaravarman II.

9. A village named Pariyaḷa is mentioned as one of the battle-fields where Narasimha I defeated Pulakēśin II (Kūram plates of Paramēśvara I, *S.I.I.,* Vol. I, p. 148, text-line 16). Various identifications have been suggested for this place. (Journal of Indian History, Vol. XV, p. 40; *Proceedings etc. of the Seventh Oriental Conference,* Baroda, p. 623, n). It is not certain whether this Pariyaḷa is the same as the Pariyaḷu of the Ulchāla record, though their identity is not improbable.

10. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, part II, p. 370, n. 5

11. *Ep. ind.,* Vol. XXV, p. 21

12. It is a matter of common knowledge that copper-plate documents were based on such drafts to which additions were made as and when necessary.

13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 125 ff.

14. From one of the Paṭṭadakal inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya II (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. X, p., 164) we learn that Vikramāditya II conquered Kāñchī thrice. Though it was known from the Kēndūr and Vokkalēri plates of Kīrttivarman II and more recently from the Narwan plates of Vikramāditya II himself that there were two campaigns on Kāñchī during hs reign, one led by himself and the other by his son Kīrttivarman, as *Yuvarāja,* there was no information about still another invasion until the discovery of the Ulchāla inscription which tells us in unequivocal language that even while he was *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya II raided Kāñchī. The three campaigns recorded in the Paṭṭadakal inscription are thus accounted for and they took place in the following order: the first in 729-30 as shown above, the second some time before 741-42, the date of the Narwan plates, and the third between this latter date and the end of Vikramāditya's reign i.e., 746-47; the last one was led by prince Kīrttivarman after obtaining the orders of his father.

15. Though Pallvamalla was called Paramēśvara before his coronation, he was crowned king under the name of Nandivarman. The Vaikuṇṭha-perumaḷ temple inscription (*M.A.S.I.* No. 63, p. 54) is definite on this point and it is this name Nandivarman Pallavamalla that is found in his inscriptions.

16. *S.I.I.,* Vol. VII, No. 331.

17. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XVIII, p. 117; *M.A.S.I.,* No. 63, p. 54

18. *Ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 103, verse 6

19. The only dated record of this king is a copper-plate inscription which came to light about five years ago. It is the Reyuru grant issued in the 12th year of his reign published in the *Journal of the Śrī Venkatēśvara Oriental Institute.* Vol. VIII (Telugu section, pp. 82 ff.) by the late Veturi Prabhakara Sastri.

20. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India,* pp. 16 and 116-117.

23

SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT CHOLA HISTORY*

In the beginning of 1950 I obtained for examination a valuable copper-plate charter, consisting of 55 inscribed plates, of the time of Rājēndra Chōḷa I. The plates are in the possession of the Karandai Tamil Sangam, Tanjore, whose Secretary was good enough to lend them to me. The charter is a unique find both in respect of its bulk and the valuable historical information it furnishes. As usual with Chōḷa grants the genealogy of the line up to the donor king, i.e., Rājēndra Chōḷa I is given in Sanskrit verse embodying the achievements of the rulers of the line. Of particular importance in this *praśasti* are some verses which disclose a few hitherto unknown facts regarding the exploits of some rulers of the family. Reserving a full discussion of all the facts contained in these verses for my forthcoming edition of the copper-plates in *Epigraphia Indica,* I shall briefly review here some of the new facts revealed by the inscription.

Of Parāntaka I who ruled from A.D. 907 to 955 our record gives the important information that among the kings that he vanquished and whose dominion and wealth he appropriated, the Pallava was also one.

Nirjjitya Siṁhaḷa-patiṁ yudhi Pāṇḍya-rājam
prakhyāta-kīrtim=atha Kēralam=apy=ajayyam (jēyam)
vīras=sa Pallava-nṛipañ=cha yaśāṁsi tēshām
rāshṭrāṇi ch=ādi (dhi) ta vasūni cha vāhanāni

Hitherto it was believed that Āditya I had wiped out the Pallava power by defeating Aparājita and annexing his kingdom. The mention in the present grant of the Pallava as a foe of Parāntaka I also would indicate that either the latter helped his father in defeating the Pallava king or that the Pallava resistance continued even during the time of Parāntaka I who had to deal the final blow to the family. This raises two issues, viz., (1) the date when the Pallava kingdom finally and completely passed into the hands of the Chōḷas and (2) the identity of the Pallava king whom Parāntaka I defeated if Parāntaka's encounter with the Pallava was a different engagement from the one his father had with Aparājita.

The prevalent opinion amongst scholars is to the effect that the annexation of the Pallava territory by Āditya I took place before *circa* 890 A.D. But recent discoveries impel us to revise the dates of the later Pallava kings descended from Nandivarman II Pallavamalla,[1] who must have come to the throne somewhere about A.D. 731. It is well known that this line of Pallava kings from Nandivarman II to Nṛipatuṅga held the Pallava kingdom in continuous succession without any interruption. Since a record of Nṛipatuṅga dated in the 41st year of his reign is now available, the last date up to which he ruled would be A.D. 910-11 and this date falls well within the reign of Parāntaka I. As the connection of Aparājita with the main line is still not ascertainable, it cannot be said with any degree of certainty whether by defeating him Āditya I gained possession of the entire Pallava kingdom or only a part thereof, the other part continuing to be under the administration of the main Pallava line represented by Nṛipatuṅga. The statement in the present charter that Parāntaka I defeated a Pallava and gained possession of his country, wealth and paraphernalia coupled with the fact that Nṛipatuṅga continued to wield authority even during the reign of Parāntaka I would strengthen the surmise made above that Āditya I, his father, had not completely liquidated the Pallava power by his victory over Aparājita. It is thus possible that Parāntaka I completed the conquest of the Pallava territory begun by this father by finally *overthrowing Nṛipatuṅga* in or about A.D. 910-11. Probably it is this subjugation that is referred to in our grant as the achievement of Parāntaka I. It should be admitted, however, that this new fact does not help us in determining either the position of Aparājita in the Pallava genealogy or the exact dates of his reign.

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The next important event of Chōḷa history recorded in the plates is that Parāntaka II Sundara-Chōḷa defeated Vīra-Pāṇḍya in battle and put him to flight.

> Yō maṇḍal-āgra-parikhaṇḍita-vairi-shaṇḍāñ=
> chaṇḍaṁ vijitya tarasā yudhi Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṁ |
> ārōpayat sapadi Saṁhya(sahya)-nāgēndra-tuṅga-
> śriṅgan=divañ=cha vimalān=nija=kīrtim=uchchaiḥ ||

Though it was known that Parāntaka II had encountered a Pāṇḍya king, his name had not been found in any of the records. That Vīra-Pāṇḍya was killed by Āditya II, son of Parāntaka II, is well known. The information revealed by the Tanjore plates that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was also the adversary of Parāntaka II would show that both father and son fought a common foe. It would follow from this that the father's i.e., Sundara-Chōḷa's fight with Vīra-Pāṇḍya which resulted only in the rout of the latter was a different and apparently an earlier conflict. The second combat in which the Pāṇḍya lost his head at the hands of Āditya II was fought later. This conforms the very sound and sagacious suggestion made by the late Mr. A.S. Ramanatha Ayyar that the Chōḷa kings Parāntaka II and his son Āditya II had each a separate encounter with this same Pāṇḍya king and that the second of the two fights resulted in the Pāṇḍya's death.

Rājarāja, the Great, is credited with a victory over a Bāṇa chief, whose name is not given, and with cutting off the head of a certain Bhōgadēva.

> Bāṇa-rājam samutsārya bāṇē Bāṇāsura-dyutim |
> Bhōgadēva-śiraś-chhēdam=akarōt=sa mahābhujaḥ ||

What necessitated Rājarāja I to fight the Bāṇas who had been completely subjugated by Parāntaka I many decades ago cannot be ascertained. It may, however, be observed that we do know of a few Bāṇa chiefs of this period in the Telugu country who have issued their records without mentioning any overlord. One of them was Aggapa whose inscription dated Śaka 930, Vaiśākha, Punnama, Friday (A.D. 1008, April 23, Friday), is found at Sannamūru in the Podili taluk, Nellore District.[2] Whether it was these Bāṇas of the Telugu country with whom Rājarāja I had to wage a war is not certain. Similarly, the identity of Bhōgadēva remains undetermined. We know that

Rājarāja I defeated a Telugu Chōḍa chief called Bhīma and perhaps killed him too. The name Bhōgadēva is quite common among the Telugu Chōḍa rulers. But Chōḍa Bhīma is not known to have had the surname Bhōgadēva, it would be too much to hazard that Bhōgadēva and Chōḍa Bhīma were one and the same.

Coming to the donor of the grant, viz., Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, the first notable event of his reign recorded in the plates is that the Kāmbōja king sent his *ratha* as a present to the Chōḷa king aspiring for his friendship.

> Kāmbōjarājō ripu-rāja-sēnā-jaitrēṇa yēn=ājayad=āhavēshu |
> taṁ prāhiṇōt prārtthita-mitra-bhāvō yasmai ratham rakshitam–ātma-lakshmīm ||

Apparently, Kāmbōja here referred to is Cambodia in the Eastern Archipelago as the Chōḷa did not go as far as Kāmbōja in the north-west of India. As the Chōḷa king's expedition to Kaṭāha (i.e., Kedah in Malay Peninsula) is referred to later in the present grant, the Kāmbōja ruler figuring here seems to be different from the Śailēndra king of Kaṭāha. Attention should, however, be drawn to the fact that there were a few rulers belonging to the Kāmbōja-vaṁśa in possession of parts of Bengal before the time of Mahīpāla.[3] Since it is known that the ruler of Bengal whom Rājēndra-Chōḷa's armies defeated was the Pāla king Mahīpāla it is very doubtful if the Kāmbōja king subjugated by the Chōḷa was one of the Kāmbōja rulers of Bengal.

Another noteworthy fact mentioned in the plates is that Rājēndra Chōḷa I proceeded against Mānyakhēṭa in order to fulfil the vow of his father Rājarāja I, who had declared that he would not have any recreation until he captured that city. Evidently the father died without fulfilling it as the son Rājēndra Chōḷa I is herein stated to have accomplished his father's vow and to have burnt the city.

> Tāvan=na kurvvē girikā-vihāraṁ yāvan=na gṛihṇāmy=atha Mānyakhēṭam |
> iti pratijñām sa samāpayishyan pitur=nṛipas=tat(d)-grahaṇ-ōtsukō=bhūt ||

It thus becomes known that the attack on Mānyakhēṭa was being planned even from the time of Rājarāja I.

These new bits of information obtained from the Tanjore plates will, it is hoped, enable scholars to understand more correctly and fully some aspects of Chōḷa history.

REFERENCES

1. It has been shown in *Ancient India,* No. 5 (1949), p. 54, that the accession of Nandivarman II Pallavamalla must be placed subsequent to A.D. 730-1. Even assuming that he ascended the throne in 731 A.D., Nṛipatuṅga may be considered to have begun to rule abut 870-71 A.D. This date is arrived at by adding up the known regnal years of the Pallava rulers from Nandivarman II to Nṛipatuṅga (i.e., Nandivarman II, 65 years, Dantivarman, 52 years, and Nandivarman III, 23 years making a total of 140 years; A.D., 731+140=871 A.D.
2. *ARE.* No. 99 of 1947-48.
3. Ep. *Ind.* Vol. XXII, pp. 152 f.

24

NEW FACTS ABOUT THE REIGN OF EASTERN CHALUKYA KALI-VISHNUVARDHANA*

Most of the copper-plate charters of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty which give the genealogy of the line tell us that Kali-Vishṇuvardhana was the 12th ruler of the line and was the son of Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II. According to these records he reigned for about 18 months. Fleet who fixed the initial year of Eastern Chālukya rule in Vēṅgi at 615 A.D. assigned the date 843- 44 A.D. to this king's reign.[1] According to fresh discoveries the starting point of the chronology of this family may have to be fixed at 624 A.D.[2] Taking this date as the starting point and accepting the periods of reign assigned by Fleet to the rulers of this family down to Kali-Vishṇuvardhana we get 852-53 A.D as his date. But we know that his grandson Bhima I was crowned in the year 892 A.D.; this fact is recorded in Bhīma's own Attili grant. Accordingly, deducting 44 years of rule given to his father Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, we would get 847-48 A.D. as the initial date of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, or in other words, the last date of Kali- Vishṇuvardhana. If, however, we assign on the authority of some charters of this family a rule of only 40 years to Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II instead of 44 as was done by Fleet, we arrive approximately at the same date, i.e., 848-849 A.D.[3] Therefore, the date of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana must be placed between these two limits, 847-48 and 852-53 A.D.

All the facts known about this king were derived up till now from inscriptions, mostly on copper-plates, issued by his successors. Some scholars, however, consider that the grant from 'Ahadanakaram' issued by a Vishṇuvardhana, son of a Vijayāditya and a grandson of a Vishṇuvardhana belongs to his reign.[4] In this family there were other princes named Vishṇuvardhana, the names of whose father and grandfather were also Vijayāditya and Vishṇuvardhana respectively. Nor does the charter call him Kali-Viṭṭarasa, a name which was borne by him alone and none other in the family. Further the grant itself does not afford any other conclusive proof to establish the identity of the king who issued it. Consequently, scholars have expressed doubts whether the 'Ahadanakaram' plates constitute a record of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana at all.[5] Two other grants[6] also issued by a Vishṇuvardhana, son of a Vijayāditya and grandson of a Vishṇuvardhana have been doubtfully assigned to the reign of this king. But even they do not contain any evidence that they were issued by him.

Recently, however, a copper-plate grant[7] issued by Vishṇuvardhana was discovered at Cheruvu-Mādhavaram, Krishna District. This Vishṇuvardhana is described in this record as the son of a Vijayāditya and a grandson of a Vishṇuvardhana and is specifically called Kali-Viṭṭarasa, leaving no doubt that he is identical with Kali-Vishṇuvardhana. Thus this charter may be regarded as the only inscription definitely assignable to his reign. Besides this, a stone inscription[8] mentioning him by his distinguishing name Kali-Viṭṭarasa has also been discovered at Guṇḍlāpalle in the Ongole taluk of the Guntur District. This stone record, it appears, belongs to the reign of his father, Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II, though the donation recorded therein was made by a queen of Kali-Viṭṭarasa. Before discussing the new facts contained in these inscriptions pertaining to this prince, we may recount the information already known about him.

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Inscriptions of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III[9] state in unequivocal terms that he was the son of Kali-Viṭṭarasa and Śīlamahādēvī of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. Some of them which call Śīlamahādēvi as Śīlakāmbā,[10] Śīlakā[11] or Śīlakka[12] state explicity that she was the daughter of king Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family. One of these furnishes the information that she was born of Indrarāja and Paramakāmbā.[13] As noted above, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana reigned sometime between 847-848 and 852-853 A.D. At this period the only Indrabhaṭṭāraka of the Rāshṭrakūṭa royal family who could have given this daughter in marriage to Kali-Viṭṭarasa was Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinds III and the founder of the Gujarat branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line. Though we have no records as yet of this Indra he must have flourished a little before 811- 12 A.D. on which date his son Karka is known to have been ruling. In this connection it is interesting to note that Dhruva, the father of this Indra, had a queen named Śīlamahādēvī, daughter of Sarvalōkāśraya Vishṇuvardhana-Viṭṭarasa,[14] evidently an Eastern Chālukya prince. It, therefore, looks very probable that Indra named his daughter after his mother (or step-mother).

Another fact already known about Kali-Vishṇuvardhana is the duration of his reign. Some records[15] giving the reign periods of the kings of the family say that he ruled for a year and a half or eighteen months, while a few others state that his reign lasted for twenty months.[16] This small difference of two months does not materially affect the different sets of dates assigned to this ruler.

The additional information that we gather about this ruler from the newly discovered copper-plate inscription, viz., the Cheruvu-Mādhavaram plates mentioned above and the Guṇḍlāpalle stone record may now be set forth. The copper charter furnishes the genealogy of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana for three generations and says that he was the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana and the son of Vijayāditya. It records that Kali-Vishṇuvardhana installed a *liṅga* called Nagarēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka and constructed a stone temple for the deity, at Vijayavāṭapura. Vijayavāṭapura mentioned here is doubtless the modern Vijayawada (Bezwada) in the Krishna District. It may be noted here that the name of this place also occurs in the form Pechchevāḍa in the well known Kirātārjuna-pillar inscription on the Indrakīla hill at Bezwada[17] of the same period as that of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana i.e., 9th century A.D. As in the case of many place-names the original name of this town might have been Pechchevāḍa or Bejavāḍa[18] of which Vijayavāḍa,[19] Vijayavāṭa[20] or Vijayavāṭikā[21] is no doubt the Sanskritised form. The most important point in the charter under study is that Vikramāditya- Bhūpati, the *ājñapti* of the grant is stated to be the maternal uncle of Vishṇuvardhana, i.e., Kali-Vishṇuvardhana. That Vikramāditya is styled *Bhūpati* indicates that he was a scion of a royal family. But the family to which he or his sister, i.e., the mother of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana belonged, cannot be ascertained as we have so far no reference even to the name of this lady or to that of her family. The name Vikramāditya was, however, common in several ruling families of the south, the Bāṇas, the Vaidumbas and the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu.

The stone inscription from Guṇḍlāpalle refers to a gift of land made by Kaḍeyarāja on behalf of Aytakavvāru, the wife *(Devi)* of Kali-Viṭraja who does not bear any titles usually applied to a ruling sovereign. Evidently, therefore, he was still only a prince at the time the gift was made. This conclusion is also, probably, strengthened by the fact that Kaḍeyarāja who actually conveyed the deed of gift describes himself in the record as 'the bee at the lotus feet of Vijayāditya' who seems to be the king wielding authority at the time. This Vijayāditya is thus more likely to be Kali-Viṭraja's father, Narēndramṛigarāja-Vijayāditya II. In this case Kaḍeyarāja may be identified with the homonymous official who was the father of Paṇḍaraṅga, the famous general of Kali-Viṭraja's son and successor Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. Aytakavvāru, the wife of Kali-Viṭraja was not known hitherto. The only queen of Kali-Vishṇuvardhana whose name had been revealed by inscriptions was Śīlamahādēvī, the mother of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. Therefore, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana had at least two wives, Śīlamahādēvī and Aytakavvā. Another new name brought to light by the Guṇḍlapālle record is Trikōṭirāja at whose request Kaḍeyarāja made the gift.

REFERENCES

1. *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, p. 12.
2. *Ancient India,* No. 5 (1949), p. 49.
3. It should be noted, however, that we get this date only if we take the reign of Jayasiṁha I as having lasted for 30 years as assigned by Fleet and not 33 years which some charters give as the period of reign of this ruler.
4. Fleet, *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XX, p. 102; *Bhārati,* Vol. V, pt ii, p. 97.
5. See e.g. *Bhārati,* Vol. I, pt. ii, No. 12, p. 92; Some have even assigned it to Vishṇuvardhana III- M. S. Sarma, *Bhārati,* Vol. I, pt. ii, No. 12, p. 93.
6. C.P. No. 6 of 1913-14 and No. 2 of 1914-15.
7. This is reviewed in the *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1953-54.
8. This is reviewed in the *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1951-52.
9. C.P. No. 3 of 1908-9 and C.P. No. 5 of 1911-12.
10. C.P. No. 3. of 1938-39.
11. Sīsali Plates of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, *Bhārati,* Vol. XXIII, pt. i, p. 484; C.P. No. 3 of 1912-13.
12. *ASPP,* Vol. i, p. 140.
13. C.P. No. 3 of the *An. Rep.* on *S.I.E.* for the year 1938-39. In the *An. Rep* (p. 72) the name of Śīlakāṁba's father has been wrongly given as Chandrarāja. Since the correct reading of the relevant passage is *Jātā paramakāṁbāyā's=ch=Ēndrarājasya ch=ātmajā,* it becomes clear that the name of this ruler is Indrarāja as found in the two grants noticed above and not Chandrarāja.
14. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol XXII, p. 99.
15. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XX, p. 102.

16. Ponangi Plates of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, C.P. No. 30 of 1908-9; Sīsali Plates of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, *Bhārati,* Vol. XXIII, pt. i, p. 484.
17. *SII,* Vol. X, No. 33
18. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XV, p. 157
19. Uṟuvuṭūru grant of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya, *An. Rep. on S.I.E.,* part II, para 64.
20. Cheruvu-Mādavaram copper plates under review.
21. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIV, p. 273

25

THE FAMILY OF ARIKESARIN, PATRON OF PAMPA*

The celebrated Kannada poet Paṁpa has sung the praise of his patron Arikēsarin of the Cālukya family in his work *Vikramārjunavijaya.* He has not, however, traced any connection between the family of Arikēsarin and any other known branch of the Cālukya family. Though some inscriptions, both on copper plates and stone, were secured since the publication of this work they do not help us in tracing any definite relationship between this family and the other known Cālukya families. Some scholars, however, would identify Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla, the first known member of the family[1] with king Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla, the brother of Śryāśraya Śīlāditya of the Gujarāt Cālukya family. The identification rests entirely on two factors, viz. that both had the same name and title and secondly, that they approximately lived at the same period, although no satisfactory explanation has been offered as to how a prince of Gujarāt happened to establish a kingdom of which Pōdana (i.e. Bōdhan) in Hyderabad territory** was a prominent city. In fact, the identification is not possible. For, as will be shown below, Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Vēmulavāḍa family cannot be placed earlier than 750 A.D. whereas the last date of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch is known to be not later than 738 A.D.

No dated records of Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla of the Vēmulavāḍa family or of any of his successors are available until we come to the time of Arikēsarin II, the patron of the Kannaḍa poet Paṁpa who wrote his work *Ādipurāṇa* in 941 A.D. That in 959 A.D. Baddega, the son of Arikēsarin II, was ruling is known from the colophon of *Yas'astilaka* of Sōmadēva.[2] Narasiṁha II, the father of Arikēsarin II, is described as having vanquished Mahīpāla who is known to have been on the throne in 914 A.D. This same Narasiṁha is also described as having married a daughter of King Indra who was in all probability Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III (915-927 A.D.). Thus this Narasiṁha's period of rule may be fixed as lying approximately between 910 and 935 A.D. Going back further we do not get any chronological synchronism until we come to the reign of Arikēsarin I who was the fifth ancestor of Narasiṁha II. The former was a contemporary of Dhruva (775-794 A.D.). We have shown that Narasiṁha II might have reigned from 910 to 935 A.D. Between Narasiṁha II and Arikēsarin I five kings reigned; and calculating at the rate of twenty-five years a reign-except in the case of Bhadradēva the younger brother of Narasiṁha to whom a reign of only ten years instead of twenty-five years may be allotted as he succeeded his elder brother, we get one hundred and ten years as the interval between the initial date of Narasiṁha II and the last date of Arikēsarin I. That is to say, we get 800 A.D. (910 *minus* 110) as the last date of Arikēsarin I. Hence in all probability Arikēsarin I ruled from 775 to 800 A.D. His father Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla could thus have risen to power some time about 750 A.D. On the other hand his namesake, the Gujarāt Cālukya prince, must have actually died before 738

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** Now in Andhrapradesh.

A.D. when, we know, his younger brother Avanijanāśraya Pulakēśin was ruling. The Manor plates[3] of the former are dated S'aka 613, i.e 691 A.D. indicating that even as early as this year he had come to power. Under these circumstances it is very unlikely that this Gujarāt Cālukya prince, who may be taken to have reigned from at least 690 A.D. to 738 A.D. is identical with Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla whose carrer, as noted above, could not have started before 750 A.D. Although it is not known under what circumstances he rose to power, the fact that his son Arikēsarin was, as will be shown in the sequel, a subordinate of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva would indicate that Yuddhamalla, who is not stated to have owed allegiance to any overlord, took advantage of the confusion during the last days of the Cālukyas of Bādāmi and declared himself independent.

For ready reference the genealogical tree[4] of this family is given below:

Yuddhamalla I
(C. 750-775 A.D.)
|
Arikēsarin I
(C. 775-800 A.D.)
|
Narasiṁha I *alias* Rājāditya
(C. 800-825 A.D.)
Bhadradēva I
(C.825-835 A.D.)

Narasiṁha I *alias* Rājāditya
|
Yuddhamalla II
(C. 835-860 A.D.)
|
Baddega II
(C. 860-885 A.D.)
|
Yuddhamalla II *alias* Staṁbha
(C. 885-910 A.D.)
|
Narasiṁha II *m* Jākavve
(C. 910-935 A.D.)
|
Arikēsarin II
(941 A.D.)[4a]
|
Baddega III
(959 A.D.)
|
Arikēsarin III
(966 A.D.)

We shall now recount the achievements of the members of this family. Both Pampa and the inscriptions praise Yuddhamalla, the first known member of the family, as the most illustrious prince of the line and as ruling the Sapādalakṣa country, which could not be governed by others. Another achievement of this chief which finds special mention both in the inscriptions and in literature is that every day he had hundreds of elephants bathed in tanks filled with oil at Pōdana (Bōdhan). The Parbhaṇi Plates[5] pointedly mention that he indulged in this unusual display at Pōdana as ruler of Sapādalakṣa. The fact that the ruler of Sapādalakṣa had his elephants constantly bathed at Pōdana would indicate that Pōdana was situated in Sapādalakṣa. There is no doubt that Pōdana referred to here is the modern Bōdhan in the Nizamabad District of the Hyderabad State. The view that the Sapādalakṣa territory ruled over by Yuddhamalla I is to be regarded as identical with the Śākambharī region in Rājāsthān[6] is not convincing for various reasons. In the first place when there is actually a territory going by the name of Sapādalakṣa near Bōdhan, the scene of Yuddhamalla's activities, it is unnecessary to look for other Sapādalakṣa territories (a number of territorial divisions whose extent was *sapādalakṣa,* i.e., lakh and a quarter, existed) especially the one in Rājāsthān which is nearly 600 miles away from Bōdhan. Inscriptional evidence showing the existence of a division called Sapādalakṣa round about Bōdhan is available. An inscription of the eleventh century of the time of Vikramāditya VI at Vēmulavāḍa in the Karimnagar district says that a feudatory chief named Rājāditya was ruling Kāsavaḷaṁ Savalakkhe (i.e., Sapādalakṣa) and other divisions from the *rājadhāni* of Lēmbuḷavāḍa, i.e., Vēmulavāḍa.[7] It is therefore clear that Sapādalakṣa was a territory that was within easy reach of Vēmulavāḍa which was quite close to the city of Bōdhan situated in the adjacent district of Nizamabad. Another inscription,[8] also at Vēmulavāḍa, belonging to the reign of Baddega, while stating that he constructed the *Śubhadhāma-jinālaya* for Sōmadēva-sūrin of the Gauḷa-Saṅgha, describes Baddega as fifth in descent from Yuddhamalla, the ruler of Sapādalakṣa. The mention of Sōmadēva-surin and the *Śubhadhāma-jinālaya* leaves no doubt that this chief Baddega is identical with his namesake, the father of Arikēsarin II who issued the Parbhaṇi Plates. Thus this Baddega's fifth ancestor Yuddhamalla, the second of that name, was also the ruler of Sapādalakṣa. This fact would show that not only Yuddhamalla I but also Yuddhamalla II, who ruled about 835-860 A.D. i.e., about a century later than the first Yuddhamalla, was the lord of Sapādalakṣa. It follows therefore that the territory of Sapādalakṣa continued to be in the possession of the members of the family even in the succeeding centuries. Hence it is all the more unlikely that the members of this family had any connection with Śakambharī in Rājāsthān. It is thus evident that the Sapādalakṣa over which the family ruled was situated in the vicinity of Bōdhan and Vēmulavāḍa in the Hyderabad State. This conclusion arrived at by means of epigraphical evidence is strengthened by literary evidence also. *Śrutasāgara,* the commentator on *Yaśastilaka-Campū,* explains the term *Aśmantaka* as *Sapādalakṣa-parvata-nivāsin.*[9] *Aśmantaka* is evidently not different from *Aśmantaka* which, it is well-known, was situated in the Hyderabad State with its capital at Paudana, i.e. Bōdhan. That this territory was equated with Sapādalakṣa by Śrutasāgara is further proof in support of the existence of a Sapādalakṣa territory round about Bōdhan. As pointed out by me elsewhere[10] it should have comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State. In the face of these facts one need not postulate the theory that Yuddhamalla I conquered the Sapādalakṣa, i.e. Śākambharī in Rājāsthan, as a general of Rāshṭrakūṭa Dantidurga. It should also be noted that nowhere it is stated that Dantidurga ever conquered Sapādalakṣa as such or that Yuddhamalla was his general. It is also doubtful if the Śākambharī region was known as Sapādalakṣa in the time of Yuddhamalla I, i.e., in the middle of the eighth century.

Another important exploit of this ruler was his conquest of Citrakūṭa which is described in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription as a natural fortress *(svabhāva-durga).* This fort has been cosidered as identical with Citorgarh in Rājāsthān.[11] This identification was believed to strengthen the surmise that Sapādalakṣa over which the chief held sway was the Śākambharī region in Rājāsthān. But, as shown above, there is no need to connect the Śākambharī region with Sapādalakṣa, the kingdom of Yuddhamalla. Consequently, it is unnecessary to regard the fort of Citrakūṭa captured by Yuddhamalla as identical with Citorgarh in Rājāsthān. On the other hand, it is more likely that the Citrakūṭa mentioned in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription is Citrakūṭa near Kālañjar in Bundelkhand.

Of his son Arikēsarin I, the Vēmulavāḍa inscription tells us that even as a boy he wrested Veṅgi and ruled the earth.[12] The Parbhaṇi Plates and *Vikramārjunavijaya* give the additional information that he took Veṅgi along with Trikaliṅga. That these events took place in the reign of Nirupama i.e., Rāshṭrakūṭa Dhruva, is unequivocally stated in *Vikramārjunavijaya.*[13] The opportunity for these conquests arose apparently when the brothers Gōvinda II and Dhruva were fighting for mastery over their ancestral kingdom. It is well-known that Gōvinda sought the aid of foreign powers, of whom the Veṅgi ruler was one, to fight against Dhruva. It was evidently in the course of this conflict that the king of Veṅgi was defeated and his dominion which included Trikaliṅga was wrested by Arikēsarin I on behalf of Dhruva. We know from the Pimpari Plates[14] issued by Dhruva himself that in 775 A.D. he was the ruler of the Rāshṭrakūṭa kingdom. Thus the defeat of the confederacy which helped Gōvinda II should have taken place before 775 A.D. Therefore, the statement of the Vēmulavāḍa inscription that Arikēsarin I, who ruled between 775 and 800 A.D. according to the chronology proposed in this paper, captured Veṅgi even as a boy indicates that he held the reigns of his kingdom while quite young.

Mere conventional praise is bestowed upon the two sons of Arikēsarin I, viz. Narasiṁha *alias* Rājāditya and Bhadradēva. So we may pass on to the next ruler Yuddhamalla II, the son of Narasiṁha. Although no exploits of his are recorded anywhere, we have one important detail regarding him. His rule over Sapādalakṣa finds special mention in an inscription of Baddega III who calls himself fifth in descent from this ruler of Sapādalakṣa.[15] The Vēmulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsarin II says of this Yuddhamalla that 'the enemy kings took shelter in forests and caves,' i.e., that he was a terror to his enemies.[16]

Baddega II, the son of this Yuddhamalla II appears to have been a very powerful figure among the rulers of the family. He is described as having obscured the fame of Kārtavīrya in prowess,[17] and in fact he had the significant title *Sōladagaṇḍa,*[18] meaning the unvanquished hero. True to his title he was victorious in forty-two battles and captured a powerful king named Bhīma in battle as a crocodile would seize its prey in water.[19] Bhīma has been identified with Cālukya Bhīma I of Vengi who was crowned in 892 A.D.[20] According to our chronology, Baddega ruled from 860 to 885 A.D. but as we have assigned to each ruler of the Vēmulavāḍa family a reign of twenty-five years only on an average it is not impossible that Baddega ruled for a few years more and thus was a contemporary of Cālukya Bhīma I. He was remembered not only for the might of his arm but also for his liberality in which he is compared to the celestial cow *(Kāmadhēnu)* and the wish-fulfilling tree *(Kalpadāru).*

His son was Yuddhamalla of whom nothing worthy of note has been recorded in any of the accounts of the family. However, one interesting verse in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsarin II seems to imply by *double entendre* that he had the surname of Staṁbha.[21] The verse says that his son Narasiṁha, the man, was born from *Staṁbha* just as the man-lion incarnation of Vishṇu, i.e., Narasiṁha, emanated from a pillar *(staṁbha).* This Narasimha is stated to have led many victorious campaigns into far off regions. One of them was against the Lāṭas, an exploit which is referred to only in the *Vikramārjunavijaya.* Since no specific mention of any ruler of Lāṭa is made in the work it is not possible to say precisely when he fought the Lāṭas or who his Lāṭa adversaries were. In this context we may note that the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa II compelled his enemies with the leaders of their armies to abandon Khēṭaka.[22] Khēṭaka is the well-known Kaira in Lāṭa and Kṛishṇa II had evidently some enemies there, in driving out whom Narasiṁha might have assisted his overlord. Both *Vikramārjunavijaya* and the Vēmulavāḍa inscription credit him with victories in the Seven Mālavas, i.e., Mālwa comprising seven divisions. The inscription says that Narasiṁha subjugated the seven kings who surrendered after being defeated in battle. A more graphic account of his campaign in Mālava is given by Paṁpa who says that he reduced to ashes large areas in the Seven Mālavas. The actual date of this event cannot be fixed with any degree of certainty. We know, however, that both Kṛishṇa II and Indra III invaded Mālava. Since Kṛishṇa's attack on Ujjain is mentioned in the Bagumra Plates of 888 A.D.[23] of prince Kṛishṇa of the Gujarat branch of this family, Narasiṁha who flourished between 910 and 935 A.D. cannot be connected with this exploit. Therefore, it is likely that Narasiṁha accompanied Indra III to Malava when the latter fought Upendrarāja,[24] who has been identified with Kṛishṇarāja, the Paramara ruler of Mālava. Narasiṁha's third and the last campaign we know of was directed against the Gurjaras. The Vēmulavāḍa inscription says that when the mighty army of the Gurjara composed of several battalions commanded by a multitude of rulers advanced on him, he inflicted on it a crushing defeat and planted a pillar recording his valour at Kāḷapriya. The *Vikramārjunavijaya* discloses the name of his Gūrjara foe as Mahīpāla and gives the additional information that Narasiṁha bathed his horses in the river Gaṅga. The mention of Mahīpāla, the Gūrjara ruler, helps us in fixing the date of the campaign as lying some time after A.D. 914, the earliest known date of Mahīpāla. From the Cambay Plates of Govinda IV[25] we know that Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III devastated the hostile city of Mahōdaya, i.e. Kanyakubja. Evidently Narasiṁha followed his overlord Indra III in his campaign against Mahīpāla, the ruler of Kanyakubja. The identification of Kāḷapriya where Narasiṁha erected a pillar of fame is uncertain. Kāḷapriya is mentioned in the Cambay Plates which say that the elephants of Indra III disfigured the courtyard of Kāḷapriya. Dr. Bhandarkar has identified this Kāḷapriya with the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjain. If the Kāḷapriya associated with Narasiṁha's campaign is the same as the Kāḷapriya mentioned in the Cambay Plates, it would be Ujjain according to the identification suggested by Dr.Bhandarkar. However, some scholars are inclined to identify the Kāḷapriya mentioned in both the accounts with Kālpi on the Jumna in Uttar Pradesh[26] But no record, either epigraphical or literary, calls Kālpi by the name of Kāḷapriya. Until more substantial evidence is forthcoming in support of this latter identification it is difficult to say which of the two places, Ujjain or Kālpi, is the Kāḷapriya in question.

Of the next king Arikēsarin II we learn from the Vēmulavāḍa inscription that he offered refuge to Bijja when he came to him for protection fleeing from the wrath of Gōvindarāja who became angry with Bijja for killing the respectable Padmyārya and annihilating many generals together with their huge armies of elephants, cavalry and infantry. The identity of Padmyārya is difficult to establish n the present state of our knowledge. That Arikēsarin granted protection to Bijja is also mentioned by Paṁpa says that he put to fight a chief named Bappuva, younger brother of Kakkala, who attacked him. But the most important achievement of Arikēsarin II recorded by Paṁpa is that he dethroned Gōvindarāja and put Baddega, i.e. Amōghavarsa III in his place.[27] There is no difficulty in fixing the approximate date when Arikēsarin deposed Gōvindaraja and enthroned Amōghavarsa III, and gave shelter to the Chālukya prince Vijayaditya. It s well-known that Gōvindaraja had given himself up to sensuous ways and was on the account deposed. The last date we have for him is 934 A.D. Consequently, all these events except the actual deposition must have taken place about 934 A.D. The parentage or the area of authority of the Cālukya prince Vijayāditya is not specified in the accounts. As there were a number of feudatory Cālukya families administering different parts of the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire we are not in a position to say with any degree of certitude as to who this prince was. Some scholars consider him to be a scion of the Eastern Cālukya family[28] while one scholar identifies him with a Mudugoṇḍa Cālukya prince of that name.[29] The accounts do not reveal the name of the family to which the brothers Kakkala and Bappuva belonged or where they were ruling. Prof. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, however, thinks that Kakkala must be identified with Karkara mentioned in an unpublished Śilāhāra grant as having been overthrown by Amōghavarsa III.[30]

Besides being a warrior of repute, Arikēsarin II was a handsome and highly accomplished prince. The Vēmulavāḍa inscription says of him that he was well versed in the art of healing elephants like Karēṇuputra, i.e., Pālakāpya; and that he was skilful in the art of *kathābandha* (story writing) like Gautama and that he was the abode of all arts.

From the inscriptions and the *Vikramārjunavijaya* we learn that he had the following *birudas:* Guṇārṇava, Ārūḍhasarvajña, Udāttanārāyaṇa, Pāṁbarāṅkuśa, Priyagaḻḻa Tribhuvanamalla, Sāmantacūḍāmaṇi, Jagadēkamalla, Nōḍuttegelvōm and Sahasrārjuna.

According to the Vēmulavāḍa inscription Arikēsarin II married Rēvakanirmaḍī, the daughter of king Indra, i.e , Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III. The Parbhaṇi Plates say that Lōkāmbikā of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family was his wife. We are not sure whether these were two different princesses or were identical. We, however, learn that his son Baddega was born of Lōkāmbikā. One officer of Arikēsarin II named Peddaṇārya figures in the Vēmulavāḍa inscription, which designates him as *Tantrapāla* and states that he was the son of Nāgamārya who was himself the *Tantrādhipa* of king Baddega. This Baddega was apparently the *Sōladagaṇḍa* Baddega, the great-grand- father of Arikēsarin II.

One interesting fact recorded by Paṁpa is worth noting here. He says that Guṇārṇava, i.e., Arikēsarin II praised Kavitāguṇārṇava, i.e., Paṁpa, in glowing terms so as to attract the attention even of Ballaha, i.e., apparently, Kṛishṇa III. In recognition of his poetic talents Arikēsarin II granted to Paṁpa an *agrahāra* named Dharmavuram in Bacce-sāsira. Two alternative readings of this territorial division, viz. Cacce and Carci are noted by the editors of the Paṁpa-Bhārata. A division called Sabbi-sāyira is referred to in the Parbhaṇi Plates of Arikēsarin III, as also in another inscription.[31] It may be suggested that Bacce may be a misreading for Cabbi, a variant of Sabbi. Actually in an inscription [32] of the eleventh century we have a territorial division named Cabbi 21,000. Sabbi, we know, was a 1,000 division.[33] In it was situated the subdivision Repaka 12 which included the villages of Vanikaṭupulu, Hindakuṇṭa, Kaṭṭākūru and Veḻḻāḷapaṭṭu[34] which exist almost under the same names in the Sirsilla *taluk* of the Karimnagar District in the Hyderabad State. According to the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri, Hanumakoṇḍa and Warangal might have been included in Sabbi-sāyira.[35] If our suggestion that Bacce-sāyira stands for Sabbi-sayira be correct, the Dharmavuram granted to Paṁpa may be identified with one of the many villages of that name in this locality.*

Of Baddega (III), son of Arikēsarin III we get some information from a stone inscription of his at Vēmulavāḍa and from the colophon of the *Yaśastilaka-Campu* of Sōmadēva-sūrin, who was his *protégé*. As noted earlier in a different context, the inscription says that Baddega had the *Śubhadhāma-jinālaya* constructed for the use of Sōmadēva-sūrin, chief of the Gauḍa-saṁgha. The fact that Baddega was the builder of this *jinālaya* is also mentioned in the Parbhaṇi Plates of his son Arikēsarin III. Sōmadēva-sūrin for whose benefit Baddega constructed the *jinālaya* is no doubt the same as the author of *Yaśastilaka-Campu*. In the colophon of this work this Jaina divine says that he completed it at a place called Gaṅgadhārā under the patronage of Baddega, son of Arikēsarin (II), in S'aka 881 (A.D. 959) when Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was camping at Mēlpāṭi. That Kṛishṇa was staying at Mēlpāṭi (North Arcot District) in the course of his campaign against the Cōlas is attested by this monarch's Karhāḍ Plates of A.D. 959. Gaṅgadhārā where Baddega resided still exists under the same name near Vēmulavāḍa the capital of these chiefs.

The last known ruler of this family is Arikēsarin III, son of Baddega. The only source of information about him is the inscription on the Parbhaṇi Plates. The record describes him as the subordinate *(pādapadmōpajīvin)* of Kṛsṇarāja. It introduces him with the following among other *birudas,* viz. Pāṁbarankuśa Udāttanārāyaṇa, Tribhuvanamalla, Priyagaḻḻa, Pratyakṣa Vādvah, Vikramārjuna and Guṇārṇava. It may be noted that most of these titles were borne by his grandfather also. The inscription registers the grant in Śaka 888 (A.D. 966) of the village of Vanikaṭupulu in Sabbi 1,000 to the Jaina divine Sōmadēva-sūrin for repairs and maintenance of the *vasati* called *Śubhadhama-jinālaya* built at Lēmbuḷapāṭaka by his father, Baddega. The spiritual lineage of Sōmadēva-sūrin is given in the charter as follows: in the Gauḍa-Saṁgha flourished the sage called Yaśōdēva; his disciple was Nēmidēva and his disciple was Sōmadēva. Sōmadēva is praised as the author of *Yaśōdhara Carita, Syādvādōpaniṣad* and a number of other *Subhāṣitas.* He was being held in high esteem by many ruling chiefs. This inscription is stated to have been composed by Kavi Peddaṇa. It is very doubtful if he is the same as Peddaṇārya, the *Tantrādhipa* of Arikēsarin II, though they bear the same name.

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* This has been identified with a place near Kurikyal in Karimnagar District of Andhrapradesh. Ed.

A substantial part of the article is based upon the information contained in the Vēmulavāḍa pillar inscription of Arikēsarin II. Though the record has been published more than once no satisfactory reading has been given. As result of my examination of the inscription *in situ,* I have been able to make out the text more satisfactorily and I append it hereto.

TEXT[36]

[Metres: *vv*-1, 11, 16-19, *Anushṭubh; vv* 2-5, 15, *Upajāti; vv*-6, 15, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita; vv*-7, 12, *Upēndravajrā; vv*-8, 9, *Indravajrā; v*-10, *Vasantatilakā; v*-13, *Sragdharā*].

First Face

1 श्रीमान्भानुस्तमोहंता दैत्यदर्प्पह ।:। [रः ।][37]
2 लोकैकलोचन पायादपायाभ्दुवनत्रयं (यम्)[38] [।। १*][39]
3 स्वस्ति समस्तविबुधा(ध)जनसंस्तूयमानस्सक-
4 ळ[40] कळाकमळैकराजहंसः कं समथनैव (न इव)
5 कमळाकरीकृतवक्षस्थळ[:*] स्थाणुरिव भा(भ) स्म-
6 सात्कृतसमस्तारिपु[र]प्र[ब]न्धः प्रवृ[द्धो]दयप्रबोधिता-
7 शेषप्रवाहांभोजान्वर्त्थीकृतविनयादित्य-
8 नामधेय प्रसाधिताशेषदिग्म(ड्म)ण्डलश्च प[र*]
9 मण्डळैकरामश्चाळुक्यकुळतिळकः श्रीयुध्द-
10 मल्लो नाम राजा वभूव ।। सोऽयं किळाशासद-
11 नन्यशास्या(स्यां) सपादलक्षांक्षितिमक्षताज्ञः [।*] स-
12 मस्तराजेन्द्रकिरीटकोटिमाणिक्यरा(र) श्मि प्र(श्मिप्र)क-
13 र(रा)च्चिर्चतांध्रिः ।। [२*] यः पौदने सौधम[यीं] गजा[नां] वि-
14 धाय वापीमपि तैलपूरै [:।*] स्स(स) सर्व्वसेकं स-
15 ततं वितेने चास्त्रैः कुचानामरिसुन्दरीणां (णम्) ।। [३]
16 स चित्रकूटं बहुचित्रकूटं शाक्या (क्यं) सुरेन्द्रैरपि
17 नोपयातुं(तुम्) [।*] त्रिवर्ग्गयुक्त प्रणतारिवर्ग्ग-
18 स्वभावदुं (दु)र्ग्गं किळ तं जहार ।। [४*] तस्त्यात्मजो द-
19 क्षिणबाहुदण्डचण्डासिधाराहतवैरि-
20 षण्डः [।*] बाळोदृहीताखिळवेङ्गिदेशा पा-
21 ति स्म पृथ्वीमरिके सरीशः [।। ५*] भूयोस्मान्न-
22 रसिंहवर्म्मनृपतिर्भूमिं समापाळय-
23 त्रा(द्रा)जादित्य हति क्षमापतिरता(तः) श्रीयुध्दम-
24 ल्लोनृपः [।*] त्यक्तायेन दरीविवर्ण्णविपि[न*]स्त्यानैः[वृ(नैर्वृ)ता]

25 भूभुज पश्चाध्ददद्देगकल्पदारुरपरः श्रीयुद्ध-
26 मल्ल पुनः ॥ [६*] ततस्स राजन्यशिरोमणीनाम्प(नां प)दार-
27 विन्देन रूच्वो हरद्यः [।*] बभूव नाम्ना नरासिंहदेव[:*] स्तं-
28 भात्पुमान्लोकवृतावि(दि)वाद्यः ॥ [७*] य[:] सप्तदुस्साधतरं नृ-

Second Face

29 पाणान्नि(णां नि)र्जित्य सद्यस्समरांग-
30 णेषु [।*] विन्यस्य के हस्तमतो नतानां
31 स्ता(ता)न्माळव[ा*]न्यः कर[दी] चकार ॥ [८*] प्रत्युद्गतां
32 गूर्ज्जरराजसेनां निर्ज्जित्य राजा स्वय[मे]क
33 एव [।*] काळप्रिये राजकदंबकस्य स्तंभे स्वशौ-
34 [र्थ्य]] विलिलेख शैळे ॥ [९*] तस्योदपादि बळव-
35 त्परचक्रकुंभिकुंभस्थळोद्दळनदक्षकृ-
36 पाणपाणिः [।*] भीतानतारिनरपाळकिरी-
37 टकोटिसंधट्टितांध्रिसरसीज[वि]राजशो-
38 भः॥[१०*] श्रीमान्महीपतिस्साक्षान्नाम्ना वीरो-
39 रिकेसरी [।*] प्रादुर्ब्बभूव तेजस्वी । प्राता(त)-
40 र्भानुरिवोदयां(यम्) [॥ ११*] समस्तसामन्तशिखा-
41 मणीनां प्रभाप्रपातायितशार्व्वरास्व[:] (शर्वरीशः ?) [।*]
42 सदारिनारीनयनांबुजानां लक्ष्मीं हि-
43 मासार इवाहरद्यः ॥ [१२*] सामन्तान् दण्डमु-
44 ख्यान्निजभुजपरिधां(धान्) प्रस्फुरत्खङ्गधारा-
45 नी (न्नी)रांभोराशिमग्नांस्तुरगकरिधटापत्ति[सं]-
46 ग्त्तियुक्तात् [।*] कृत्वा प[दूभ्या]र्य्यमार्य्य स्वजनपरि-
47 जनैस्सन्निहत्याजिरंगे क्रुद्धे गोविन्दराजे [श]रण-
48 मुपगतो रक्षितो येन बिज्जः [॥ १३*] देवीं रेवकनिम्म-
49 डीं क्षितिपतेरिन्द्रस्य पुत्रीन्नुतां पौलोमीमिव
50 वासव[:*] श्रियमिव श्रीमन्मुरध्वंसकः [।*] स्त्रीरत्नं
51 परिणीय येन [नि] तरं (रां) तस्यास्सपत्नीकृता नू-
52 ना (नं) सप्तसमुद्रमुद्रितमहीम्मा(मा)नोन्नतेनाधु-

53 ना ॥ [१४*] तेन भीताननताखिळबळवदिळापाळमौ-
54 ळिमाणिक्यरश्मिमाळालाळितचरणकम-
55 ळयुगळेन शरणायातक्षितिपाळप्राणि(ण)-

Third Face

56 रक्षणदक्षकौक्षेयकोपलतीक्ष्यण(क्ष्ण)दक्षिण-
57 भुजार्ग्गळेन [क]न्तुकान्तकान्ताजनमनोनय-
58 नवल्लभेन करेणुपुत्रेणेव स्स(स)कळगजचि-
59 कित्साको[वि]देन गौतमेनेवे(वै)क(का)शीतिरधाव-
60 ध(कथाबन्ध?)विधिकुशळेन राजात्मजेनेव परीक्षा-
61 विधानदक्षि(क्षे)ण वाद्धळिनेव बन्धुरकर्म्म-
62 स्कन्धसंबन्धपरायणेन ईश्वरे[णे]व
63 विजितमनोजेनोमाप्रियेण च
64 नारायणेनेव गोवर्द्धनेन धरेण च
65 चतुराननेनेव चतुरानने[न च] । स[क]
66 ळकळानिळयेन च कळाधि(धी)(श)वत्कु-
67 मुदानन्दकरेण कान्तिमता च वनजा-
68 बन्धुनेव प्रबोधितबन्धुरबन्धुव-
69 दनवनजेन । निरस्तार[ा*]तितिमिरेण
70 च सहस्रकिरणवदतुळतेजसा
71 श्रीमदरिकेसरिमहाराजेन[41] ॥।
72 स्वस्ति समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दमहा-
73 सामन्ताधिपति समस्तभुवनसंस्तूयमा-
74 नचाळुक्यवंशोभ्दवं पांबरांकुशनम्मनग-
75 न्धवारणं गन्धेभविद्याधरनारुड(ढ)सर्व्वज्ञ-
76 नुदात्तनारां(रा)[य*]णं नोडुत्तेगेल्वों गुणनिधि गुणा-
77 र्णवं शारणागतवज्रपंजरं प्रियगळ्ळं
78 त्रिभुवनमल्ल सामन्तचूडामणि श्री-
79 मदरिकेसरियरसर तत्पादपद्मोप-
80 जीवि समस्तराज्यभरनिरुपितमहा-
81 सन्धिविग्रहपदवीप्रतिष्ठितं समस्त-
82 शास्त्रपारगं श्रीमत्संधिविग्रहिगुणांकु-
83 शेन[42] ॥।

Fourth Face

84 श्रीमान् सुधीर्ब्बद्दगभूमिभर्त्तुस्तं-

85 त्राधिपालोजनि नागमार्थ्यः [।*] गुणार्ण्ण-

86 वो[र्व्वी]पतितंत्रपाळस्तस्यात्मजे जाय-

87 त पेद्दणार्थ्यः ॥ [१५*] तेनाभ्यत्थि(र्त्थि)तो देवतावन्द-

88 ननिमित्तमागत [:*] स्वनिर्म्मापितादित्यगृहा-

89 यागताभ्यागतजनसत्रनिमित्तमुत्तरा-

90 यणपुण्यसंक्रान्तिदिवसे शतनिवर्त्तन[सं]-

91 ख्यातभूमिक्षेत्रमष्ठनिवर्त्तनसंश्यात-

92 पानीयभूमिक्षेत्रं च लेंबुळपाट-

93 कपत्तनैशानकोणे श्रीमदरिकेसरिक्षिति-

94 पतिरदात् ॥ तत्र राजेश्वरादित्यगृहबद्दे-

95 [गे]श्वरनगरेश्वरप्रभृति चतुःस्थानादि(धि)वा-

96 स[स्सा] क्षि(क्षी) मल्लिकार्ज्जुनव्यक्तलिंगिविद्याराशि-

97 व्याख्यानिभट्ट[ा]रकाश्च साक्षिणः ॥ चन्द्रष्ठिप्रभृ-

98 तयो नवश्रेष्ठिनश्च साक्षिणः [॥*]

99 निस्स्पृहैकाग्रणीस्सूरि[:*] स्थानाधिष्ठायक स्वयं(यम्) [।*]

100 धातवीयान्वये जातः [श्री] पणिडतमुनीश्वरः [॥१६*]

101 स्वधर्म्मवदयं धर्म्मः पाळनीयो नराधिपैः [।*]

102 न धर्म्म्याया[:*] स्थितेस्सन्तः प्रच्यवन्ते कदाचन ।[। १७*]

103 कासक्षेपो न कर्त्तव्यं(व्य) आयुक्षीणेदिने दिने [।*]

104 यमस्य करुण[ा*]न्न(ना)स्ति धर्म्मस्य त्वरिता गतं (तिः) [॥१७*]

105 अनित्यानि शारीराणि विभवो नय्व (नैव) शाश्वतं(ताः) [।*]

106 नित्यं सन्निहितो मृत्युं(त्युः) कर्त्तव्यं(व्यो)धर्म्मसंग्रह [: ॥ १९*]

107 तस्य क्षेत्रस्य ध्वादश द्रम्म[ा*] स्सिद्धायः [॥*]

REFERENCE

1. The Kollipara plates *(Bhārati,* Vol. VII, pt. ii, pp. 297 ff.) mention a few ancestors of Yuddhamalla. But as the grant is spurious no notice is taken here of the names.
2. In spite of the fact that a manuscript dated Vikrama-saṁvat 1464 *[See Jaina Sahitya aur Itihas* by Nathu Ram Premi (1942), p. 76] gives Vadyagarāja as the name of the prince and that this name is accepted as correct by a number of scholars including Prof. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. Raghavan,

it is strange that my esteemed friend Dr. N. Venkataramanayya should stick to the name Vāgarāja (as found in the Nirnayasagar Press edition of *Yaśastilaka)* and create a fictitious brother for Bhadradēva *(Chālukyas of* L(V)*ēmulavāḍa,* p. 9.). Actually the name Bhadradēva is a Sanskrit variant of Baddega, or Badyaga (Vadyaga).

3. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII. pp. 17 ff.
4. A Cālukya prince named Viragriha is mentioned in an inscription at Kuruvagatta in Nagar-Kurnool taluk, Mahabubnagar District, Hyderabad State (Dr. N. Venkataramanayya: *The Cālukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa,* pp. 81 ff.). But as there is nothing to show that he belonged to the Vēmulavāḍa family he is not given a place in this genealogy.

4a. In the case of kings for whom we have definite dates only these are given.

5. G.H. Khare: *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan,:* Vol. II, p. 49, Text Verse 3.
6. *Journal of the Madras University:* Vol. XV. No. 2. p. 110.
7. Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy: 1946-47, No. 159. Incidentally it may be noted that all the inscriptions at this village are either in Kannada or in Sanskrit.
8. *An. Rep. on Ind. Ep.* : 1946-47. No. 158 reviewed on p. 4 of the Report.
9. *Yaśastilaka-Campū* (Kāvyamālā No. 70. Nirnayasagar Edition, 1916), Book I, p. 288.
10. *Journal of Oriental Research,* Vol, XVIII, pp. 39 ff.
11. *Journal of the Madras University:* Op. cit., p. 110; see also N. Venkataramanayya-*The Cālukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa:* p. 18.
12. See Text below: Verse 5.
13. *Pampa Bharatam* (Karnataka Sahitya Parishad Edition, 1931), Book I, p. 4, verse 20.
14. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XI. p. 81 ff.
15. *An. Rep. on Ind. Ep.,* 1946-47, No. 158.
16. See Text below; Verse 6.
17. G.H. Khare: *Op. cit.,* p. 49, verse 7.
18. *Journal of the Madras University: Op. cit.,* p. 115.
19. G.H.Khare: *Op cit.,* p. 49, verse 8.
20. *Journal of the Madras University: Op. cit.,* p. 116.
21. See Text below: Verse 7.
22. See Verse 16 of the Cambay Plates of Gōvinda IV; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII, p. 38.
23. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XII, pp. 65 ff.
24. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX. p. 32; text-lines 40-41.
25. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 38; text-line 22.
26. N. Venkataramanayya: *The Cālukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa,* p. 29 fn.
27. *Pampa Bharatham:* (Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Parishad Edition, 1931) p. 234.

28. J.F. Fleet: *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* (Bombay Gazetter, Vol. I, pt. II), p. 381.
29. N. Venkataramanayya: *The Cālukyas of L(V)ēmulavāḍa,* pp. 35, ff. fn. 55.
30. *Journal of the Madras University: Op. cit.,* p. 124.
31. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX. p. 263, text-lines 34-35.
32. *An. Rep.,* on Ind. Ep., 1946-47. No. 159.
33. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 258.
34. G.H.Khare: *Op. cit.* p. 52, text-line 42.
35. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, pp. 257-258.
36. Written in Kannaḍa characters of the tenth century.
37. Doubtful readings are enclosed within square brackets [ ].
38. Corrections are put in round brackets ( ).
39. Portions supplied are put in square brackets within asterisk [*].
40. In this inscription the aksara ळ has been used in place of ल in most places.
41. The use of the instrumental does not suit the context.
42. After this is engraved the following Kannaḍa inscription which is apparently a later addition.

    १ तकारं भिल्लेयं प
    २ न्नजन वीसदिय आदित्य-
    ३ गे बिदृ [॥*]

26

THE ORIGINAL HOME OF THE KAKATIYAS*

It is well known that the Kakatiyas of Warangal (A.P.) played a prominent role in the history of the Telugu country for over three centuries from about the middle of the 11th Century A.D. to the first quarter of the 14th Century. They started their career in a humble way by obtaining the fief of Anumakonda - Vishaya. i.e. Warangal and its neighbourhood from the Western Chalukya King Somesvara I. Their territory expanded by a further gift of the division of Sabbi-1000, made by Somesvara's son, the great Vikramaditya VI. They established themselves as independent rulers with Warangal as their Capital when the Central power of the Chalukyas became weak. Being mighty and ambitious rulers they involved themselves in the conflicts of the Southern Kingdoms, and went on enlarging their territory considerably until at one time their dominion covered not only the entire Telugu country, but also Kanchipuram and even Jambukesvaram (Tirachirapalli Dist., Tamil Nadu).

Where did these Kakatiyas hail from? How did the family name Kakatiya arise? Vidyanatha, the author of the Sanskrit work on *alankara, Prataparudriya,* who lived in the court of the Kakatiya King Prataparudra II, the last King of this dynasty, calls this monarch simply *Kakatiya-narendra* (the King of the Kakatiyas). But the commentator of this work, Kumaraswami, son of the famous Mallinatha (who has written the Commentaries of many of Kalidasa's works) explains the name Kakatiya thus:

Kakatir - Nama Durga - Saktir - Ekasita-nagar - esvaranam
Kula - devata. Sa Saktir - bhajaniy - asy = eti - Kakatiyah.

That is to say, "The family deity of the rulers of Ekasitanagara (Warangal) was the Durga - Sakti named Kakati and because they were devotees of the Goddess they got the name Kakatiya." But it is known from many Kakatiya inscriptions that the rulers of this family called themselves.

Sri - Svayambhudeva - divya - Sripada - Padmaradhaka

i.e. they were the devotees of Lord Svayambhu. Dr, Hultzch, who has edited the Motupalli inscription of Kakatiya Ganapatideva (of 1244-45 A.D.). while observing that this inscription opens with an invocation to Svayambhudeva, has drawn our attention to the fact, from the *Prataparudriya* we know that Siva under the name Svayambhudeva was the family deity *(Kula-devata)* of the Kakatiya dynasty.

So we will have to find an explanation for the name Kakatiya, other than the one given by Kumarasvami. And such an explanation is forthcoming from the Garavapadu grant 3 of King Ganapatideva (of this dynasty), great grandfather of Prataparudra II. This inscription which is dated 'Saka' 1182 (= A.D. 1260) contains the following verses, which state that King Kanikala - Choladeva, an ancestor of Ganapatideva, while wandering in different directions, in the course of a hunting expedition came to the Dakshinapatha (Southern Region). There he arrived at a famous town called Kakati, and at that place he pitched his extensive camp. In his family was born King Durjaya, and scions of his race are spoken of as Kakati Kings:

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* Published in the *Karnatak Historical Review,* Vol. XIII, No. 1, 1977, pp. 30-33.

> Tad-abhijana-janis=tat-dharitrim=a'sishad=imam,
> Kalika-Choladevah.
> disi disi mrigaya-chchhatena khelann=upa
> - gatavan=atha Dakshinapatham Sah ||
> Puram Sa Kakatir=iti prakhyatam tanra bhu - patih |
> Prapy=atmanas=tad-vistirnam skandhavaram akalpayat ||
> Asit=upajnam vadanty=asya vamsyan Kakati-bhu britah ||

The late Rao Bahadur C.R.Krishnamacharlu who has edited this inscription, brought to the notice of scholars the fact that Kakati was the name of a prominent town and not the name of a deity; and that the Kakatiya family took its name after this town. While doing so, he has referred to two other inscriptions which confirm this view. One of them dated Śaka 1131 (=1209 A.D.) while giving the genealogy of the family says that King Prola had two sons, Rudra and Mahadeva, belonging to the famous family city named Kakati.

> Kakaty - abhidhana - prathita - kula - purau

Another inscription of Ganapati calls him *Kakatiya - Puravaradhisvara* Ganapatideva Maharaja.

Kumaraswami's father, Mallinatha, is believed to have lived in the 15th century A.D. and we know that the Kakatiya dynasty came to an end in 1326 A.D. So evidently Mallinatha's son Kumaraswami, who must have lived long after the fall of the Kakatiya dynasty, did not have any correct information regarding the origin of the family name Kakatiya.

Though R.B.C.R.K. Charlu pointed out that Kakati must be a town, he could not satisfactorily identify it. He suggested that it might be Kanka in Madhya Pradesh. But the reasons given by him for this identification are not quite convincing.

In the course of my study of this problem, I came across three non-Kakatiya inscriptions from the Kannada region, in which the place Kakati is mentioned. I give below relevant extracts in chronological order.

1. The Mamdapur inscription 'of Saka' 1172 (1250 A.D.) which registers some gifts to the Trikuta. - Prasada temple by Chamundaraja states;

> Kumidi murum-sasirada Kurumbetta Kumpanada Modala onadiya
> Banamijiuvathanam. Kurumbettada ....
>
> Chamundaraja madisida trikuta-prasadakka .... Kakatiya-badadali Sri
> Mallesvaradevara nivedyake kotta gadde panneradu mattaru II.

2. In an inscription published in Epigraphia Carnatica, vol. X, we find a mention of an artisan of Kakati named Nadoja:

Kakattiya agati Bhairaojana maga Nadojanu kabuna. Kalasakka vitti(vritti)kararu yivaru tuba (triba) madidaru II

The date of this record is A.D. 1378.

3. An Inscription at Halageri in the Ranibennur Taluka says that Narase Nayaka of Kakati made a gift of land.

Deviya amitapadigē Tippe Nayakana
komara Malevara-gavunda Kakatiya
Narase-Nayakaru Baligereyali Kotta vritti 11

This record is dated in Saka 132+ (the last digit of the date is lost) (i.e. the date of the record is the end of the 14th century A.D.). These inscriptions would show that the village or town of Kakati was a prominent place till the end of the 14th century.

The most important of these is the inscription at Mamdapur (a village in the Gokak Taluka of Belgaum Dist.) because it gives almost a definite indication of the location of Kakati. Since, the inscription which confers a gift of land at the village of Kakati, is a stone record, we must look for this village in the vicinity of Mamadapur in Belgaum District.

With these facts before me I made a search for Kakati in Belgaum District. This search yielded the information that there is a place very near Belgaum named Kakati on the Poona-Bangalore National Highway. There upon I requested Mr. Siddayya Puranik, I.A.S., former Deputy Commissioner, Belgaum District (now Labour Commissioner, Government of Mysore) to let me know if there was such a village and if there were any antiquities round about that place. Mr. Puranik kindly wrote me that there is a village named Kakati in Belgaum Taluka and it is six miles form Belgaum on the Poona-Bangalore National Highway. There are some ancient monuments of an old town in the vicinity of that village. "So the Kakatipura after which the Kakatiyas took their name was apparently the same. Dr. Barnett who edited the Mamdapur inscription noticed above has suggested "Kakatiyabada" is possibly Kakati, in Sangli State". On referring to the map given in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency-Kolhapur published in 1886, I found that this Kakti mentioned by Dr. Barnett is the same as the Kakati near Belgaum, which I have identified above. Though it was formerly in the Sangli State, it has now been transferred to Belgaum District.

This Kakati is near Belgaum. One need not be surprised that the town of origin of the Kakatiyas was so far away from Warangal, their Capital, because the Kakatiyas started their career as officers under the Chalukyas of Kalyana and continued as their subordinates for about a century, after which they declared their independence. It is also noteworthy that the Anumakonda (near Warangal) inscription of Prola (one of the early rulers of the Kakatiya family) is wholly in Kannada excepting the invocation and an incomplete verse in Sanskrit.

Thus the Kakatiyas, like the Chalukyas of Vengi, who ruled the Telugu country before them, were of Kannada stock.

REFERENCES

1. See Eg. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. X, Nos. 241.
2. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XII, p. 188 and 338.
3. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 346ff.
4. *SII.,* Vol. X, No. 254, pp. 29-32.
5. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, No. 734.
6. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, pp. 19ff.
7. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, pp. 262ff
8. *EC.,* X, Chintamani 68.
9. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,* 1934-35, B.K. No. 18.

27

THIRTY-ONE SILVER COINS OF VIRA-KERALA*

In April 1945, Dr. A.Aiyappan, Superintendent, Government Museum, Madras, sent for examination to Dr. B.Ch.Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, thirty-one silver coins he had received from the Collector of Tinnevelly. At the time of sending them to the Government Epigraphist for India, Dr. Aiyappan had recognised that the coins were of the same description as No. 11 in Plate V of Rapson's *Indian Coins,* where, however, only the reading of the legend on the reverse had been given. He therefore requested the Government Epigraphist for India to decipher the legend on the obverse which had been left unread by Rapson. Dr. Chhabra very kindly entrusted me with the task. I succeeded in reading the obverse by scrutinising some of the well-preserved specimens, and in June of the same year I communicated the result of my examination to Dr. Aiyappan. I could not rest content with merely deciphering the inscription on the obverse of the coins. I considered it necessary to make a fuller study of the type and try to attribute it to a particular king. I therefore requested Dr. Aiyappan to permit me to publish an article on the coins, so that greater attention of the scholars might be drawn to their importance. He not only very kindly acceded to my request but also asked me to prepare a paper on them to be read at a meeting of the Archaeological Society. Accordingly I have embodied my observations on the coins in this short paper, which is now being published in this *Journal.*

Dr. Aiyappan has informed me that these coins, which are now deposited in the Government Museum, Madras, were found as a treasure trove at Vaigaikulam village in the Sankarankoil Taluk of the Tinnevelly District on the 25th May, 1944. The coins, which are in a very good state of preservation, are made of silver. They are nearly round in shape and on both sides the device and the legend are struck by a double die. All round the edge on either side of the coin are to be seen dots, as on many similar ancient types found in various parts of India. The measurement and the weight of the coins have been kindly annoted for me by Dr.Aiyappan. He reports that their size varies from 1.7 c.m to 1.9 c.m and weight from 33.8 to 36.3 grains.

As already observed, a coin of this type has been published by Rapson in *Indian Coins* (Plate V, No. 11), where he has given the weight as 36.3 grains. He has not however described the symbols on the coins, though he has read the legend on the reverse as *Śrī-Vīrakeralasya.* It is inscribed in two lines in Nāgarī characters, which are of about the 11th or 12th century after Christ. Between the two lines of the inscription there is a symbol of a crocodile or *makara* moving from right to left with its mouth wide open. Now let us examine the obverse. As on the reverse the legend, which is also in Nāgarī characters, is in two lines. This legend, as I have pointed out above, has not been read by Rapson. The first line reads *Śrī-Gaṇḍa* and the second

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* Paper read at the meeting of the Archaeological Society of South India on 15th November, 1947.

raṁkuśasya. The inscription would thus be *Śrī-Gaṇḍa raṁkuśasya.* Before proceeding further, I must mention that the late Dr. M.H.Krishna, the learned Director of Archaeology in Mysore, who has published a coin of this type, has read this inscription as *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya.* It may be observed here that he calls the side which contains this legend as the reverse. But his reading cannot be accepted for the following reasons. In the first place, the legend consists of seven syllables on all the coins where it is fully struck or preserved. If the reading *Śrī-Gajānkuśasya* be accepted, the presence of a seventh syllable cannot be accounted for. Secondly, there is neither a sign of a long medial *ā* nor of an *anusvāra* attached to the third syllable of the first line. Dr.Krishna also admits the absence of the *anusvāra* by supplying the corresponding *anunāsika* in brackets. If this syllable is taken to be short *ja* (without the sign of medial *ā* or the *anusvāra*), the legend would be *Gajakuśasya,* which yields no sense. But it is not possible to take this syllable as *ja* for it bears no resemblance of the Nāgari *ja* prevailing in any part of India. Though the letter resembles to some extent the Grantha form of *ja,* it is difficult to postulate that only for this letter the Grantha symbol was used, while for all the other letters in the legends on both the sides of the coin Nāgarī characters were employed. Moreover, it can be clearly seen that this syllable is a conjunct consonant, and as such it can only be read as *ṇḍa.* Thirdly, there are four syllables in the second line which could not be the case if the legend were *Śrī-Gajāṅkuśasya.* Fourthly on all the coins on which the first syllable of the second line is preserved, it can be read without a shadow of doubt as *raṁ.*

In this connection it is interesting to observe that Dr.Krishna has stated in his remarks on the coin published by him that on a card with the coin in the British Museum, London - apparently the same coin as the one published by Rapson - the late Dr.Fleet appears to have read this legend as *Śrī-Gandankuśasya.* It is gratifying to note that this eminent epigraphist was inclined to regard the second syllable of the first line of the inscription as a conjunct consonant and not as *ja.* The dental *ṇḍa* which is reported to be this scholar's reading of the *akshara* is perhaps to be explained by supposing that either he omitted to affix the diacritical marks to the syllable, which would make it the cerebral *ṇḍa,* or that his reading has not been correctly quoted in the *Mysore Archaeological Report.* It may be pertinently asked why both Dr. Fleet and Dr.Krishna have been able to see only six syllables in the legend, while I take them to be seven. The answer is simple. Apparently the coins which they examined did not show the first syllable in the second line viz., *raṁ.* This surmise is borne out by the illustrations of the coins found in Rapson's work and in the *Mysore Archaeological Report* issued by Dr.Krishna. It may be noted, however, that in the plate containing the reproduction of the coin in the former of these two publications, traces of the syllable *raṁ,* are partly and faintly visible. I might state here that another large hoard of silver coins bearing the same legends and devices which were found in the year 1934-5 at Pandalgudi in the Ramnad District and the photographs of the which have been examined by me, also reveals not only the presence of seven syllables in the legend on the obverse but also that the first *akshara* of the second line is *raṁ.* Their photo-negatives are now preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.[2] Dr. Fleet's reading of this legend, it is needless to point out, thus confirms the correctness of my reading. On the obverse of the coin also there is a device between the two lines of the Nāgarī legend. Rapson has not described it. Dr.Krishna says that it is a beetle. But after a minute examination of the symbol both on the coins under discussion and also on those found at Pandalgudi, I am inclined to take it as a *kuṁbha* or *kalaśa* with leaves of mango or some other evergreen hanging down from its mouth and probably a cocoanut placed in the centre at its top.

Thus my final description of the coin[3] is as follows:-

Obverse:	Nāgarī legend	Symbol
	1. Śrī-Gaṇḍa-	*kuṁbha* or *kalaśa*
	2. raṁkuśasya	between the two lines of the legend.
Reverse:	Nāgarī legend	Symbol
	1. Śrī-Vīra	Crocodile or *makara,* facing proper right, open mouthed
	2. kēralasya	and in moving posture between the two lines of the legend.
		Pl. VII, 4-5.

Having finished the description of the coins, let me now try to identify the ruler who issued them. The legends on both the sides afford a clue. There can be no doubt that both *Śrī-Vīrakēralasya* and *Śrī-Gaṇḍaraṁkuśasya* denote either the name or title or the royal personage who was responsible for striking these coins. It is well known that Kērala is the name of the Malayalam country and therefore Vīra-Kērala might well be the *biruda* of any ruler of that part of India. But it must be noted that Vīra-Kērala was the name and not *biruda* of some rulers of this region. So it is likely that one of them, who had that name, issued these coins. If we could find a Vīra-Kērala who was also known as Gaṇḍaraṁkuśa i.e., 'elephant-goad to the heroes', the identification would be very easy. This *biruda* or surname seems to be unique. *Gaṇḍarāditya* and *Gaṇḍara-gaṇḍa* are well known *birudas* in the Chōḷa and Chālukya families, but I have not met with Gaṇḍaraṁkuśa anywhere else, though another variant of it in Kannaḍa viz., *Kaligaḷ-aṅkuśa* is an appellation applied to certain chiefs of the Kannaḍa country. So this *biruda* is of no help to us in determining the identity of the king who issued the coins. We must now look for other means of identification. As already observed, the coins are assignable on palaeographic grounds to the 11th or 12th century A.D., and therefore we must try to find a Vīra-Kērala who ruled during this period. The earliest reference that we have to a Vīra-Kērala is found in an inscription of the 29th year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja (=A.D. 1046), where the former is stated to have been seized in a battle and was trampled down by the latter's furious elephant Attivāraṇa.[4] No doubt the date of this record, and consequently that of Vīra-Kērala mentioned in it, falls within the period to which our coins belong. But we know nothing more about this ruler from any other source and therefore we have no means of ascertaining whether he could be the person who issued the coins. One point however which has to be considered here is whether this Vīra-Kērala was an independent ruler, who could strike coins in his own name. According to Mr. K.V.Subrahmanya Ayyar, the veteran South-Indian Epigraphist,[5] "During the entire period of the Chōḷa supremacy in Southern India which ranged from the time of Rājarāja I and ended with the reign of Vīrarājēndra and of his able Chālukya-Chōḷa successor Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, the rulers of the Pāṇḍya and Kērala dominions appear not to have been left undisputed lords of their own territory and to have had no real power. Accordingly, the part played by them is too insignificant to take any note. The existence of the inscription of Rājarāja I, Rājēndra-

Chōḷa I, Rājādhirāja I, Vīrarājēndra and Kulōttuṅga I in the Kērala dominion is sufficient proof that their over-lordship was well recognised in that quarter. This same fact also accounts for the absence of *Vēnāḍu* records from the Kollam year 160 to 300 (=985-1125 A.D.) It is thus almost certain that Vīra-Kērala, who was the contemporary of Rājādhirāja I, did not probably enjoy sovereign powers to be able to issue coins. He is not therefore likely to be the Vīra-Kērala, whose name appears on our coins. The next *Vēnāḍu* king who had the name Vīra-Kērala is Vīra-Kērala Varman, who reigned about 80 years after the Vīra Kērala figuring in Rājādhirāja's inscription. His only stone record, which is dated Kollam 302 (=A.D. 1127), has been found at Chōḷapuram near Nagercoil.[6] About this ruler Mr.Subrahmanya Ayyar says that Vēnāḍu kings emerge out of this oblivion, which has been referred to above (i.e., domination of the Chōḷās), in Kollam 302 with Vīra-Kēraḷavarman. It is therefore possible that he was responsible for issuing the coins under discussion here. Let us see, however, whether there was any other ruler named Kēralavarman in the period under discussion i.e., 11th and 12th centuries. After Vīra-Kēralavarman noticed above, there was a king called Kōdai Kēralavarman, whose inscriptions range in date from Kollam 320 to 326 (=A.D. 1145 to 1151). It is not certain whether he was the immediate successor of Vīra-Kēralavarman, for no inscriptions dated between Kollam 302 to 320 have yet been discussed. Though this chief is called Kēralavarman, he was not Vīra-Kērala but Kodai Kēralavarman. It is therefore very doubtful if the coins could be attributed to him with any degree of certainty. We have now exhausted all the Vīra-Kēralas of the 11th and 12th centuries. As there is generally not much perceptible difference in palaeography within a quarter of a century, we may also see if there were any Vīra-Kēralas a little before the commencement of the 11th century and a little after the close of the 12th century. That there was no king of the name of Vīra-Kērala or who had that biruda before A.D. 1125-26, we have already seen. Coming to the 13th century, Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, who was also called Vīra-Dēvadaran-Kēralavarman, is known from inscriptions to have ruled from Kollam 384 to 390 (= A.D. 1209 to 1215). His successor was Vira-Ravi-Kāralavarman, otherwise known as Vira-Kēralavarman; his dates range from Kollam 392 to 412 i.e., from A.D. 1217 to 1237. The entire period of the former's reign and the first 9 years of the latter are well within the limit I have set for consideration. It is to be noted, however, that while Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman is nowhere mentioned simply as Vira-Kēralavarman i.e., without the addition of the name Rāman or Dēvadaran, his successor Vira-Ravi-Kēralavarman is called by the plain appellation of Kēralavarman, which is the one found on the coins. Though it is not impossible that either of these two might be the person who struck the coins, it is more probable that it was Ravi-Kērala who was responsible for minting them. But as neither of them is credited with any outstanding achievement, it is doubtful if the present coins could be attributed to any one of them. Here I might be asked why it is that I have failed to take account of the most famous and the most powerful of the Vīra-Kēralas, namely, Ravivarman-Kulaśēkhara who had the titles Jayasiṁha-Vīra-Kērala, Saṅgrāmadhīra, Dakshiṇa-Bhōja etc. The reason for this omission is obvious; the initial year of his reign is A.D. 1299, almost the beginning of the 14th century. As a matter of fact there were many more Vīra-Kēralas after him.

We have thus examined the factors pertinent to our enquiry in the case of all the rulers who had the name or title, Vīra-Kērala or Kērala, viz.,

1. Vīra-Kērala of 1046 A.D.
2. Vīra-Kērala of 1127 A.D.
3. Kodai Kērala who reigned from 1145 to 1151 A.D.
4. Vīra-Raman-Kērala (1209 to 1237 A.D.)
5. Vīra-Ravi-Kērala or Vīra-Kērala (1217 to 1237 A.D.)

Of these No. 1 was not an independent ruler and therefore he may be left out of consideration. No. 3 is also not quite likely to be the ruler who struck the coins, because he is not actually a Vīra-Kērala. Nos. 4 and 5 reigned in the 13th century, but palaeographic considerations would point more to a date in the 11th and 12th centuries if not a little earlier. The only Vīra-Kērala now left is No. 2. There are more reasons than one which would favour the attribution of these coins to this king with greater probability than to any other. In the first place his reign falls within the period indicated by the palaeography of the coins. Secondly, as pointed out above, he regained independence by shaking off the yoke of the Chōḷa overlordship, retrieving the fortunes of his country which had fallen into the hands of his enemies for over a century. It is therefore very likely that in order to commemorate this great event he issued a new coinage, in accordance with the age-long practice obtaining among the royal families of India.

Now let us consider the devices on the coins. The symbol on the obverse, as we have seen, is a *kuṁbha* or *kalaśa.* What does this signify? From the time of the Ṛigveda upto the present day the *pūrṇakuṁbha* is considered to be an auspicious symbol indicating fullness, joy and prosperity among the Hindus, and the same is the case also among the Jains and the Buddhists. During rituals and religious ceremonies of an auspicious nature the *kalaśa* is even today set up and worshipped in all Hindu houses. It is common knowledge that it is largely employed in sculpture, architecture and paintings as a decorative design. There are innumerable references to it in Vedic as well as classical Sanskrit literature. The emblem is also found on some early coins and on the seals of some copper plate grants. It is possible that it has the same significance even on the coins of Vīra-Kērala. The representation of the crocodile on the reverse may indicate that the ruler had a command over a large tract of coastland and was the lord of a sea-faring people. I may be permitted, however, to suggest an alternative interpretation of these symbols. One of them, the *kuṁbha* or the *makara* may stand for the *rāśi* or the zodiacal sign in which the king was born. It is a common practice among the kings of Kērala to be named after the asterism in which they are born. Even today the kings of Travancore are called after the *nakshatra* of their birth. As it is not easy to represent any particular asterism on a coin, the *rāśi* to which the *nakshatra* belonged, might have been depicted. Similarly the device on the other side may indicate the solar month in which the king ascended the throne or the month in which he issued the coin, as these months take the names of he twelve Zodiacal signs. Of the five rulers noted above, the star of birth of only one, namely Vīra-Rāman-Kēralavarman, is known and that is Śravaṇa, which belongs to *makara rāśi.* But as it is not definitely known which of the two devices on the coin represents the natal star of the king, I would not venture merely on this basis, to attribute the coins to him. Future discoveries alone must show the correctness or otherwise of my theory.[7]

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2. Nos. 1336 to 1339 of the list: App. D. of the *An. Rep. an South Indian Epigraphy,* 1934-5.
3. I have followed Rapson in indicating the sides of the coin as obverse and reverse, and not Dr. M.H.Krishna who reversed the order.
4. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. III, pp. 51 ff.
5. *An. Rep. of the Trav. Arch. Department for 1920-21,* p. 54.
6. *Trav. Arch.* Series, Vol. p. 17.
7. I am much obliged to Mr. M.Venkataramayya for some references and suggestions.

28

A DEFINITE DATE FOR TENALI RAMAKRISHNA*

There is practically none in South India who has not heard the name of Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa who is reputed for his wit and penchant practical jokes. Though he was more renowned for his witty sayings and for his capacity for befooling his great contemporaries by his spontaneous literary compositions, he was also a talented poet, who is definitely known to be the author of at least the great Telugu *mahākāvya*, the *Pāṇḍuraṅgamāhātmyamu,* which is classed as one of the finest of its kind in the whole field of Telugu literature.

But the exact period in which he flourished has not yet been satisfactorily determined. It is generally believed that he was one of the *ashṭa-diggajas* of the court of Kṛishṇadēvarāya (1509- 1529 A.D.), the most famous of the Vijayanagara monarchs, though his *Pāṇḍuraṅgamāhātmyamu* is said to have been written about 1565 and his *Ghaṭikāchalamāhātmyamu* during the reign of Tirumalarāya (1570-1578 A.D.), i.e., about 35 or 50 years after the death of Kṛishṇadēvarāya.[1] According to the above view, the date of Rāmakṛishna's literary activities would be *circa* 1509-1578.

On the other hand the veteran Telugu savant, Viresalingam Pantulu, who has made a thorough investigation of the question of Rāmakṛishṇa's date, is of the view that the poet could not have been in Kṛishṇadēvarāya's court, but that he was a contemporary of the Vijayanagara king Veṅkaṭapatirāya who ruled from 1585-1614 A.D.[2] Therefore, according to him the poet lived during the latter part of the 16th and the earlier part of the 17th centuries. This view is accepted by scholars like the late Rao Bahadur H.Krishna Sastri.[3]

Recently I happened to examine an inscription on the pedestal of the *Utsava-vigraha* (precessional image) of god Rāmaliṅgasvāmin in the Rāmaliṅgasvāmin temple at Tenāli. As the image is being worshipped I could not take mechanical estampages of the epigraph in the usual way. Unfortunately I had no facilities just then to take a photograph of the inscription either. I, therefore, made a transcript of the inscription on the spot from the original and it is reproduced at the end of this article. The script of the inscription is Telugu assignable to the 16-17th century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit. The epigraph consists of a single verse in the *Rathōddhatā* metre and it states that Rāmapaṇḍita of Gārlapāḍu illuminated the town of Tenāli with the processional image of *(the god)* Rāmaliṅga with that of *(the goddess)* Umā on Thursday the 5th *(tithi)* of the bright half of the *(month of)* Māgha in the *(cyclic year)* Śukla. Between 1500 and 1700 A.D.,

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in 1510 A.D. Śukla, Māgha su. 5 fell on Monday,
in 1570 A.D. Śukla, Māgha su. 5 fell on Wednesday,
in 1690 A.D. Śukla, Māgha su. 5 fell on Sunday,

But the year in which all the details given in the record regularly correspond is in 1630 A.D.; in this year Śukla, Māgha śu. 5 fell on Thursday, (=7th January, 1630 A.D.; su. 5 commenced on this day at 16.20 hours).

It is well known that Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa was a native of the village of Gārlapāḍu and later on settled down at Tenāli, which is not far off from his native place. So, it is almost certain that Rāmapaṇḍita of Gārlapāḍu mentioned in the record is none other than the famous Telugu poet, Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa. This conviction is also supported by local tradition current even today among the priests of this temple that this processional image was the gift of Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa.

It should be noted, however, that this inscription has been already noticed by the late Brahmasri Veturi Prabhakara Sastrulu, who equated (on what basis we do not know) the date cited in the record to A.D. 1511 and thought that the Rāmapaṇḍita mentioned therein was the father of Tenāli Rāma.[4]

As shown above, the only date for which all the details cited in the record work out correctly is January 7, 1630 A.D. So, if it is granted that the Ramapandita of the epigraph was Tenali Rāmakṛishṇa's father, we will have to admit that even Tenāli Rāma's father was removed by about a century from Kṛishṇadēvarāya's period. Consequently, Tenāli Rāma should be assumed to have lived still later. It is therefore more likely that the inscription is of Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa himself rather than that of his father and that it records a correct date for the former.

While one school of historians places Tenāli Rāma early in the 16th century the other places him between the second half of the 16th and the first half of the 17th century. As our records falls within this period and 1630 is the only year which answers to the date cited in the record, we can safely conclude that the image on which the inscription is engraved was installed, at Tenāli by Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa himself. If this conclusion, viz., that the inscription is that of Rāmakṛishṇa be accepted - and I do not see any reason why it should not be - a definite date for Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇa would be fixed and that is 1630 A.D. Consequently this epigraphical evidence confirms the surmise of Viresalingam Pantulu already mentioned.

Text of the Inscription

Śrī-Tenāli-nagarē vyarājayad
=Gārlapāṭi-pura-Rāma-paṇḍitaḥ
Śukla-Māgha-sita-paṁchamī-Gurau
Rāmaliṅgam=Umay=ōtsav-ākṛitiṁ ||

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1. Dr. N.Venkataramanayya's article (Telugu) on Tenāli Rāmakṛishṇakavi *(Āndhrapatrika,* Annual number for Prajōtpatti); *Bhārati,* Vikrama, Māgha, (1941, February), pp. 141 ff.
2. Viresalingam: *Telugu Poets,* (1st Edn.), pp. 265 ff.
3. *An. Rep. of the Arch. Sur. of India,* 1911-12, p. 188. See also Chenchiah and Bhujanga Rao Bahadur, *A History of Telugu Literature,* p. 83; P.T.Raju, *Telugu Literature,* (P.E.N.Books), p. 39.
4. *Bhārati,* Vikrama, Māgha, (1941), p. 147.

KARNATAKA HISTORY

29

WHO WAS THE GUPTA CONTEMPORARY OF THE KADAMBA KING KĀKUSTHAVARMAN?*

A verse in the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman[1] speaks of the matrimonial alliances that this Kadamba king contracted with the Gupta and other royal families. It runs as follows:-

Gupt-ādi-pārthiva-kul-āmburuha-sthalāni
sneh-ādara-praṇaya-sambhrama-kesarāṇi
śrīmanty-aneka-nṛpa-ṣaṭpada-sevitāni
yo=bodhayad=duhitṛ dīdhitibhir=nṛp ārkkaḥ |

It has been translated thus:-

"This sun of a king by means of his rays-his daughters-caused to expand the splendid lotus-groups, the royal families of the Guptas and others, the filaments of which were attachment, respect, love and reverence *(for him)* and which were cherised by many bees-the kings *who served them".* Or, in plain words, this king's daughters were married to the members of the Gupta and other royal households.

In order to ascertain as to who was the Gupta that was the son-in- law of this Kadamba king, it is necessary to determine, first, the date of Kākusthavarman. Several genuine Western Gaṅga grants[2] tell us that Mādhava, the father of Avinīta (or Mādhava III, as I shall call him hereafter) had taken to wife the sister of a Kadamba Kṛṣṇavarman. There were two kings of this name in the Kadamba family. We have to find out which of them was the brother-in-law of the Gaṅga king Mādhava III. As Mr. K.N. Dikshit has pointed out[3] the identity of this "Kṛṣṇavarman can be established from the fact that he is said in all the records which refer to him to have performed the celebrated Aśvamedha sacrifice". The Kadamba grants attribute the performance of this sacrifice only to Kṛṣṇavarman I, the second son of Kākusthavarman.[4] No reasonable doubt can, therefore, be entertained that Kṛṣṇavarman I was the brother-in-law of Mādhava III. What was the date of Mādhava III? Palaeography and the date *Śaka* 380 supplied by the Jaina work *Lokavibhāga* as the 22nd year of the Pallava king Siṁhavarman II who anointed on the Gaṅga throne Āyyavarman, the father of Mādhava of the Penukoṇḍa Plates (or Mādhava II as he will be called in the sequel) have enabled Dr. Fleet to fix A.D. 475 as the probable date of Mādhava II.[5] This Mādhava was not the father of Avinīta and consequently not the brother-in-law of Kṛṣṇavarman I for the Gaṅga charters state clearly that Avinīta's father was Viṣṇugōpa, son of Harivarman who was the son of Mādhava I. Mādhava II was the son of Ayyavarman, who was also the son of Mādhava I; and it is not unlikely that Harivarman and Ayyavarman were identical, for, as Rice has pointed out, 'Āyya or Āryya may be intended for an improvement on Ari' the

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Dravidian form of Hari which is the first part of the name Harivarman.[6] If this identification is correct, Mādhava II would be a brother of Viṣṇugōpa, the grandfather of Avinīta. Otherwise, Harivarman and Āyyavarman will have to be regarded, as has been done by Prof. Dubreuil,[7] as two different sons of Mādhava I and consequently brothers. In this case Mādhava II would be a cousin of Viṣṇugōpa. Thus, Mādhava II would be either a brother's son or a cousin's son of Mādhava I. In either case he would be removed only by one generation from Mādhava II of the Penukoṇḍa Plates. The latter's date being A.D. 475, the period of Mādhava III would be about A.D. 475-500. His brother-in-law and contemporary Kṛṣṇavarman I of the Kadamba dynasty would also have to be relegated to the same time, viz., A.D. 475-500 or thereabout. We arrive at the same result if we work backwards from the initial year of the reign of the Kadamba king Harivarman which Mr. K.N. Dikshit has shown to be A.D. 538.[8] This is a landmark in the Kadamba chronology. Here it is necessary to bear in mind that the verse quoted above states in unmistakable terms that it was Kākusthavarman, not his father Bhagīrathavarman as supposed by Rev.Heras,[9] who gave his daughters in marriage to Gupta and other families and that the marriages were celebrated by him when he was a king and not a prince. Moreover, the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscription which describes the achievements of all the predecessors of Kākustha does not say a word about any family alliance between the Kadambas and the Guptas during the reign of Bhagīrathavarman. It has been shown above that Mādhava III, one of the sons-in-law of Kākusthavarman flourished between *cir.* A.D. 475 and 500. Kākusthavarman must have, therefore, lived till A.D. 475. The marriage of Mādhava III might have taken place in that very year or one or two years later. The marriage of another daughter of Kākusthavarman with the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena took place in about A.D. 445[10] for the marriage of his grandfather Rudrasena has been shown by Dr. V.A. Smith to have been celebrated in about A.D. 395.[11] Since, as stated above, it was in the capacity of a king that Kākusthavarman performed the marriage of his daughters, he must have been on the throne in A.D. 445. Allowing some time for Kākusthavarman to have a daughter of the marriageable age in 445, his accession may be placed in about 435. We may, therefore, conclude that his date was *cir.* A.D. 435 to 475. And the Tāḷagunda inscription of this king has been assigned by Prof. Rapson to the 5th century A.D.[12]

So the Gupta sovereign that was ruling at this period was Kumāragupta I whose reign lasted from A.D. 414 to 455. He was thus an elder contemporary of Kākusthavarman. But since his father Candragupta II had a faïrly long reign of about 35 years, Kumāragupta must have come to have throne at an advanced age. Consequently, he must have been an old man when Kākusthavarman was anointed ruler of the Kadamba dominions. Hence it is not probable that his wife was a daughter of Kākusthavarman. It is therefore quite reasonable to think that either Skandagupta or Purugupta was the son-in-law of the Kadamba monarch. Whether this marriage was celebrated during the life time of Kumāragupta or afterwords, it is not possible to say at present.

But Rev.Heras is of opinion that Kākusthavarman's daughter was the wife of Kumāragupta, that it was Bhagīrathavarman who gave his grand-daughter in marriage to the Gupta king while his son Kākusthavarman was yet a prince and that the marriage was celebrated in about 391-392 during the reign of Candragupta.[13] He bases his conclusions on the tradition recorded in a verse in the *Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa* of Bhōja that Vikramāditya (i.e. Chandragupta II) sent his poet Kāḷidasa on an embassy to the court of a Kuntala king. This embassy, he says, finds support in a verse in the *Aucityavicāracarca* of Kṣemendra (wrongly attributed by Rev. Heras to Hēmacandra). This Kuntala king he takes to be the Kadamba king Bhagīrathavarman. It may be that the Kadambas were the rulers of Kuntala or a part of it. But there are reasons to think that the Vākāṭakās were also known as the 'lords of Kuntala' in the period with which we are concerned. The work entitled *Bharatacarita* states clearly that the author of the well known Prākṛit poem *Śetubhandha* was a Kuntaleśa.[14] Bāṇa tells us in his *Harṣacarita* that this poem was composed by Pravarasena.[15] This Pravarasena has been rightly identified with the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II. It thus becomes clear that Pravarasena II was also called Kuntalesa. And we know that some of the Vākāṭaka kings lay claim to the conquest of Kuntala.[16] It is therefore possible that Kāḷidāsa might have been sent to the Vākāṭaka court. And as later tradition attributes this work to Kāḷidāsa, we may suppose that he wrote it for Pravarasena when he was in the Vākāṭaka court as an ambassador. Thus, since the Vākāṭakas were also known as 'lords of Kuntala', granting that the title was a mere boast, as Rev. Heras would have it, it cannot be asserted that it was to a Kadamba king that Kāḷidāsa was sent by Candragupta II. Moreover the date of Kāḷidāsa is still an open questions. It is not certain whether he was a protege of the Gupta emperor Candragupta II. Dr. D.R.Bhandarkar is of opinion that Kāḷidāsa's patron was Yasōdharman of the Mandasor inscription (A.D. 532).[17] in view of these facts, the embassy of Kāḷidāsa to the court of a Kuntala king cannot help us in drawing any conclusions about the family relations of the Guptas and the Kadambas. As has been pointed out above, the marriage of the Kadamba princess was performed by Kākusthavarman himself during his reign which commenced about A.D. 435, that is to say, long after the death of Candragupta II and Bhagīrathavarman. It is not therefore possible to accept the views of Rev. Heras. Nor can we agree with Mr. Moraes who, while rejecting the supposition that the Gupta son-in-law of Kākustha was Kumāragupta, follows Rev. Heras in holding that "it was Candragupta II who made overtures to Bhagīratha to form a marriage alliance" and thinks the marriage was celebrated during the latter's reign in 410-11 A.D.[18]

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3. *Ep. Ind.,* XIV, p. 166, f.n. 2.
4. Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil's identification of the Kṛṣṇavarman, the brother-in-law of Mādhava III, with Kṛṣṇavarman II is not tenable as the latter is not known to have performed any horse sacrifice.
5. *JRAS.,* 1915, p. 471 ff.
6. *Ep. Ind.,* XIV, p. 332. Harivarman is actually called Arivarman in the Tanjore Plates *(Ind. Ant.,* VIII. p. 212).
7. *Ancient History of the Deccan,* p. 107.
8. *Ep. Ind.,* XIV, p. 166.

9. *JBORS.,* XII, p. 460.
10. Durbreuil's Ancient History of the Deccan, p. 75.
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13. *JBORS.,* XII, pp. 458 ff.
14. *ABOI.,* V, p. 46.
15. *Harsacarita,* I, verse 14.
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THE RIVER "PRĒHARĀ"*

The origin of the Kadambas and their rise to power were mixed up with various legendary stories until Lewis Rice discovered the Tāḷagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman,[1] a king of this dynasty. This interesting record gives an account of how Mayūraśarman, an early ruler of this family obtained from the Pallavas a territory stretching from the western ocean to a certain limit. The name of this limit was read by Rice as Prēmāra, though he did not say whether it stood for the name of a town, a country or a river. But Kielhorn who edited[2] the record later in the *Epigraphia Indica* read the passage giving this information as follows:- *Bhaṅgur-ōrmi-valgitair=nṛityad- aparārṇṇav-āmbhah-kṛit-avadhim Prēhar-āntām=ananya-saṁcharaṇa-samaya-sthitāṁ bhūmim=ēva cha.*

He translated it thus:- "And *(he)* also *(received)* a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the (?) Prēhara, secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it." He pointed out that the correct reading of the name of the aforesaid limit was *Prēhara* and not *Prēmāra.* He was not sure, however, whether the name ended in long a (i.e., Prēharā) or short a (i.e., Prēhara), but thought that the limit might probably be the Tungabhadrā, though he could not in any way connect the word *Prēharā* or *Prēhara* with the river and was unable to suggest an explanation. Nor was he sure whether *Prēhāra* or *Prēhara* "should denote a river more than anything else."

It was Dr. V.Raghavan,[3] who first pointed out that *Prēhāra* (with long *ā*) is the correct form of the word and that it is the name of a river. He based this conclusion on literary evidence found in the work called *Avantisundarī* of Dandin.[4] From it he quoted a passage which deals with the sporting in different rivers of the elephants which dwelt in the Aparānta forest. The relevant portion is given below:-

Vāraṇapatayah tē=mī punar=Aparāntaka-vana-bhuvah Prēhāra-Murara(la)yoh Bhō(Gō)davarī-Dāruvarṇayōḥ .... anyāsu cha mahānadīshu labdha-ratayaḥ etc.

It would be seen from the extract that Prēhāra and Muralā are two rivers in the vicinity of the Aparānta region. He has not, however, identified the river Prēhāra.[5]

In this connection I venture to offer a suggestion for the consideration of scholars. It seems to me that *Prēhara* is the Sanskritised form of the Dravidian word *pērāṟu.* Such Sanskritisation of names is not uncommon. While editing the Aihoḷe inscription[6] of Pulakēśin II Kielhorn observed that Kunāḷa in the record is another form of Kolanu which must undoubtedly be connected with the Kollēru lake. Uraiyūr, the ancient capital of the Chōḷas, is mentioned as Uragapura in an inscription[7] of Chālukya Vikramāditya I, the son of Pulakēśin II. In a bilingual inscription at Bādāmi[8] of the king Vijayāditya of the same family, the name of the town is given as Bādāvi in the Kannada portion of the record while it is given in its Sanskritised form as Vātāpi in the Sanskrit portion. In the Guḍimallam copper-plate inscription[9] of the Bāṇa King Vikramāditya II, the Sanskrit equivalent of the place name Tiruvippirambēḍu is given as Viprapīṭha. Another copper-plate grant[10] states that Gadagu, called Gaḷdugu in some Kannaḍa inscriptions, was otherwise known as Kratupura. On the same analogy it would not be difficult to consider that *Prēharā* is another form of *Pērāṟu.* Now *Pērāṟu* with its Kannaḍa variant *Perdoṟe* or *Peḷdoṟe* means "a great river". Both the Tamiḷ and Kannaḍa forms viz., *Pērāṟu* and *Perdoṟe* occur in a number of inscriptions. While *Pērāṟu* is found in the inscriptions of the Chōḷas[11] and the Pāṇḍyas,[12] *Perdoṟe* or *Peḷdoṟe* is found in Western Gaṅga, Rāshṭrakūṭa and Western Chālukya records.[13] Pērāṟu or Perdoṟe is generally considered to be the river Kṛishṇa.[14] In a few inscriptions this Kṛishṇa river is called *mahānadi* i.e., the great river, which is the exact equivalent of Peraṟu or Perdoṟe. And Perdoṟe or Peḷdore is used to denote the Kṛishṇa, without even requiring to be attached to the name of the river.[15] Accordingly the river Prēharā occuring in the Tāḷagunda inscription mentioned above and the literary work *Avantisundarī* of Daṇḍin is to be regarded as the Kṛishṇa. Consequently one of the limits of the Kadamba territory acquired by Mayūraśarman from the Pallavas could be the river Kṛishṇa. However, *Avantisundarī* mentions *Prēharā* as being in the vicinity of Aparānta, which is usually identified with North Koṅkaṇ. But it must be remembered that the Kadamba territory never extended so far. So the word Aparānta is to be taken in its literal and wider sense of "the western border *(apara-anta)".* It would then refer to the whole strip of the country lying between the Western Ghats and the sea. Bhagawanlal Indraji who has discussed this point, has said[16] that according to Varāhamihira, Aparānta is a western country and according to the commentary of Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* it is the coast of the western ocean. He has further stated that it corresponds to the modern Koṅkaṇa, the district extending from Gōkarṇa in the Karwar collectorate to Daman Gaṅgā, the frontier 'river of Gujarāt' or perhaps even further north to the Tāpī. He has also pointed out that in Kāḷidāsa's *Raghuvaṁśa* too Aparānta is described as the country between the Sahyādri range and the ocean. If the term Aparānta is thus to be applied to the whole of the western seaboard extending from Gōkarṇa to the Tāpī, the river Kṛishṇa which rises in the Sahyādri range, could easily be considered to be one of the rivers flowing near the Aparānta region. There would therefore be no difficult in identifying the *Prēhāra* with the Kṛishṇa. This view of mine finds support in the observation of Fleet regarding the north-eastern limit of the Kadamba Kingdom. He says: "An inscription at the falls of the Gaṭaprabhā near Koṇṇūr in the Gōkāk Talik, Belgaum District, has brought to notice another Kadamba name, that of Dāmōdara, and may perhaps indicate the point to the north-east, to which the Kadamba territory extended".[17] And it is worthy of note that the Kṛishṇa river is only about thirty to thirty five miles from the Ghaṭaprabhā falls. All this would show that the river *Kṛishṇa* was one of the boundaries of the Kadamba Kingdom and that it is referred to by its popular name of *Prehara* (Peraru) in the Tāḷaguṇḍa inscriptions.*

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* Published in Raghavan Felicitation Volume, pp. 139-142.

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* *Ed.* Note: Dr. Raghavan had followed up his article on Prehara in the *Annals of Ori. Res., Uni. of Madras,* with a further note in the *Indian Geographical Journal,* XIX. ii. (April-June 1944) pp. 84-5. There he had added another reference to Prehara among Aparānta-rivers in a description in Jinasena's *Pūrvapurāṇa* and had also suggested its identification with Pravarā starting from the Trimbak hill down below Nasik and falling into the Gōdāvarī at the place known as Pravarā-samgam.

REFERENCES

1. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII. Sk. 176.
2. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII. pp. 24 ff.
3. *Annals of Oriental Research,* University of Madras, Vol. V, Part 2.
4. See Ed. Note at end.
5. See Ed. Note at end.
6. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 3.
7. *Ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 105.
8. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. X, p. 60.
9. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVII, p. 2.
10. *A.R.S.I.E.,* for 1924-25, part II, para 30.
11. See for example *S.I.I.,* Vol. I, No. 127; Vol. VII, Nos. 885, 886.
12. *Madras Epigraphical Report,* 1914, part II, para 18.
13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 259; *S.I.I.,* Vol. XI, No. 38; *Ibid.,* No. 116.
14. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XII, p. 297.
15. *A.R.S.I.E.,* 1933-34, Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions, No. 167; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXX, p. 372.
16. *Ind. Ant.,* Oct. 1878, pp. 259 ff.
17. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, Part ii, p. 290.

31

THE CHĀLUKYAS*

It is well known that the Karnataka country was the home of a number of prominent ruling families of the Deccan. This fact was recognised long ago by the veteran scholar Dr. Fleet who most appropriately gave the title *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* to his monumental work giving a succinct and authoritative account of these families.

That the *Mauryas* and after them the *Satavahanas* held parts of Karnataka is well attested by inscriptional evidence. But the earliest indigenous rulers that rose to power in Karnataka and held large tracts of this territory were the *Kadambas* of *Banavasi.* They were succeeded by the *Chālukyas* who were one of the most powerful rulers of the time.

The earliest mention of this family is found in one of the *Prakrit* inscriptions of the *Ikhaku* family at *Nagarjunikonda* (Guntur District, Andhra State) where the word *Chaliki* occurs as part of a compound personal name, *Khanda-Chalikiremmanaka.* The next reference in point of time to the *Chālukya* family is in the Bādāmi inscription of *Pulakesin I* where the king describes himself as a *Chalikya.* Other forms of the name of the family occurring in inscriptions are *Chalkya, Chalki, Salki* and *Chālukya.* These forms are found in inscriptions earlier than the 10th century after which the form *Chālukya* (long *cha*) is used.

Regarding the original home of the family, there are reasons to be lieve that the *Chālukyas* were natives of Karnataka. The Satara Plates of *Kubja-Vishnuvardhana* of about 617 A.D., a scion of the *Chālukya* family gives his name Bittarasa *(Skt. Viṣhnuvardhanaraja)* which is undoubtedly a Kannada name. The *Velvikkudi* grant of *Pandya Nedunjadaiyan* of about the last quarter of the 8th century says that king *Sadaiyan,* the grandfather of the king who issued the grant, had the title *Madura-Karunatakam* i.e., the sweet Karnataka. According to the late Rao Bahadur H.Kṛishṇa Sastri a possible explanation of this title is that the *Pandyas* might have intermarried with the *Chālukyas,* and the issue of such an intermarriage might well be called *Madura-Karunataka.* Since the only prominent ruling family of Karnataka at the time, i.e., 7th century A.D., was that of the *Chālukyas,* it may well be that the term *Karnataka* was applied to them. The reference in *Rāshṭrakūṭa* inscriptions to the invincible *Karnataka* army which had become famous by inflicting defeats on many kings of whom Harsha (of Kanauj) was also one, would show that the *Chālukya* army was known as the *Karnataka* army and consequently that the *Chālukyas* were *Karnatakas.* In the face of these facts the statement of the late *Chālukya* grants of the 11th century A.D. that the *Chālukyas* came to the south from *Ayodhya* is not worthy of credence. It is to be noted that the early inscriptions of the family do not claim any such origin and that these accounts of an Ayodhyan origin appear for the first time about five centuries after the foundation of the *Chālukya* kingdom.

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* Published in *Karnataka Darshana,* (R.R. Diwakar Felicitation Vol.), pp. 30-41.

The circumstances under which the *Chālukyas* rose to power are not set forth anywhere. Since the very first king who established the kingdom, viz., *Pulakeshin* I, is stated to have had his capital at Vātāpi which apparently lay in the dominion of the *Kadambas* it may be taken that the *Chālukyas* acquired a kingdom by appropriating a part of the *Kadamba* dominions. It is very likely that they started their political career as feudatories of the *Kadambas* and later, taking advantage of the weakness of the central authority, established a kingdom of their own with Bādāmi as their capital.

That the *Chālukyas* might have even belonged to the same stock as the *Kadambas* is indicated by some of their epithets which claim not only a common lineage but also a common tutelary deity. Thus, for instance, both are described as belonging to the *Manavya gōtra* and descended from *Hariti* and as being anointed after meditating on *Swami Mahasena* and the assemblage of the mothers. It is interesting to note that the *Chutu-Satakarnis* also who preceded the *Kadambas* at *Banavasi* claim descent from *Hariti* (Haritiputanam)[1] and belonged to the *Manavya gōtra.* In addition to these epithets which they apparently adopted from the political predecessors, the *Chālukyas* had a distinguishing laudatory preamble with which their grants open. The most important point mentioned in the preamble is that they obtained the boar-crest through the favour of god *Narayana.* This part of the preamble relating to the crest does not occur in their charters earlier than the time of *Pulakeshin II.* The grants issued by the Eastern *Chālukya* branch of the family say that the *Chālukyas* obtained their kingdom through the favour of *Kaushiki.* (and not by the favour of the seven mothers as stated in the Western *Chālukya* grants). It is, however, interesting to note that one of the Western *Chālukya* charters of the time of *Pulakeshin II* says that the *Chālukyas* were brought up by the goddess *Kaushiki.*

As it is not possible to recount the achievements of all the rulers of this dynasty in this short article only an account of the outstanding events of the reigns of the most prominent kings is given below. To give an idea of the rulers of this dynasty a genealogical tree is appended at the end.

The first noteworthy person was *Pulakeshin I* who established the *Chālukya* kingdom with his capital at *Vātāpi* (Bādāmi) which, according to many inscriptions, he acquired. We have one inscription of his reign at Bādāmi. Dated as it is in the Shaka year 465 (543 A.D.) the inscription is the earliest to record a date in the Shaka era. It calls him *Vallabheshvara* and says that he fortified *Vātāpi.* It also states that he performed the *Ashvamedha* and other sacrifices and celebrated the *Mahadana* called *Hiranyagarbha.* The inscription of his successors credit him with the performance of *Agnishtoma, Agnichayana, Vajapeya, Paundarika* and *Bahusuvarna* in addition to *Ashvamedha.* The fact that he performed so many principal sacrifices goes to show that he was paramount ruler. He assumed the significant biruda of *Satyasraya* 'the asylum of truth' which became a distinctive title of the dynasty and was borne by all his successors.

But the most famous monarch of the line was his grandson *Pulakeshin II.* At the time of his accession, the *Chālukya* kingdom, which had been greatly enlarged by extensive additions made by his father and uncle, *Kirtivarman* and *Mangalesha* respectively, had become totally engulfed in chaos and confusion owing to the rising of enemies on all sides. *Pulakeshin II* had to fight against heavy odds to regain the kingdom. By the strength of his arms he built up an empire which included, at the zenith of his power, the entire area from the Vindhyas to the *Kaveri* and from the eastern to the western ocean. A graphic account of his conquests is given in his own inscription of 634-35 A.D. at Aihole. From it we learn that he had to subdue again most of the rulers such as the *Gangas, Alupas,* the *Mauryas* of the Konkan and the ruler of *Banavasi* i.e. the *Kadamba,* who had been subjugated once before by his predecessors. Among the numerous kings he defeated in order to extend his power were those of *Lata, Malava* and *Gurjara.* The most noteworthy of his victories was the one secured by the defeat of Harshavardhana of Kanauj, the supreme lord of the whole northern country. By this glorious victory he acquired the title of *Parameshvara.* This outstanding achievement of *Pulakeshin II* was prized so highly by the family that it finds prominent mention in all the records of his successors who take legitimate pride in preserving the memory of this great event. By all the extensive conquests enumerated above, *Pulakeshin II* is stated to have acquired the sovereignty over the three *Maharashtrakas* consisting of 99,000 villages. Maharastraka here evidently means a big *rastra* or a division thus showing that *Pulakeshin's* kingdom had been divided for the sake of administrative convenience into three big divisions each comprising roughly 33,000 villages. After obtaining the sovereignty of the three *Maharastrakas, Pulakeshin* started upon a compaign of conquest of the eastern and the southern regions. He invaded the eastern countries of *Kosala, Kalinga, Pishtapura* and the region of *Kunala* i.e., *Kolleru* lake, all of which he brought under his sway. He defeated the Pallavas and brought under his subjection the *Chōḷas, Pandyas* and the *Keralas.* This vast empire *Pulakeshin* ruled with such ability and skill that his fame spread far and wide.

Owing to his pre-eminent position as the emperor of the south, the contemporary Persian ruler Khusru II sent an ambassador with valuable presents to his court and there was a frequent exchange of letters between the two monarchs. The reign of *Pulakeshin II* is also memorable for the visit paid by Hieun Tsang. This Buddhist traveller from China, who was then on his itineary in India, has given a vivid description of some parts of the *Chālukya* kingdom which he had presumably traversed. His account gives a fascinating picture of the political, military, religious, social and economic conditions obtaining in the Deccan under *Pulakeshin's* rule. Another notable event of his glorious reign was the appointment of his brother *Kubja-Vishnuvardhana* to rule over the region of the east coast which, as stated above, he acquired by conquest. Later on his brother handed down the principality to his successors and thus became the founder of collateral branch of the *Chālukyas* known to history as the *Eastern Chālukyas.*

Towards the close of Pulakeshin's reign a great calamity overtook the Chālukya kingdom. The contemporary *Pallava* ruler *Narasimhavarman I,* who was smarting under the ignominious defeats sustained by him at the hands of *Pulakeshin II* himself, successfully freed his kingdom from the *Chālukya* occupation and defeating *Pulakeshin II* repeatedly in the battles of *Pariyala, Manimangala* and *Suramara* pursued him right up to his capital Bādāmi and captured it. The stupendous victory earned him the title of *Vātāpikonda.* That *Narasimhavarman* was actually in possession of Bādāmi is attested to by his inscription on a rock at Bādāmi. Soon after this staggering disaster *Pulakeshin II* died and his son *Vikramāditya* I had to fight very hard to drive out the mighty foe and re-establish his rule. He retrieved the fortunes of his family which had passed into the hands of numerous enemies including his collaterals. He took a number of years to consolidate his kingdom and finally proclaim himself as the undisputed master of his paternal kingdom. Not content with merely regaining his ancestral possessions he emulated his father in entering upon a career of wide conquests in all directions. He overran the *Pallava* kingdom at least twice. In these southern campaigns he was ably assisted by his son *Vinayaditya* while his grandson was maintaining peace and order in the home province. Like his father *Pulakeshin II* who appointed his brother to rule over one of the conquered territories, viz., *Vengi* on the east coast, *Vikramāditya I* also established likewise his own brother *Dharashraya Jayasiṁha* in the west in the province of Lata.

Of the successors of *Vikramāditya I, Vinayaditya* and *Vijayaditya* deserve special mention for one outstanding achievement of theirs. Emulating their illustrious ancestor Pulakeshin II, they made a bold bid to conquer North India and went much farther than that renowned emperor. Lithic records go so far as to assert that they obtained the unique symbol of the *Palidhvaja* indicative of paramountcy over the entire North India. In addition to this, *Vijayaditya* pushed further north and acquired signs of the *Ganga* and the *Yamuna* which he presented to his father. The reign of *Vikramāditya II* is important on account of the repulsion of the formidable Arab invasion of Gujarat which was a part of the *Chālukya* dominions. The Tajikas or Arabs, according to an inscription of 739 A.D., who had already destroyed the *Saindhavas, Kachchellas, Chavotakas, Saurashtras, Mauryas* and *Gurjaras* tried to attack the *Chālukya* dominions but were routed by *Avanijanashraya Pulakeshin,* a scion of the Gujarat branch of the *Chālukya* Dynasty.

Within a short time after it reached the height of glory, the *Chālukya* dynasty fell on evil days. The mighty *Karnataka* army which had defeated numerous powerful enemy kings was, astoundingly enough, routed by a handful of soldiers under the command of the able *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king Dantidurga who took possession of the major portion of the *Chālukya* dominions in 753 A.D. Within a few years, the *Chālukya* dynasty, regained their empire. During the period of the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* domination and *Chālukyas* still lingered on in a feudatory capacity in different parts of the empire. The existence of a number of isolated families of the *Chālukya* stock under the hegemony of the *Rāshṭrakūṭas* is vouched for by inscriptional and literary evidence. The most prominent of these branches was of *Vemulavada* one of whose scion viz., *Arikesarin II* (941 A.D.) was, as is well known, the patron of the illustrious Kannada poet *Pampa.*

The later *Chālukya* chief Taila II who, after regaining mastery over his ancestral possessions from the *Rāshṭrakūṭas,* established himself at first at *Manyakheta,* the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* capital, and then changed his seat of government to *Kalyāṇa* (both in the Hyderabad State*). Inscriptions tell us that before he declared himself independent, he was a feudatory of the *Rāshṭrakūṭas.* Taila's title to fame rests on a number of heroic achievements. An inscription at Gadag describes his prowess as follows:- "Having at the beginning extirpated many *Rattas,* slain the valient *Munja,* taken the head of *Panchala* by the terror of his pride of arm in battle, (and) taken over the office of the *Chālukya* kingdom, king Taila rendered the whole circuit of the earth absolutely thornless for twenty- four years, beginning with the year *Shrimukha.*" The cyclic year Shrimukha cited here corresponds to 973 A.D. *Munja* referred to in the inscription is king *Vakpati Munja* of the *Paramara* dynasty of Malwa. There were constant conflicts between these two rulers. In his final expedition *Munja* crossed the *Godavari* which is said to have formed the northern boundary of Taila's kingdom but he was taken captive and executed. *Panchala* is known to have been a subordinate in 975 A.D. of the Western *Ganga* prince *Marasimha II* (of *Talakad)* who tried in vain to restore the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* monarchy after Taila had overthrown the *Rāshṭrakūṭas.*

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* Now in Karnataka - Ed.

The most illustrious king among the later *Chālukyas* of *Kalyāṇa* is *Vikramāditya VI.* The famous poet *Bilhana* who flourished in his court has given a glowing description of the life and achievements of this great monarch. Numerous inscriptions of his reign found in his extensive dominions from *Simhachalam* (Vishakapatnam District, Andhra State) in the north to *Srirangam* (Tiruchirapalli District, Madras State) in the south testify to the accuracy of the statements made by Bilhana about his patron. With the permission of his father *(Someshvara I), Vikramāditya* "is said to have repeatedly defeated the *Chōḷas* and plundered *Kanchi;* to have lent his assistance to the king of Malwa who came to him for protection to regain his kingdom; to have carried his arms as far as Bengal and Assam; (and) to have attacked the king of Ceylon." He is also stated to have defeated the lord of *Kerala,* and to have conquered *Vengi* and *Chakrakota.* He was thus a very powerful warrior who carried war into the territories of rulers not only in South India but of even those of *Chakrakota* in Mahakoshala (Bastar district, Madhya Pradesh) and of *Malwa.*

One of his acts of pride was the establishment of a new era bearing his own name in the year 1076 A.D. immediately after he had firmly established himself on the throne. This Era called *Chālukya-Vikrama-varsha* is cited in all his records instead of the *Shaka-varsha* which was (and is) in vogue in the Karnataka country. For nearly a century this era was in use in the territory of the *Chālukyas.* And *Vikramāditya VI* had a long and brilliant reign of over 50 years. None of the successors of *Vikramāditya* was as powerful as he. Consequently in 1156 A.D. one of the feudatories of the *Chālukyas,* viz., the *Kalachurya Bijjala* usurped the *Chālukya* throne and he and his descendants continued to hold it till about 1183 A.D., when the last ruler of the *Chālukya* line, *Someshvara IV* ruled only for about six years (till abut 1189) when two subordinates of the *Chālukyas,* the *Yadavas* of *Devagiri* on the north and east and the *Hoysalas* of *Dorasamudra* in the south grew powerful and occupied the *Chālukya* territories. The glorious *Chālukya* rule thus came to an end after a long period of might and fame, even through *Someshvara IV* seems to have lingered on in a corner (south-west portion of his kingdom till about 1198 A.D.)

The *Chālukyas* are to be remembered not so much for their political achievements as for their contribution to Karnataka culture. Karnataka *owes* an incalculable debt to this famous dynasty. The rulers of the *Chālukya* family were patrons of literature, art, architecture and sculpture for a very long period. They were not merely passive patrons but took very keen interest in the development of the distinctive Karnataka culture particularly in the field of architecture. One of the famous styles of Indian architecture is the *Chālukyan* style, which was evolved and developed by rulers of this family.

The famous Buddhist rock-cut temple architecture of India was for the first time adapted by the *Chālukyas* in Karnataka for enshrining Hindu and Jaina deities. Of these adaptations the best known examples are the Vaishnava and Jaina cave-temples at Bādāmi with their magnificent sculpture. An inscription in the Vaishnava cave testifies to the fact that *Mangalesha* (578 A.D.) was responsible for chiselling out this temple and dedicating it to *Vishnu*. "This temple contains admirable reliefs of *Vishnu* seated on *Ananta* and of *Narasimha*. The pillars of the verandah are decorated with triple brackets, ornamented with magnificent human figures."

Of the structural temples built of stone, mention may be made of the famous temples of Aihole, Pattadakal and Bādāmi in the Bombay State*, and Ter in the Hyderabad State for the early period. For the later period we may mention the temple at Gadag, Haveri and Lakkundi in the Bombay State* and Bagali and Kurvatti in the Bellary District (Mysore State)**.

"The exquisitely proportioned and magnificently situated *Malegitti Sivalaya* at Bādāmi" is one of the finest structures of the early *Chālukya* period and may be assigned to the time of *Pulakeshin* the Great. The *Meguti* temple at Aihole is another fine specimen of the Chālukyan style. It is known to have been constructed in 634- 35 A.D. in the reign of *Pulakeshin II* by the Jaina poet *Ravikirti*. The oldest temple at Pattadakal is that of *Sangameshvara*, and an inscription indicates that the temple was built by *Vijayaditya* (696-733 A.D.) of this family. The characteristic feature of *Chālukyan* architecture, which is the blending of the Dravidian and the *Aryavarta* style, can be seen in the *Papanatha* temple *(Circa* 735 A.D.) at Pattadakal. The great *Virupaksa* temple (also at Pattadakal) is considered as one of the noblest structures of India. This temple was built by one of the *Chālukya* queens, *Lokamahadevi*, wife of *Vikramāditya II* (734-747 A.D.). This fact indicates the great interest taken by the members of the royal family in encouraging and developing temple architecture. As examples of the encouragement given by this queen to sculptors, we might mention certain noteworthy facts. She bestowed the title of *Tribhuvanacharya* on the chief architect *Gunda* who was also called *Anivaritacharya* in recognition of his great skill in constructing the *Virūpāksha* temple. She also presented him with a badge of honour (Perjerepu-patta=the fillet of pre-eminence). Further, in recognition of the skill of the builder of this temple she exempted the entire artisan class of that district from the payment of certain taxes.

Besides the stone structure, there were also some beautiful temples of this style constructed of brick. The *Uttareshvara* and the *Kaleshvara* temples at Ter (Hyderabad State) may be cited as exquisite examples of this variety.

We have seen that towards the end of the 10th century, the *Chālukyas* returned to power; and again they gave a fresh impetus to architecture, which they loved immensely. We have excellent examples of later *Chālukyan* architecture in the temples of *Kashi Vishveshvara* at Lakkundi (in the Gadag taluk of the Dharwar District), *Siddheshvara* at Haveri (Dharwar Dist.), the sixty- pillared temple at Bankapur (Dharwar Dist.), the temple of *Doddabasappa* at Dambal (Dharwar District), the temple of *Trikuteshvara* at Gadag (Dharwar District), the temple of *Mahadeva* at Ittagi (Hyderbad State) now in Raichur District, the temple of *Kalleshvara* at Bagali (Bellary District) and the temple of *Mallikarjuna* at Kuruvatti (Bellary District). The distinctive features of the later Chālukyan style are the typical storied tower full of ornamental detail, the turned pillar, the pretty domical ceiling, the treatment of the walls and the figure sculpture. That architecture reached its zenith under the *Chālukyas* is seen from the fact that in the later *Chālukya* period there were master architects who could speak proudly of their proficiency in various modes of Indian architecture. An inscription at Holal in the Bellary District describes one such master named *Padmoja* of *Soge* in the following terms:- 'He was an adept in directing the construction of temples and mansions in the four styles of Indian architecture, viz., *Nagara, Kalinga, Dravida* and *Vesara.* He had the titles of *Kaliyuga-Vishvakarma* (the master builder of the Kali age), *Chatusshashthi-kalavidya-pravina* (expert in sixty-four arts), *Chatusshashthi prasada visharada* (skilled in constructing temples and mansions of sixty-four kinds)."

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* Now in Karnataka. - Ed.

** Now in Raichur District. - Ed.

The later *Chālukyan* style culminated in the wonderfully elaborate and ornamental *Hoysala* architecture which was developed by the *Hoysalas* who were the subordinates of the *Chālukyas* and who later on over threw them. (The best known examples of *Hoysala* architecture are the world-famous temples at Belur and Halebid in Mysore State*). *Chālukyan* architecture has been dealt with at some length here because it was in this field that the *Chālukyas* took very great interest and because it was under them that this great art flourished in all its glory.

Proceeding to another important cultural aspect of *Chālukya* rule we come to their love and encouragement of painting and fine sculpture. Some of the world-renowned Ajanta murals were executed under the guidance of the early Chālukya rulers in the 7th century A.D. Mention has already been made of the wonderful sculptures in the rock-cut temples of Bādāmi. Some beautiful scenes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are carved out on the walls and pillars of the temples at Pattadakal and these are indeed fine specimens of life-like *Chālukya* sculptures of the early period. Wall-sculpture became very elaborate in the later period.

The *Chālukyas* encouraged other fine arts besides architecture, painting and sculpture. Lokamahadevi, one of the Chālukya queens already mentioned, honoured the musicians and dancers *(gandharvas)* by conferring on them a number of privileges and honours. One of these, by name Achala, seems to have founded a new school of dancing.

Literature, both Sanskrit and Kannada, flourished luxuriantly under the *Chālukya* rulers, some of whom were themselves eminent authors. They were also great patrons of learning and of learned men. Some of the famous literary giants of Kannada rose to eminence under their generous encouragement. Besides these Kannada giants, there were also authors who achieved great fame in Sanskrit. Of these Sanskrit writers the most noteworthy is *Ravikirti,* who composed in 634-35 A.D. the Aihole inscription containing the panygeric of the great *Pulakeshin II.* This *Ravikirti,* who was the court poet of *Pulakeshin II,* compares himself in poetical prowess to *Kalidasa* and *Bharavi.* True to his claim, the poetic skill exhibited in his only known composition (i.e., the Aihole inscription mentioned above) is of a very high order.

Another well-known poet of the early *Chālukya* period is no less a person than the queen of *Chandradityadeva,* son of *Pulkeshin II.* This lady, whose name is *Vijayamahadevi,* is known to have composed a number of verses in Sanskrit showing high poetic merit. One of the verses attributed to her may be translated as follows:- : "Not knowing that I, Vijjaka (Vijayamahadevi), am dark like the blue lotus, *Dandin* has wrongly said that *Sarasvati* is all white." This verse shows that the talented lady considered hereself as proficient as *Sarasvati,* the goddess of learning, though unlike her, she was dark in complexion. It also indicates that she was known by the name of *Sarasvati.* This is supported by a verse of the poet *Rajasekhara* who praises her poetic gifts. He says that like *Sarasvati, Vijayanka (Vijayamahadevi)* of *Karnata* was, after *Kalidasa,* the abode of *Vaidarbhi* style. That she regarded hereself as a poetess of great merit is evident from one of her verses which says that she would bow only to three poets, viz., *Brahma, Vyasa* and *Valmiki,* but would place her left foot on the heads of later composers.

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* Now in Karnataka - Ed.

In the later *Chālukya* period we might mention the name of the famous *Bilhana,* the chief court poet of *Vikramāditya VI,* who has sung his monarch's glory in his work *Vikramankacharitam.* During *Vikramāditya's* reign there was the famous *Vijnanesvara,* the author of *Mitaksara* "which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India and especially in the *Maratha* country as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law."

The son and successor of *Vikramāditya VI, Someshvara III* was himself an author of no mean merit. He has written a work in Sanskrit called *Manasollasa,* which is a veritable encyclopaedia, dealing with polity, justice, medicine, veterinary science, alchemy, astrology, military science and rhetoric. Evidently on account of his erudition in various branches of learning he was styled *Sarvajna-chakravartin,* the omniscient emperor.

The rulers of this dynasty were among the earliest to use Kannada in their official documents, like inscriptions and to promote Kannada literary composition. The Kannada inscription of *Mangalesha* engraved in the Vaishnava cave at Bādāmi is the earliest Kannada inscription[2] so far known.

An outstanding instance of early Kannada poetry (earlier than that of *Nripatunga)* is found at Bādāmi in a Kannada inscription, which may be assigned to the 7th-8th century. This records the eulogy of a person called *Kappe-Arabhatta* and is specially interesting because it is written in what may be called the earliest from of the *tripadi* metre, which is one of the popular metres of Kannada poetry.

The most well-known of the Kannada poets, *Pampa,* was the protege of *Arikesarin* of *Vemulavada.* Another luminary in the Kannada literary firmament, *Ranna,* flourished under Taila II and his son *Irivabedanga Satyashraya.* A third great poet, Durgasimha, the author of the *Kannada Panchatantra* was the Minister of Peace and War *(Sandhivigrahi)* of *Jayasimha II.* The author of *Pampa- Ramayana,* viz., *Nagachndra* (or *Abhinava Pampa),* is believed to have adorned the court of Prince *Mallikārjuna,* the son of *Vikramāditya VI.* These poets are too well-known to need any detailed description. Besides these famous poets there was a large number of minor poets, who were patronised by the feudatories or subordinate officers of these rulers. There is also some excellent poetry, though of a conventional type, found in the inscriptions of these rulers. Even though many of these poets have not remained anonymous, no works written by them other than the inscriptions, are available to us.

What a glorious dynasty ! But for a gap of 220 years (753 to 973 A.D.), when the

Rāshṭrakūṭas were in possession of their territory, these rulers (the *Chālukyas)* held a beneficient sway over the entire Karnataka region for a period of about 400 years from 542 A.D. to 1189 A.D. And all these 400 years were years which enriched Karnataka culture beyond measure, so much so that to speak of the Chālukyas is to speak of Cultural heritage of the Kannada people.

REFERENCES

1. The early *Vakataka* kings of central India were also *Haritiputras.*
2. Some scholars are of the opinion that the *Halmidi* (Mysore State) inscription is the earliest inscription written in Kannada. But I do not think that this is older than the Bādāmi inscription of Mangalesha.

32

THE CĀLUKYAS OF BADĀMĪ

The Cālukyas of Bādāmi who are famous in History for evolving a distinctive style of temple architecture, now known as Cālukyan architecture, ruled over Mahāraṣṭra for a period of well nigh two hundred years. Though Pulakeśin I was the first paramount ruler of this dynasty, it was actually Kīrtivarman I who established his sway over Mahārāṣṭra. The reign of Kīrtivarman I began in the year A.D. 566-67 and the last ruler of this dynasty who lost control over Mahārāṣṭra soon after A.D. 757 was strangely enough another Kīrtivarman, known to historians as Kīrtivarman II.

There are various theories regarding the origin of the Cālukyas. The epigraphical records of the period when the Cālukyas first emerge into prominence do not say anything about their original home. Nor do we find any contemporary literary works which give us any clue to this. However, inscriptions of the later members of this family, known to historians as the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇī and the Cālukyas of Veṅgī, as also some literary works of their period contain some traditional accounts of their origin. Some of them mentioned here would illustrate that these accounts not only differed from one another but were also fanciful inventions.

The Cālukyas trace their descent to an original home at Ayodhyā claiming their ancestry from the Moon. For example, the Kauṭhem plates[1] of Vikramāditya V (A.D. 1009) state that there ruled at Ayodhyā fifty-nine kings of the Cālukya family. After these, sixteen more kings ruled over the southern region. Subsequently their power was eclipsed temporarily but eventually their might was restored by Jayasiṁha I.

Similar accounts are found in the Miraj plates of Jayasiṁha II (A.D. 1024),[2] the Yevūr inscription of Vikramāditya VI (A.D. 1077)[3] and the Nīlgunda plates[4] of the same king. The Kannaḍa poet Raṇṇa who was a contemporary of the later Cālukya king Taila II (A.D. 973-997) states in his great poem[5] also that one of the ancestors of the Cālukyan rulers reigned at Ayodhyā.

According to another legendary account given in some other inscriptions, the Cālukya race was descended from the Moon, who was descended from Atri, who was descended from Brahmā. A third account-also found in an inscription-tells us that Hiraṇyagargha-Brahmā was born from the lotus in Viṣṇu's navel. Hiraṇyagarbha-Brahmā's son was Manu and Manu's son was Māṇḍavya, whose son was Harita. Harita's son was Hārīti-Pañcaśikha from whose *culuka* (or hollow of the palms) the Cālukyas were born when he was pouring out an offering of water to the gods.[6] The reference to this origin of the progenitor of the Cālukya race from the *culuka* is also found in Bilhaṇa's (the court poet of the later Cālukya king Vikramāditya VI, who ruled from A.D. 1076 to 1126) *Vikramāṅkadevacharita,* where the details are somewhat different. Here it is from Brahmā's *culuka* that a powerful warrior was born from whom descended the Cālukyas.

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* *Published in Maharashtra State Gazetteers,* History, part I, Ancient Period, Bombay, Directorate of Government printing, stationary and publication 1967.

The story states that when Brahmā was engaged in his *sandhyā* oblations, Indra requested him to create a warrior to put an end to the godlessness on earth. At this request Brahmā looked at his *culuka* and the warrior referred to above suddenly sprang up.[7]

Almost an identical account of the original ancestor of the Cālukyas is also found in an inscription of the Cālukyas of Aṇhilvāḍ.[8] It states that when Brahmā was churning his *culuka,* viz., the ocean, a warrior whom he named Cālukya sprang forth ready to obey his commands.

The account in the records of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī[9] contains some striking variations from the information given in the records in the Kalyāṇi branch of the family. After tracing the genealogy from Brahmā through the Moon and through mythical personages like Purūravas and Āyu, it goes on to mention two kings Śatānīka and Udayana; and this Udayana was the first of the fifty nine rulers who ruled in uninterrupted succession at Ayodhyā. After these rulers a certain king of this dynasty called Vijayāditya went to the southern region in order to conquer it. But unfortunately after defeating the king Trilocana-Pallava, he died. His queen, who was pregnant at this time, took shelter in the residence of a saintly Brāhmaṇa called Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-Somayājin at the agrahāra of Muḍuvemu, where she gave birth to a son named Viṣṇuvardhana. She brought him up performing all the rites that were suitable to his descent from the Mānavyas and the Hārīti-putras. The prince, when he grew into manhood, worshipped Nandā, the blessed Gaurī, on the Cālukya mountain and having propitiated the gods Kumāra, Nārāyaṇa and the assemblage of the Divine Mothers, assumed the insignia of sovereignty. He then conquered the Kadaṁba, Gaṅga and other princes and ruled over Dakṣiṇāpatha (the southern country) comprising seven and a half lakh villages and hamlets. The son of this Viṣṇuvardhana and of his great queen, who was born of the Pallava race, was Vijayāditya. At this point we come to the real historical personage Pulakeśi-Vallabha who is introduced as the son of this Vijayāditya.

Evidently all these stories originated round about the 10th century A.D., when the real significance of the name of the family - variously spelt as Cāliki, Cālki, Sālki, Cālkya, Cālikya, Cālukya, Cālukika and so on - had been forgotten. And the earliest account of the original home of the Cālukyas being Ayodhyā appears only in records of the 11th century, *i.e.,* nearly five centuries after the founding of the Cālukya kingdom. Moreover, the earliest inscriptions of the dynasty do not lay claim to an Ayodhyan origin. Apparently these fanciful stories and genealogies were concocted round about the 10th century A.D. when it was the fashion among many of the southern ruling families were given respectability. These genealogies are mostly fabrications until we come up to the authentic historical personages.

But there are quite a few sound reasons to believe that the Cālukyas of Bādāmī are of Kannaḍa stock. Firstly, there is the reference in Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscriptions[10] to the invincible Karnāṭaka army which had attained great glory by defeating the mighty monarchs Śrī-Harṣa and Vajraṭa and by defeating which the Rāṣṭrakūṭas obtained the kingdom of the Cālukyas. This would show that the Cālukya army was known as the Karnāṭaka army and that the Cālukyas were renowned as Karnāṭakas, *i.e.,* of Kannada origin. Secondly, there is the fact that the names of some of the rulers of this family end in a typical Kannada regal suffix *arasa,* standing for the Sanskṛt word *rājā* (king). For example we have the name of Kīrtivarman I being given as Katti-arasa even in a Sanskṛt inscription issued by him.[11] The Satāra plates (which will be noticed later) of Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II, give the nameof Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana as Biṭṭarasa on the seal of the grant. The Mānor plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa of the Gujarāt branch of this family dated Śaka 613, which are also in Sanskṛt, give the name of this prince as Maṅgalarasarāja.[12] The Āḍūr inscription of Kīrtivarman II mentions his name as Kīrtivarmmarasa.[13] Finally the Daśāvatāra Cave inscription at Ellorā mentions Dantidurga as having conquered Vallabharasa,[14] *i.e.,* Cālukya king. These name endings would show beyond any doubt that the Cālukyas were of Kannaḍa origin considering the fact that the suffix *arasa* appears even in Sanskṛit inscriptions.

The third reason, which is stronger than the first two, is that not only the name endings but that even some of the names are purely Kannaḍa. We have the first paramount ruler of this dynasty bearing the name Polekeśi and this form of the name is the one found in the earliest inscriptions of this dynasty, though we find other forms like Polikeśi, Pulekeśi, Pulakeśi, Pulikeśi and Polakeśi in some inscriptions. Various explanations have been offered regarding the etymology of this word. Most of these explanations take the first half of the word to be puli, meaning "tiger" in Kannaḍa and the second half to be Sanskṛt keśin meaning "haired", the two halves making the meaning "tiger-haired" or "having a coat of short, thick and close hair like that of a tiger".[15] A verse in the Kauṭhem plates would suggest that the name signifies "one by hearing whose name and hair of the hearers stand on end as with joy", by connecting the first part of the name with the Sanskṛt word *pulaka* (horripilation).[16] One scholar derives the first half of the word from the Sanskṛt root *pul* meaning "to grow" or "to be great" and takes *keśin* to mean a lion and explains the whole word as "the great lion".[17]

But the earliest form of the name of Polekeśi, as suggested by Fleet,[18] is in all probability the original form. And it is worth nothing that it is this form which even Kielhorn has adopted.[19] So an attempt is made here to interpret this original form Polekeśi. Pole in Kannaḍa means impurity of child-birth, *i.e.,* of the natal chamber, and in Kannaḍa the word keśi as a shortened form of Keśava is found not only in literature but also in inscriptions. For example, the author of the famous Kannaḍa grammar *Śabdamaṇi-darpaṇa* is Kēśirāja and he also calls himself Kēśava. In one of the inscriptions[20] an officer of the Kalacuri monarch Bijjala is called by the alternative names of Keśava, Keśirāja and Keśimayya. An inscription of the Cālukya king Someśvara I mentions a general named Keśava-gavuṇḍa, who is also referred to therein as Keśi-gavuṇḍa and Keśi-rāja.[21] So the expression Polekeśi can be taken to mean "he who was like Keśava i.e., Lord Kṛṣṇa (in his prowess) even in the natal chamber". And we know that according to the *Purāṇas* Lord Kṛṣna exhibited superhuman qualities even in the natal chamber. Evidently this ruler was given the name Polekeśi because he showed extraordinary qualities like Lord Keśava or Kṛṣna even from the time of the birth. Accordingly we are led to the unexceptionable conclusion that this name is a Kannaḍa word meaning "one who resembled Kṛṣṇa in prowess from babyhood". And this name Polekeśi, as explained here, is quite appropriate in the case of one who was the real founder of the Cālukyan kingdom and even more appropriate in the case of his famous grandson, the great Pulakeśin II, who struck terror even in the heart of the mighty monarch of the north, Harṣavardhana. [However, Pulakeśin is the form of the name used by historians for these two monarchs, and so this form is adopted in the following pages for the sake of uniformity.]

The name of another prince of this family also shows the Kannaḍa origin of this family. Kīrtivarman I, the son of Pulakeśin I, calls himself Katti-arasa in his Goḍaci plates[22] which are entirely in Sanskṛt. Katti is a purely Kannaḍa word meaning "sword" and *arasa* (Sanskṛt *rājā*), as already explained, means "king". So Kīrtirāja (by which name Kīrtivarman calls himself in some inscriptions) is apparently a Sanskṛtised form of Katti-arasa. This name Katti-arasa or Kattiyara seems to have been quite common in the Cālukya family.

Yet another name in this family indicative of a Kannaḍa origin is Biṭṭarasa, borne by the ruler Viṣṇuvardhana, the younger brother of Pulakeśin II. As pointed out above, this form of the name Biṭṭarasa is found on the seal of the Sātārā plates[23] of A.D. 617-18 and there can be no doubt that Viṣṇuvardhana is the Sanskṛt form of Biṭṭarasa. It may be noted in this connection that another king of the Kannaḍa country *i.e.,* the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana was better known as Biṭṭiga or Biṭṭidēva which are only variants of Biṭṭarasa. Biṭṭa is only the Kannada form of Viṣṇu and the fact that the prince used the Kannaḍa form of his name-and not the Sanskṛt form-on his seal proves that he belonged to the Kannaḍa country.

Another reason which may be adduced to prove that the Cālukyas belonged to the Karnāṭaka country is that some of their inscriptions found even in the Tāmil and Telugu countries are in Kannaḍa. For example, the inscription of the king Vikramāditya II found at Kāñcīpuram[24] in the Tāmil country is written entirely in the Kannaḍa script and language. An inscription of Vijayāditya[25] of this family found at Dānavulapāḍu in the Kuddappah district (Āndhra Pradesh) is also written in the Kannaḍa language. This fact would show the intense love which they had for their Kannaḍa language thereby indicating their Kannaḍa origin.

There is yet another piece of evidence to support this conclusion. The Vemulavāḍa inscription[26] (10th century) of Arikesarin II-who belonged to a branch of this family and who was the patron of the famous Kannaḍa poet Pampa-gives to this ruler some titles which are in Kannaḍa *e.g., noḍuttegelvom* and *priyagaḷḷam,* though the inscription itself is in Sanskṛt.

According to the preambles found in their inscriptions the Cālukyas are said to be princes, who belonged to the *Mānavya-gōtra;* who were Hāritīputras (descendants of Hārita); who were nourished by the Seven Mothers, who are the mothers of the seven worlds; who acquired uninterrupted prosperity through the protection of lord Kārttikeya; who obtained through the favour of god Nārāyaṇa the boar crest even at the sight of which all kings were subjugated. The grants issued by the Eastern Cālukya branch of this family state that the Cālukyas acquired their kingdom through the favour of the goddess Kauśikī. Though in the western Cālukya records the acquisition of the kingdom is not attributed to the favour of Kauśikī, in one[27] of them it is stated that the Cālukyas were brought up by Kauśikī and were anointed by the Seven Mothers. We also learn from inscriptions that the banner of the Cālukyas was the *pālidhvaja.*

These preambles very closely resemble those of the Kadambas of Banavāsī excepting for the reference to the boar crest. Evidently the Cālukyas, who were the political successors of the Kadambas, borrowed practically the whole preamble found in Kadamba records. Moreover, the fact that the Cālukyas also claim descent from the same ancestors as the Kadambas and that they were having the same tutelary deities, would even indicate that the Cālukyas belonged to the same stock as the Kadambas to whose fortunes they succeeded.

The main authentic sources for the history of the Cālukyas are inscriptions, though scattered references are available elsewhere. Among these references are the vivid accounts of the Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang who travelled in India between the years A.D. 629 and 645 in the kingdoms of Pulakeśin II and Harṣavardhana. We then have a Persian chronicle giving an account of the time of Khuśrū II of Persia which says that there was an exchange of presents and letters between the Persian monarch and Pulakeśin II. And we also have some information in later literature of the 10th and 11th centuries. But as stated at the outset, the authentic sources are, by and large, inscriptions.

The earliest mention of this family is found in one of the Prākṛt inscriptions[28] of about the third century A.D. of the Ikṣvāku family at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa (Guntur district, Āndhra Pradeśa) where the word Caliki appears as part of the compound personal name *Khandacaliki-Reṁmaṇaka.* This person is described as a *Mahāsenāpati* and *Mahātalavara,* which have been taken to be titles denoting a high dignitary. The next reference, in point of time, to this family is in the Badāmī inscription[29] of Vallabheśvara (i.e., Pulakeśin I) of A.D. 543, where the king describes himself as a *Cālikya.* However, the first prince mentioned in genealogies given in the inscriptions of this dynasty is Jayasiṁha.

Strangely enough so far we have no inscriptions of Jayasiṁha, and all that we know of him is from the inscriptions of some of his successors. For instance, in the Aihoḷe inscription[30] of Pulakeśin II, Jayasiṁha is described as a very brave warrior, but no specific exploit of his is mentioned. In inscriptions of the 11th century, however he is described as having founded the kingdom of the Cālukyas, after defeating the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Indra, son of Kṛṣṇa.[31] But we do not know of any Rāṣṭrākūṭa princes bearing these names at the beginning of the 6th century to which period Jayasiṁha can be assigned. Further not much credence can be given to the information contained in inscriptions of the 11th century about the achievements of a prince of the 6th century especially when the contemporary records are totally silent about any such achievement. It may be noted, however, that a Rāṣṭrakūṭa chief called Dejjamahārāja was ruling about the sixth century somewhere near Gokāk (Beḷgāṅv district, Mysore State).[32] Even if the statements of the later inscriptions, namely that the Cālukyas defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas before they became independent should be accepted, we cannot say whether this Dejjamahārāja was related to Kṛṣṇa or Indra; and if he were related, the exact nature of the relationship cannot also be ascertained.

Of Jayasiṁha's son Raṇarāga, the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[33] of Maṅgaleśa states that "by (his) fondness for war (he) elicited the affection of his own people and caused vexation of mind to (his) enemies". We do not know who these enemies were. Apparently this is just conventional praise. And the Aihoḷe inscription bestows similar conventional eulogies on this prince.

As Raṇarāga's son Pulakeśin I is known to have performed the *Aśvamedha* sacrifice signifying that he was the paramount ruler. He appears to have been the first independent ruler of this family. Further the fact that he was the first prince of this dynasty to call himself Mahārāja is another proof of his suzerainty. Evidently his father and grandfather *viz.* Raṇarāga and Jayasiṁha were feudatories, probably of the Kadaṁbas.

As stated above the first independent ruler of this dynasty was Pulakeśin I. In the Aihoḷe inscription he is stated to have acquired the town of Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi, Bijāpur district, Mysore State) which became the Cālukya capital and thus he was the real founder of the Cālukya kingdom. However, the circumstances under which this kingdom was founded are not set forth anywhere. But as Vātāpi lay apparently in the dominions of the Kadaṁbas, it may be taken that the Cālukyas, who presumably were the feudatories of the Kadaṁbas, acquired a kingdom of their own by appropriating a part of the Kadaṁba dominion when the latter became weak. The Bādāmi inscription[34] of Pulakeśin I - which is the only available inscription of his reign dated Śaka 465 (A.D. 543) - calls him Vallabheśvara and says that he fortified Vātāpi. It also states that he performed the *Aśvamēdha* and other sacrifices according to Vedic rites and that he celebrated the *mahādāna* of Hiraṇyagarbha. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription[35] also credits him with the performance of his *mahādāna* in addition to *Agniṣṭoma, Vājapēya, Pauṇḍarika Bahusuvarṇa* and *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The fact that he performed so many principal sacrifices indicates his paramountcy. In the Nerūr copper-plate inscription of Maṅgaleśa[36] Pulakeśin is stated to have been acquainted with *Manudharmaśāstra,* the *Purāṇas,* the *Rāmāyana,* and the *Bhārata (Mahābharata).* He assumed the significant title of *Satyāśraya,* the asylum of truth, which became a distinctive title of the rulers of this dynasty and was assumed by almost all of his successors. Though he was such a powerful ruler and wielded great authority, we have no specific information about any of his conquests or the extent of his dominions. He had also the titles of *Raṇavikrānta* and *Śrīpṛthivīvallabha.*

He had married Princess Durlabhadevī of the Baṭpūra family and he seems to have had another wife named Indukāntī.[37] He had two sons named Kīrtivarman and Maṅgaleśa. As Maṅgaleśa in his Mahākūṭa pillar inscription refers to Durlabhadēvī as his father's wife *(sva-guru-patnī),* it is probable that Durlabhadēvī was his step-mother.

Besides the Bādāmi stone inscription mentioned already there are two copper-plate records which purport to have been issued during his reign. But since they have been found to be spurious, they are not of any historical value.[38]

Pulakeśin I was succeeded by his elder son, *Kīrtivarman I.* Two inscriptions of his time have been found, both of them dated in the twelfth year of his reign. One of them is on copper-plates while the other is engraved on stone. Since the latter[39] says that the twelfth year of his reign corresponded to Śaka 500 (*i.e.,* A.D. 578) the first year on his reign would be A.D. 566-67. According to Kīrtivarma's copper-plate inscription,[40] he vanquished all his rival kinsmen *(dāyāda)* by diplomacy and valour and was ruling his subjects in accordance with the code of conduct pertaining to different castes and religious orders, and was keeping them pleased and happy. This inscription also gives him the purely Kannaḍa form of his name, Kattiarasa, though the inscription itself is in Sanskṛt.

The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa credits Kīrtivarman with victory over the rulers of Vaṅga, Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mūṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Coḷiya, Āḷuka, Vaijayantī etc. Though it is impossible to believe that he could have conquered all the northern kingdoms mentioned here, his successes over the rulers of the south and south-west may be regarded as fairly authentic, as some of them like the conquest of Vaijayantī have been corroborated by the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II which states that Kīrtivarman was "the night of doom" to the Nalas, the Mauryas and the Kadaṁbas. The Kadaṁbas were the rulers of Banavāsī (also known as Vaijayantī) and the surrounding country in the present Mysore State. As this inscription states this Kīrtivarman inflicted utter defeat on groups of Kadaṁbas all of which he crushed. And we know from the Kadaṁba records themselves that there were at least two, if not three such branches ruling independently.

The Naḷas were ruling in parts of the present Madhya Pradeśa (Bastār), Orissa (Jeypore) and Vidarbha. Their inscriptions have been found at Poḍāgaḍh and Kesaribeḍa (Koraput district, Orissa). One of their copper-plates[41] was issued from Nandivardhana identified with Nagardhan near Rāmṭek (Nāgpūr district) and mentions the grant of the village of Kadaṁbagiri, identified with Kaḷaṁba in the Yeotmāḷ district. A hoard of gold coins of this family was discovered at Eḍeṇga,[42] a village in the Bastār district of Madhya Pradeśa. It is known from inscriptions that the Mauryas were ruling in Koṅkaṇ. The Coḷiya, Pāṇḍya, Dramiḷa and Keraḷa kingdoms are too well known to require any identification. The Mūṣaka territory comprised parts of modern Keraḷa and the Āḷukas (Āḷupas) were ruling over parts of South Kanara district (Mysore State). The Gaṅgas were reigning in south Mysore with their capital at Talakāḍ (Mysore district). Thus Kīrtivarman was the first king of this dynasty to have established his sway over parts of the present Mahārāṣṭra State. He was a great patron of art and perhaps he was the first to adopt the Buddhist rock-cut temple architecture to Hindu shrines. His stone inscription which is found in the Vaiṣṇava cave at Bādāmi[43] states that his brother Maṅgaleśvara got made under his orders a temple of Viṣṇu (Viṣṇu-gṛha) and installed in it the image of Viṣṇu and granted village of Lañjīśvara (modern Nandikeśvara near Badāmī) for meeting the expenses connected with the worship and offerings at the temple. Evidently this temple is the magnificent cave temple at Bādāmi, 'containing admirable reliefs of Viṣṇu seated on Ananta and Narasiṁha'. The record is dated in Śaka 500, the 12th year of the king's prosperous reign on the full moon day of the month of Kārtika (31st October, A.D. 578). In this connection it is worth noting that it may be inferred from the Cipḷūṇ copper-plate inscription of Pulakeśin II[44] that he (Kīrtivarman) beautified the town of Vātāpi.

Like his illustrious father he too performed the sacred sacrifices of *Bahusuvarṇa* and *Agniṣṭoma*. He bore the titles *Raṇaparākrama*, *Puru-Raṇaparākrama* and *Satyāsraya(?)*. Śrīvallabha Seṇānandarāja of the Sendraka family is mentioned in the Cipḷūṇ copper-plates as the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II, son of Kīrtivarman I. So Kīrtivarman's wife must have been a Sendraka princess, though we do not know her name. He had two sons named Pulakeśin and Viṣṇuvardhana. Two spurious copper-plate grants[45] mention two other sons of his named Dharāśraya Jayasimhavarman and Buddhavarasa, but since their names are not found anywhere else, we cannot be sure whether he had these two sons or not.

His younger brother *Maṅgaleśa*, succeeded him, as Kīrtivarman's eldest son, Pulakeśin was evidently too young to ascend the throne. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription cites the cyclic year *Siddhārtha* as the fifth year of his prosperous reign. This year corresponds to A.D. 601-02 and so Maṅgaleśa must have begun to rule in A.D. 597-98.

Maṅgaleśa was a great warrior and is described in the Aihoḷe inscription as having led successful campaigns to the limits of the eastern and western seas. Evidently in one such campaign to the west he conquered Revatī-dvīpa which has been identified with modern Reḍi, a fortified promontory about eight miles from Veṅgurlā in the Ratnāgirī district. The Mahākūṭa pillar inscription tells us that Maṅgaleśa "having set his heart upon the conquest of the northern region, conquered king Buddha and took possession of all his wealth". From his undated Nerūr copper-plates[46] we learn that this Buddha (Buddharāja) was the son of Śaṅkaragaṇa and the Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II states that Maṅgaleśa "took in marriage the damsel, viz., the Fortune of the Katacurīs having scattered the gathering gloom, viz., the array of elephants (of the adversary) with, hundreds of bright lamps which were the swords of his followers". All these put together show clearly that this Buddharāja, son of Śaṅkaragana was the Kalacuri monarch who reigned in the first quarter of the seventh century. This victory over Buddharaja must have taken before 601-02. Which is the date of the Mahākūta pillar inscription, which also states that Maṅgalēśa had an eager desire to set up a pillar of victory on the Bhāgīrathī. But apparently he could not proceed beyond the Kalacurī dominions because he had to turn his attention towards quelling the rebellion of Svāmirāja of the Cālukya family who, according to the Nerūr copper-plates, was killed by Maṅgaleśa. Though this Svāmirāja is described as belonging to the Cālukya family, we have no means of ascertaining the exact relationship between him and the members of the ruling family. The Nerūr copper-plates describe this Svāmirāja as a great warrior who had attained victory in eighteen battles and possibly Maṅgaleśa had to kill him because he would not bow down to the Cālukya monarch. These plates record that Maṅgalarāja (Maṅgaleśa) granted the village of Kuṇḍivāṭaka in *Koṅkaṇa viṣaya.* This village has been identified with Kuṇḍi in Saṅgameśvar Taluka, Ratnāgirī District,[47] or with Kuḍāḷ about three and a half miles north-east of Nerūr.[48]

Since Buddharāja mentioned above continued to rule till about A.D. 610, it may be surmised that he retrieved his possessions as soon as Maṅgaleśa's attention was diverted towards troubles at home. So Maṅgaleśa, who had the lofty ambition of carrying his conquests upto the Bhāgirathī, had to content himself with erecting a *dharmastaṁbha* (pillar of religion) at Mahākūṭa. Maṅgaleśa's reign ended in disaster and he lost his life in the civil war which ensued between him and his nephew Pulakeśin (who became later on Pulakeśin II) who, as stated in his Aihoḷe inscription, had to fight his own uncle Maṅgaeśa who had tried to install on the Cālukya throne his own son ignoring the lawful claims of Pulakeśin. As it is known from inscriptions that the reign of Pulakeśin II commenced in the year A.D. 610-11, Maṅgaleśa must have died before this date.

We do not know the name of Maṅgaleśa's son for whose sake he is stated to have made attempts to alienate the throne from the rightful heir, Pulakeśin II. Maṅgaleśa had the titles of *Raṇavikrānta* and *Uru-Raṇavikrānta.*

As already stated, *Pulakeśin,* who succeeded Maṅgaleśa, had to wrest the throne from his uncle after a hard fight. In the Aihoḷe inscription it is stated that Pulakeśin went into exile, when he came to know the machinations of his uncle to secure the throne for his son; and by wise counsel and prowess he crushed his uncle. His Kopparam copper-plate inscription[49] is dated on the *Mahānavamī* day in the month of Kārttika in the twentyfirst year of his reign. Sewell has reckoned this date[50] as equivalent to 10th October, A.D. 631 and he considers that accordingly the accession of Pulakeśin should have taken place on or after 11th October, A.D. 610. In this king's Goa copper-plates[51] Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family - evidently the same as the Baṭpūra family - to which his grandmother i.e., wife of Pulakeśin I belonged- is reported to have made a grant on the full-moon day of the month of Māgha in the Śaka year 532 while ruling Revatīdvīpa and other regions as a subordinate of Pulakēśin II. As the equivalent of this date in the Christian era works out to 5th January, A.D. 611, Pulakeśin must have ascended the throne between these two dates i.e., 11th October, A.D. 610 and 5th January A.D. 611. At the time of his accession the Cālukya kingdom, which had been vastly enlarged by the additions made by his father and uncle, had become engulfed in chaos and confusion owing to revolts and uprisings on all sides. A graphic account of how he put down the rebels and other enemies, and established order in his dominions is given in the Aihoḷe inscription. First of all he is stated to have encountered two chieftains named Āppāyika and Govinda, who tried to overrun Pulakeśin's territories north of the Bhīmarathī with a huge army of elephants. One of them terrified at Pulakeśin's might fled from the field, while the other was won over by Pulakeśin, who then turned his attention towards the wealthy city of Varanāsī on the banks of the Varadā, laid siege to it and captured it. Evidently, the Kadaṁbas, the rulers of Vanavāsī, who had formerly been the feudatories of the Cālukyas had revolted during the period of confusion following the death of Maṅgaleśa and Pulakeśin had therefore to resubjugate. After this exploit he subdued the Gaṅga and Āḷupa rulers, who submitted to him meekly. It has already been noticed that the Āḷupa and Gaṅgas were subordinates of the Cālukyas even during the reign of his father, Kīrtivarman I. It looks as though every subordinate of the Cālukyas had taken advantage of the chaos and confusion following Maṅgaleśa's demise and had tried to declare himself independent. So Pulakeśin had the herculean task of reconquering them all. In addition to the Kadaṁbas, the Ālupas and the Gaṅgas, he had to reduce the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ also to submission and capture Purī (probably their capital) with the assistance of his fleet of innumerable ships. Purī has been described as "the fortune of the Western Seas" and has been identified variously with Elephaṇṭā near Bombay or Rājāpurī in Kolābā District, Rājāpur in Ratnāgirī District, or Ṭhāṇā.[52] Seeing the invincible might of Pulakeśin, the Lāṭas, the Mālvas and the Gurjaras voluntarily became his feudatories. Apparently at this time Harṣa was trying to expand his dominions by invading the Deccan. This infuriated Pulakeśin whose authority had by now extended up to the river Māhī and consequently the forces of these two mighty rulers met in battle in the region of the river Revā in the neighbourhood of the Vindhyas. In this battle Pulakeśin inflicted a crushing defeat on the great Harṣa destroying his army of innumerable elephants.

By these numerous victories Pulakeśin acquired the sovereignty over the three Mahārāṣṭrakas with their 99,000 villages. The three Mahārāṣṭrakas mentioned here do not denote any specific geographical areas but the three great administrative divisions of his dominions. The expression *Mahārāṣṭraka-traya* is to be taken in its literal sense of the three great administrative divisions of his kingdom (*Mahā*=big or great, *rāṣṭra*=administrative division). It is well known that the word *rāṣṭra* occurs in the sense of administrative division in innumerable inscriptions.

In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[53] of Vālmīki, King Daśaratha is described as Mahārāṣṭra-vivardhana i.e., one who increased the prosperity of his extensive country. Evidently the word *Mahārāṣṭra* here refers to Daśaratha's own large kingdom in general and not to any specific geographical unit of India. That the word *Mahārāṣṭra* is used in the sense of an "area bigger than a *rāṣṭra*" becomes clear from cognate expressions like nāḍu, Mahānāḍu; (*nādu=assembly; mahānāḍu*=a big assembly) *grāma, mahāgrāma; agrahāra, Mahāgrahāra).* Thus it would be most appropriate to take the word *Mahārāṣṭra-traya* to mean the three great administrative divisions of Pulakeśin's dominions, of which the present Mahārāṣṭra no doubt formed a part.

The victory over Harṣa was the most noteworthy of all his victories since it was a victory over a great monarch who was the supreme lord of the whole of Northern India. This outstanding achievement of Pulakeśin's was prized so highly by his successors, that it finds a prominent mention in their records. They proclaim that Pulakeśin acquired the title of *Parameśvara* after defeating "Harṣavardhana the lord of the whole of *Uttarāpatha* (Northern India)." In contrast to this Pulakeśin calls himself the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha'[54] (Southern India). There are differences of opinion among scholars as to the date of the conflict between the two great monarchs of the time - Harṣa and Pulakeśin. The Hyderābād copper-plate inscription of A.D. 613, says that Pulakeśin acquired the title of *Parameśvara* by defeating a hostile king who had devoted himself to the contest of a hundred battles.[55] It has been noted above that records of Pulakeśin's successors state that he acquired this title by defeating Harṣha. So some scholars think that the conflict mentioned in all these records refer to Pulakeśin's war with Harṣa. Hence these scholars consider that this conflict took place before A.D. 613 *i.e.,* in the first three or four years of his reign. Others think that because the defeat of Harṣa is not mentioned in his Lohaṇer plates[56] of 630 A.D., Pulakeśin was too busy with his domestic troubles to pit his strength against Harṣa till A.D. 630 and hence the great conflict could have taken place only after A.D. 630. But we cannot so easily brush aside the definite statements found in his own son's record that 'Pulakeśin acquired the title of Parameśvara after defeating Harṣa', and as stated above, the first mention of the acquisition of the title Parameśvara is in Pulakeśin's inscription of A.D. 613. And it is not quite safe to assume that as Pulakeśin's Lohaṇer Plates of A.D. 630, are silent about this conflict, it could not have taken place earlier than A.D. 630. There are quite a few instances where a particular event, which is not mentioned in the record of a particular date had actually taken place earlier than the date cited in the record. For example, the late Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar has pointed out that the Cālukya king Vinayāditya's (grandson of Pulakeśin II) subjugation of the Pallavas, Kaḷabhras and others is mentioned in his Jejurī plates[57] of the ninth year of his reign, though it is not mentioned in the copper-plate inscription of the eleventh year of his reign. Till the discovery of the Jejurī plates it was thought that this subjugation took place only after the eleventh year. And there is nothing inherently impossible in a powerful monarch of the calibre of Pulakeśin punishing the defection of his feudatories and stemming the tide of Harṣa's invasion of the Cālukyan territories within the first few years of his reign.

After describing the victories mentioned above, the Aihoḷe inscription proceeds to narrate Pulakeśin's campaigns against the countries of Kosala and Kaliṅga, whose rulers were the first to bow down to the might of his arms. Kaliṅga was probably ruled by the early Eastern Gaṅgas at that time and Kosala by the Somavaṁśī kings. He then stormed the inaccessible fortress of Piṣṭapura (modern Piṭhāpuram in the East Godāvarī District of Āndhra Pradeśa), the ruler of which was possibly Pṛthivīmahārāja of the Raṇa-Durjaya family. He then marched towards the banks of the Kunāla lake (Kolleru lake in the West Godāvarī District, Āndhra Pradeśa) where a fierce battle took place in which he won a resounding victory. His opponents in this battle were apparently the Viṣṇukuṇḍins.

Proceeding further south he inflicted a crushing defeat on the lord of the Pallavas, who was forced to 'vanish behind the walls of Kāñcīpurī'. The Pallava monarch at this time was Mahendravarman I, who in the Pallava inscriptions is described as having inflicted an utter defeat on his principal foes at Puḷḷalūra about fifteen miles north of the Pallava capital Kāñcī. This evidently refers to the conflict with Pulakeśin. Pulakeśin then crossed the river Kāvērī with a view to conquering the Coḷas but apparently made them as well as the Keraḷas and Pāṇḍyas his joyous allies.

After thus conquering all the four quarters i.e., the land between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian sea on the one hand and the Indian ocean and the Narmadā on the other, he returned to his capital Vātāpī (Badāmī) in triumph. And to administer this vast empire he appointed some of his trusted kinsmen to act as governors at some strategic points. He appointed his younger brother Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana as *Yuvarāja* and placed him in charge of the territory on the East Coast i.e., the Veṅgi country. Later on Pulakeśin seems to have allowed him to rule independently over this tract and so Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana became the founder of the dynasty known to historians as the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī country (which probably took place in A.D. 624) he was in charge of the Sātārā region; for according to the Sātārā plates[58] of Viṣṇuvardhana dated in the eighth year of the reign of Pulakeśin II (i.e., A.D. 617-18), Viṣṇuvardhana made a grant of the village of Alandatīrtha on the south bank of the Bhīmarathī. This village has been identified with Alanda, thirty-five miles north of Sātārā. Probably he was also ruling over the region of Acalapura (modern Acalpur, Amravāti District) according to the Sanskrit work *Avantisundarikathā.*[59]

Another relative of his named Satyāśraya Dhruvarāja Indravarman of the Bappūra family to which his grandmother (Kīrtivarman's mother) belonged was placed in charge of the Revatīdvīpa and the surrounding country, for according to the Goa plates of this Indravarman dated Śaka 532 (A.D. 610-11) he (Indravarman) made a grant of the village of Kārellikā in Khēṭāhāra (Khēṭāhāra has been identified with the Khēḍ Taluka in Ratnāgiri District). This inscription is dated in the twentieth year of the reign which has been rightly taken by Fleet to be that of Dhruvarāja Indravarman. So the first year of his rule was A.D. 590-91; but we do not know whether he began to rule on this date, from which he counts regnal years.[60]

A third kinsman, Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family - Pulakeśin's maternal uncle - was placed in charge of the region round about Cipḷūṇ in South Koṅkaṇ. We know from the Cipḷūṇ copper-plates of Pulakeśin that Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja of the Sendraka family made a grant of the village Āmravāṭaka in Avaretikā-*viṣaya,* which is possibly modern Āṁboli near Cipḷūṇ.

The Kairā Plates[61] of Vijayarāja son of Buddhavarman, who was the son of Jayasiṁharāja of the Cālukya family, would show that he was in charge of the Kairā region, where he made a grant in A.D. 643 of the village of Pariyaya (modern Pariyā in the Olpāḍ Taluka, Surat District). It has been considered that he had been in charge of this region under Pulakeśin II after his conquest of Lāṭa.[62] But this appears to be a spurious grant and hence no credence can be given to the historical information contained in it.

The fame of Pulakeśin spread far and wide and the contemporary ruler of Perśiā, Khuśrū II, sent an ambassador with valuable presents to his court and friendly letters and presents were exchanged between the two monarchs. These facts we learn from the Persian historian Tabari. Many historians were thinking till a few years ago (and some do even now) that one of the paintings in Cave No.1 at Ajiṇṭhā, frequently reproduced in history books, represented this Persian embassy to the court of Pulakeśin. But Ananda Kumaraswamy has opined that the subject of this picture is Buddhist,[63] and this view is quite tenable, for the entire group of paintings at Ajiṇṭhā is about the Buddha and Buddhism, though traces of Persian influence are visible in the dresses depicted in some of the paintings.

The famous Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang, who travelled in India between A.D. 629 and 645 visited parts of Pulakeśin's kingdom apparently Mahārāṣṭra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-ch'a.* This pilgrim gives the following interesting account of Mahārāṣṭra:

"This country is about 5000 li in circuit. The capital borders on the west on a great river. It is about 30 li round. The soil is rich and fertile; it is regularly cultivated and very productive. The climate is hot; the disposition of the people is honest and simple; they are tall of stature, and of a stern, vindictive character. To their benefactors they are greatful; to their enemies relentless. If they are insulted, they will risk their life to avenge themselves. If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance. If they are going to seek revenge, they first give their enemy warning; then, each being armed, they attack each other with lances (spears). When one turns to flee, the other pursues him, but they do not kill a man down (a person who submits). If a general loses a bottle, they do not inflict punishment, but present him with women's clothes, and so he is driven to seek death for himself. The country provides for a band of champions to the number of several hundred. Each time they are about to engage in conflict they intoxicate themselves with wine, and then one man with lance in hand will meet ten thousand and challenge them in fight. If one of these champions meets a man and kills him, the laws of the country do not punish him. Every time they go forth, they beat drums before them. Moreover they inebriate many hundred heads of elephants, and taking them out to fight, they themselves first drink their wine, and then rushing forward in mass, they trample everything down, so that no enemy can stand before them. The king, in consequence of his possessing these men and elephants, treats his neighbours with contempt. He is of the Kṣatriya caste, and his name is Pulakeśi (Pu-lo-ki-she). His plans and undertakings are wide-spread and his beneficent actions are felt over a great distance. His subjects obey him with perfect submission. At the present time Śilāditya Mahārāja has conquered the nations from east to west and carried his arms to remote districts, but the people of his country alone have not submitted to him. He has gathered troops from the five Indies and summoned the best leaders from all countries, and himself gone at the head of his army to punish and subdue these people but he has not yet conquered their troops. So much for their habits. The men are fond of learning and study both heretical and orthodox (books) .... On the eastern frontier of the country is a great mountain with towering crags and a continuous stretch of piled up rocks and scarped precipice. In this there is a *saṅghārāma* constructed in a dark valley. Its lofty halls and deep side-aisles stretch through the (or open into the) face of the rocks. Storey above storey they are backed by the crag and face the valley (water-course) .... Going from this 1000 li or so to the west and crossing the Nai-mo-to (Narmadā) river we arrive at the kingdom of Po-lu-kie-che-po (Bharukaccheva, Barygaza or Broach)."[64]

The capital city mentioned here is very likely to have been Nāśik and the mountain containing the *saṅghārāma* is Ajiṇṭhā as shown by Fleet.

On the basis of the Nirpaṇ copper-plate charter[65] it was supposed that Pulakeśin had a brother named Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarmarāja, who was a governor of the Nāśik region during Pulakeśin's reign; and the Sañjān plates[66] of Buddhavarasa, describe him as the younger brother of Pulakeśin, and state that he was ruling at this time over the present Ṭhāṇa region. But since both these grants are spurious, it is doubtful whether Pulakeśin had these two brothers. We know that Pulakeśin had a son named Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman and it is not likely that both his brother and son should have had the same name. Pulakeśin had four sons named Ādityavarman, Candrāditya, Vikramāditya and Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha. According to a spurious copper-plate grant,[67] he had also a daughter named Aṁberā.

Hiuen Tsang's graphic description of Pulakeśin's kingdom would show that when he visited Mahārāṣṭra, Pulakeśin was at the zenith of his power. But shortly afterwards he seems to have suffered some serious setbacks for according to the Kūram plates[68] of the Pallava king Parameśvaravarman I, Pulakeśin was thoroughly routed by his grandfather Narasiṁhavarman in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra etc., and these plates describe these defeats in these colourful words: "Narasiṁhavarman .... who wrote the three syllables of the word *vijaya* as an on a plate on Pulakeśin's back, which was caused to be visible in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra." As one of these battle fields, Maṇimaṅgala, has been identified with Maṇimaṅgalam about twenty miles from the Pallava capital Kāñchī,[69] Pulakeśin must have attacked the Pallava dominions a second time in order evidently to annex the whole of the Pallava kingdom, the northern part of which he had already conquered. Since he was defeated by Narasiṁhavarman, evidently by the time of this defeat it was Narasiṁhavarman, son of Mahendravarman who was on the Pallava throne. The Kūram plates also say that Narasiṁhavarman destroyed the city of Vātāpi (i.e., Badāmī), the Cālukyan capital. This fact is not only supported by Narasiṁhavarman's title Vātāpikoṇḍa but also by an inscription[79] of the thirteenth year of this very Narasiṁhavarman's reign found at Badāmī itself. After this we do not hear of Pulakeśin and we may therefore presume that he was killed in battle at Badāmī, probably in A.D. 642, by Narasimhavarman, who must have taken full possession of the Cālukyan capital. Since Pulakeśin's son Vikramāditya is known to have ascended the throne in A.D. 654-55, the Cālukya dominions were under the sway of the Pallavas for a period of nearly thirteen years. In this fight against the Cālukyas, Narasiṁhavarman seems to have been aided by the Ceylon prince *Mānavarman* according to Mahāvaṁsa, a Buddhist chronicle of Ceylon.

Pulakeśin, in addition to the usual paramount titles, bore the following titles as well: *Raṇavikrama,*[71] *Satyāśraya* (which he seems to have cherished most), *Ereyya*[72] and *Ereyitiaḍigaḷ.*[73]

The inscription of Vikramāditya and his successors declare that Vikramāditya who is called the dear son of his father Pulakeśin acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father. And after defeating the hostile kings in battle in country after country he acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors: His Talamañci plates are dated in the sixth year of his reign on the day of the solar eclipse in the month of Śrāvaṇa, which has been equated with 13th July, A.D. 660. On the basis of this record and the Nerūr plates of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā Kielhorn fixed the commencement of the reign of Vikramāditya sometime between September A.D. 654 and July A.D. 655.[74] His Gadvāl plates[75] are dated on Tuesday, the full-moon day of the month of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 596, which is stated to be the twentieth year of his reign. The equivalent of this date in the Christian Calendar is 25th April, A.D. 674, or in other words his reign must have commenced some-time between September 654 and April, A.D. 655. Apparently, in the interval of Vikramāditya I, the Cālukya country was in the hands of the enemies, though, as we shall presently see, another son of Pulakeśin named Ādityavarman and his son Abhinavāditya were ruling in parts of Karnool (Āndhra Pradeśa), Bellāry and Citaḷdurg (Mysore State) districts. But these princes do not find mention in the genealogies given in the inscriptions of Vikramāditya and his successors. Yet Ādityavarman in his Karnool District plates[76] which record the grant of a village in the Karnool region calls himself the dear son of Pulakeśin and bears the paramount titles like *Mahārājādhirāja.* So it has been surmised by scholars that Ādityavarman was a rival claimant to the Cālukyan throne and was probably the elder brother of Vikramāditya. It may be noted that a recently found copper-plate grant[77] of Abhinavādityā, son of Ādityavarman also gives both father and son all the paramount titles and states that Abhinavāditya granted the village Nilkunda situated in Uchchaśriṅga-viṣaya. As Uchchśriṅga-viṣaya comprised parts of the present Bellāry and Citaḷdurg Districts of Mysore State we may conclude that these princes were ruling over parts of the present Citaḷdurg, Bellāry and Karnool Districts. There is nothing definite to show that Vikramāditya and Ādityavarman were rival claimants and Vikramāditya ousted his elder brother; but we can definitely infer that Ādityavarman or his son were unable to drive out the enemy from the Cālukyan kingdom whereas Vikramāditya could and did. Consequently, Vikramāditya succeeded to the Cālukyan throne after acquiring the regal fortune of his father which had been interrupted by the confederacy of three kings *(avanipati-tritaya)* and so brought the whole kingdom under the sway of himself as the sole ruler and re-established the grants to gods and Brāhmaṇas which had lapsed during the rule of the three kings *(rājya-traya).* There is a difference of opinions to who these three kings were. In inscriptions of the successors of Vikramāditya the cognate expression *trairājya*[78] is used with reference to the same event. Tradition explains this word as the kingdoms of the Coḷa, Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya monarchs. Moreover in inscriptions of the Gujarāt Cālukyas[79] the expression *rājya-traya* with reference to the same event is elaborated as the three kingdoms of Cera, Coḷa and Pāṇḍya. Some scholars held the opinion that the expression *trairājya-Pallava* referred to the three branches of the Pallavas ruling over different parts of their dominions. But the Surat Plates[80] of Satyāśraya Śīlāditya of the Gujarāt branch of the Cālukyas and a recently discovered inscription of Vinayāditya[81] of A.D. 693 make a clear distinction between the kings of *trairājya* and the Pallava king. We have noticed, however, that it was the Pallavas who inflicted a crushing defeat on Pulakeśin and occupied Badāmī, the Cālukya capital. Therefore the occupation of the Cālukya kingdom by the confederacy of three kings can be explained by the fact that the Pallavas were supreme in the south and that the three kings viz., Coḷa, Keraḷa and Pāṇḍya were under the Pallava hegemony. Vikramāditya had to fight very hard to drive out the Pallavas and to regain his authority. He was mostly occupied in fighting numerous battles with the Pallavas and his inscriptions give in some elaborate details about his battles. They[82] state that he destroyed the glory of Narasiṁhavarman, broke the prowess of Mahendravarman and by diplomacy conquered Parameśvaravarman. As these victories are mentioned in the inscriptions of the twentieth year of his reign i.e. A.D. 674, the defeat of these three Pallava kings must have taken place before this date. It is quite well known that there were severe conflicts between the Cālukyas and Pallavas of Vikramāditya's reign. We have already seen that Narasimhavarman had occupied Bādāmi are established the Pallava reign; and so Vikramāditya had to drive the enemy out of the lost Cālukyan capital. The conflict evidently continued during the reign of Narasiṁhavarman's successor, Mahendravarman II, who appears to have sustained a severe defeat at the hands of Vikramāditya. But Parameśvaravarman I, the son of Mahendravarman II, tried to wreak his vengeance of Vikramāditya and possibly tried to attack him. Being enraged at this, Vikramāditya led a campaign right into the heart of the Pallava territory, took the unassailable city of Kāñcī and vanquished Parameśvaravarman. In the course of this campaign he marched right upto the southern bank of the Kāverī and was camping at Uragapura (modern Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly) in the Coika-*viṣaya.* But one of the Pallava inscriptions states[83] that Vikramāditya was put to flight covered only by a rag. Another Pallava inscription[84] says that Parameśvaravarman defeated the army of Vallabha (i.e., Vikramāditya) at Peruvaḷanallūr, which has been identified with a place of the same name at a distance of ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly i.e., not far from Uraiyūr.[85] A third Pallava inscription[86] states that Ugradaṇḍa (*i.e.*, Parameśvaravarman) was the destroyer of Raṇarasika's (i.e., Vikramāditya) city. These varying accounts would make it clear that there were bitter conflicts between the Cālukyas and Pallavas in the heart of the Pallava dominions; and probably after the battle of Peruvaḷanallūr, Vikramāditya had to withdraw to his own kingdom without annexing any part of the Pallava country. The inscriptions of Vijayāditya,[87] grandson of Vikramāditya, state that Vikramāditya humbled the pride of the Kaḷabhras besides that of the Coḷas, Keraḷas and Pāṇḍyas. The Kaḷabhras are yet to be definitely identified, though they seem to have given a good deal of trouble to the southern kings for quite a long time. The onslaught of the Kaḷabhras seems to have been checked to some extent by the Pāṇḍyas and the Pallavas also, in addition to the efforts of the Cālukyas in quelling them.

Vikramāditya seems to have been ably assisted by his son Vinayāditya in his campaigns against the Pallavas and the other southern powers and by his grandson Vijayāditya in maintaining peace and order in the home provinces. At the command of his father, Vinayāditya is stated, in the Cālukya inscriptions,[88] 'to have arrested the excessively exalted power of the three kings of Coḷa, Pāṇḍya and Keraḷa, and of the Pallavas and thus gratified his father's mind by bringing all the provinces into a state of quiet'. And of Vijayāditya it is said that 'while his grandfather was successfully dealing with his enemies in the south, he himself completely rooted out all the troubles that had beset the kingdom'.[89] Vikramāditya's younger brother Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha appears also to have been of assistance to his elder brother in putting down the local rebellions in the north and north-western parts of the Cālukyan kingdom and in preserving law and order. He is described in his Nāśik plates[90] as having defeated and exterminated with his bright-tipped arrows the whole army of Vajjaḍa in the country between the Māhī and Narmadā rivers. Inscriptions say that his prosperity had been increased by his elder brother, the illustrious Vikramāditya. Evidently this refers to Jayasiṁha's appointment as Viceroy over Lāṭa (south Gujarāt) and Mahārāṣṭrā and in this capacity we see him issuing the Nausārī,[91] and Nāśik plates. The former records the grant of the village Āsaṭṭigrāma by *Yuvarāja* Śryāśraya Śiladitya, son of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha, on the 13th day of the bright fortnight of Māgha in the Kalacuri year 421 (A.D. 671). The grant was made when the *Yuvarāja* was camping at Navasārikā (modern Nausārī).

As in the case of the Eastern Cālukyas of Veṅgī the descendants of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha continued to rule over Lāṭa for nearly seven decades and are known to historians as the Cālukyas of Gujarāt. The Mānor Plates[92] of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa establish clearly that the date of the founding of this branch of the Cālukya dynasty was A.D. 671 by specifying that the grant recorded therein was made in the twentyfirst regnal year, which was Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691-92).

In two copper-plate inscriptions found at Nerūr and Kochrem in the Ratnāgiri District, Candrāditya, an elder brother of Vikramāditya speaks in glowing terms of the prowess and victories of his younger brother, in conquering the enemies and acquiring the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors. Apparently Candrāditya himself could not regain the lost Cālukyan fortunes and so he did not oppose his younger brother's elevation to the throne of his ancestors. In appreciation of this attitude of Candrāditya's, he seems to have been placed by Vikramāditya in charge of the administration of the Koṅkaṇ region. The Nerūr inscription[93] records a grant of land by Vijayabhaṭṭārikā wife of Candrāditya in the fifth year, evidently of Vikramāditya's reign. The Kocrem grant[94] states that Candrāditya's wife Vijayamahādevī, the same as Vijayabhaṭṭārika mentioned above made a gift of land at Koccuraka, the modern Kocrem about seven miles to the north of Veṅgurlā. This Vijayabhaṭṭārika has been identified on good grounds with the famous Sanskṛt poetess Vijayāṅkā or Vijjakā praised by Rājaśēkhara and others.

We have already seen that the Sendraka Prince Senānandarāja, the maternal uncle of Pulakēśi II was ruling in the Koṅkaṇ region near Cipḷūṇ as a subordinate of Pulakeśi II. Another chief of this family named Allaśakti is stated in his Kāsāre plates[95] to have made a grant of land in the village of Pippalakheṭa, modern Piṁpaḷner in Dhulia District. The inscription is dated in the Kalacurī year 404 (A.D. 653). And the Nāgad Plates[96] of the same chief dated in Śaka 577 (A.D. 656) record a grant of the village Suścirākholī in the district of Nāndīpuradvārī, the present Nandurbār in Dhulia District. Another inscription[97] of this same family issued by Jayaśakti, son of Allaśakti, records the grant of the village Seṇāṇa (probably modern Saundāṇe in Dhulia District) in the Śaka year 602 (A.D. 681). None of these records mention any overlord, though this part of the country was under the sway of Vikramāditya I from A.D. 655 to 681. But it may be surmised that the Sendrakas continued to remain loyal to the Cālukya family; for another Sendraka prince named Devaśakti was a subordinate of Vikramāditya in the Karnool region. At his request Vikramāditya made a gift of some lands to a Brāhmaṇa in the tenth year of his reign (A.D. 664).[98]

Another loyal feudatory of Vikramāditya was Svāmicandra of the Hariścandra family who is known from two grants of his grandson Pṛthvīcandra Bhogaśakti.[99] In these inscriptions he is described as living upon the favour of the fleet of Vikramāditya who looked upon him as his own son. He is stated to have been governing the entire Purī-Koṅkaṇ, a region consisting of 14000 villages.

The latest regnal year of Vikramāditya (found in an inscription at Dimmaguḍi in Anantapur District, Āndhra Pradeśa) is the twenty-seventh year which would take his reign upto April, A.D. 681. And as the reign of his son began sometime in April, A.D. 681, we may conclude the Vikramāditya ceased to reign in April, A.D. 681.

Besides the usual titles assumed by the Cālukyan monarchs he had the additional epithets of *Kokkuli, Raṇarasika, Anivārita* and *Rājamalla.*

It has been noticed already that king Vikramāditya had two brothers, Ādityavarman and Candrāditya. Another brother of Vikramāditya his elder one by name Raṇarāgavaraman is mentioned in the Honnur copper-plates,[100] which state that Vikramāditya made a gift of land at the request of his niece (daughter of Raṇarāgavarman), when Vikramāditya was camping at Malliyūr to the west of Kāñcīpuram. Vikramāditya's queen Gaṅgamahādevī is mentioned in the Gaḍvaḷ plates of this king. He had a son named Vinayāditya who succeeded him on the Cālukyan throne.

A recently discovered inscroption[101] of Vinayāditya gives the earliest date known so far for this king, *i.e.,* the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 604 (approximately 27 April, A.D. 682). The inscription cites this year as the second year of his prosperous reign. This would show that he must have ascended the throne some time before 27th April, A.D. 681. But there are two inscriptions.[102] which would place the starting point of his reign between 18th October, A.D. 678 and 2nd July, A.D. 679. Probably in some cases he counted his regnal years from the date from which he was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom and it has already been pointed out that he was actively assisting his father in various ways. His inscriptions state that he ably assisted his father in crushing the might of the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa, Kēraḷa and Pallava kings and in reducing the Kaḷabhras, the Haihayas (*i.e.,* the Kalacurīs) Viḷa and Mālava kings to a state of servitude similar to that of the hereditary subordinates, namely the Āḷupas, the Gaṅgas and others. And the subsequent records of the dynasty state that he levied tributes from the rulers of Kavera (or Kamera), Pārasīka and Simhala and that he acquired the *pālidhvaja* banner and other insignia of sovereignty by inflicting a crushing defeat on the over-lord of the whole of North India. We cannot specifically say who the Pārasīka or Simhala kings referred to in these inscriptions were. As regards the paramount ruler of North India, Fleet conjectured that 'he may perhaps be the Vajrāṭa, whom some of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records mention in connection with the victories of the Western Cālukyas'. The Nasik plates of Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha which are of the time of Vinayāditya do mention Jayasiṁha's victory over *Vajjaḍa* (Sanskṛt Vajrāṭa). They clearly state that he exterminated the army of Vajjaḍa. But Dr. Mirashi thinks that this lord paramount of North India is not identical with the Vajrāṭa defeated by Jayasiṁha. He identifies Vajrāṭa with the Valabhī king Śilāditya III, who was a very powerful king and who bore the paramount titles of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Maharājādhirāja Parameśvara* and *Cakravartin.*[103] During the reign of Vinayāditya the feudatories like the Gujarāt Cālukyas, Āḷupas and Sendrakas remained loyal and continued to rule over their respective territories as subordinates. For example in Mahārāṣṭra we see the Gujarāt Cālukya prince Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman issuing his Nāśik plates[104] which are dated on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Caitra in the Kalacurī year 436 (A.D. 685). They state that Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman granted the village of Ḍhoṇḍhaka in the Nāsikya-*viṣaya* to the Brāhmaṇa Trivikrama. Nāsikya is undoubtedly Nāśik and Ḍhoṇḍhaka is the modern Dhoṇḍlegāṅv, twelve miles to the north-west of Nāśik.

And Dharāśraya Jayasiṁha's son Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa made the grant[105] of some villages for the benefit of the temple of the sungod at Mānapura situated in Kuraṭa-*viṣaya.* Mānapura has been identified with Mānor in the Pālghat Taluka of Ṭhāṇa District. The name Kuraṭa-*visaya* has perhaps survived in the name of the village Kirāt, twelve miles to the north-east of Pālghar. The date of this grant is the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 613 (A.D. 691-92) and Maṅgalarasa here bears the titles of *Vinayāditya* and *Yuddhamalla* in addition to the title of *Jayāśraya,* already mentioned.

A stone inscription[106] at Beḷagānv in Simogā Taluka (Mysore State) states that when Vinayāditya Rājāśraya was ruling, his feudatory *Mahārāja* Pogilli of the Sendraka family was governing the Nāyarakhaṇḍa district. We have no means of ascertaining how this Pogilli was related to the Sendraka chiefs, who were governing parts of Mahārāṣṭra during Vikramāditya's reign.

In addition to these grants we have a grant of Vinayāditya[107] himself in the Mahārāṣṭra region, made when he was encamped at the village of Bhāḍalī near Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa (modern Phalṭaṇ, the chief town of the lower Nīrā valley; and Bhāḍalī is the present Budlee Budruk, five miles to the south-east of Phalṭaṇ). It records the grant of a village called Vīra on the north bank of the river Nīrā in the [Sā]timāla *bhāga* in the Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa-*viṣaya.* Vīra is the modern Vīr, a mile and a half north of the river Nīrā. The record is dated in the ninth year of Vinayāditya's reign and Śaka 609 (A.D.687).

Vinayāditya had the titles of *Rājāśraya* and *Yuddhamalla.* The existence of the latter title was in doubt till recently, as it was found only in an inscription of the 11th century (e.g., Kauṭhem plates). But a recently discovered stone inscription[108] at Itagi in the Yaḷbargī Taluka, Raichur District (Mysore State) would show that Yuddhamalla was in fact a title of Vinayāditya. This inscription which is written in characters of the seventh century, refers itself to the reign of Yuddamalla Satyāśraya who can be no other than Vinayāditya, as this title was not known to have been adopted by any earlier or later monarch of the Badāmī Cālukya family.

He had a son named Vijayāditya, who succeeded him, and a daughter named Kuṁkumamahādevī[109] or Kuṁkumadevī,[110] who is said to have built a Jain temple called Ānesejjeya-basade at Purigere. The inscriptions of his son and successor Vijayāditya show that Vijayāditya was crowned sometime in July, 696. So we will have to presume that Vinayāditya ceased to rule before this date.

Though Vijayāditya ascended the throne in A.D. 696, he must have been nominated as *Yuvarāja* before 10th January, A.D. 692, as he is actually called *Yuvarāja* in the Karnool District copper-plate grant[111] issued by his father on this date. His inscriptions describe him as having acquired even in his childhood the skill in the use of arms and as having mastered all the *śāstras.* As mentioned already he was maintaining peace and order in the home provinces, when his grandfather was engaged in his southern campaign. While assisting his father in his northern campaigns he advanced farther than his father and won for him the insignia of Gaṅgā, Yamunā and *pālidhvaja,* and also the riches of the enemy consisting of elephants and jewels. On a certain occasion he was somehow captured by the enemy, who had actually been defeated and had taken to flight. But cleverly he escaped without any assistance like Vatsarāja of legendary fame and averted the danger of anarchy in his country. The Ulchāla inscription[112] dated in the thirty-fifth year of his reign (A.D. 730-31) states that *Yuvarāja* Vikramāditya (i.e., son of Vijayāditya) after he returned from Kāñcī having raided that city and having levied tribute from Paramēśvara-Pallava made a gift of the village, Uḷchalu and Pariyalu to Durvinīta Ereyappor of the Koṅguṇi family. This would show clearly that the conflict between the Pallavas and the Cālukyas, which had been going on for many decades continued even in the time of Vijayāditya. This inscription is not only important in showing the continuance of the Pallava-Cālukya conflict but also in fixing the initial year of the reign of Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Pallava dynasty, who could not have come to the throne earlier than A.D. 730-31, as his predecessor Paramēśvara II figures in this record as the adversary of Vijayāditya.

The Gujarāt Cālukya prince Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa continued to rule as a subordinate of Vijayāditya as attested by Jayāśraya Maṅgalarasa's Balsār (Gujarāt) copper-plate grant.[113] This is dated in the Śaka year 653 (A.D.731-32) and not in the Kalacurī era as is usual with the records of these princes.

There are some grants relating to Mahārāṣṭra made by the king himself. Two Nerur copper-plate inscriptions[114] of Vijayāditya dated Śaka 622 (A.D. 700) and Śaka 627 (A.D. 705-06) respectively, record grants made in the Iridige-*visaya,* identified with one of the divisions of Koṅkaṇ. The Rāygaḍ plates[115] of Śaka 625 record the grant of two villages made by the king when he was staying at the victorious camp of Karahāṭanagara (modern Karhāḍ). The Elāpur copper-plate[116] of this monarch dated in Śaka 626 (A.D.704) record a grant made by the king when he was camping at Elāpura (modern Ellorā in Auraṅgabād District). Another copper-plate[117] grant dated Śaka 632 (A.D. 710) records the grant of the village Kāruegrāma (probably modern Koregāṅv) near Karahāṭanagara and situated on the bank of the Kṛṣṇa Veṇṇā.

Vijayāditya's reign is the longest in Cālukya history and it lasted over thirtyseven years; for his son Vikramāditya II ascended the throne in the year A.D. 733-34. This long reign is noteworthy for its manifold cultural activities, especially the construction of temples of great magnificence and grandeur. An inscription at Badāmī dated Śaka 621 (A.D. 699) mentions that he installed the images of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara at the victorious capital of Vātāpī. He also built the beautiful temple of Vijayēśvara, now known as Saṅgamēśvara, at Paṭṭaḍakal.[118]

Besides the usual titles of the Cālukya rulers he had the title of *Niravadya* and *Sāhasarasika.* He had a son called Vikramāditya who succeeded him in A.D. 733-34. Inscriptions of the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi trace their descent from Bhīmaparākrama who, according to these inscriptions, was the younger brother of Vikramditya.

During the reign of Vikramāditya the wars with the Pallavas were intensified. In one of the inscriptions at Paṭṭadakal[119] Vikramāditya is stated to have conquered Kāñcī thrice. We have already noticed that even when he was *Yuvarāja* he raided Kāñcī during his father's reign and levied tributes from the Pallavas. The other two invasions of Kāñcī are mentioned in the inscriptions of his reign[120] and those[121] of his successors. These inscriptions give a detailed account of these two campaigns against Kāñcī. According to them he made a strong resolve to destroy the natural enemies of the Cālukyas (namely the Pallavas) and made a sudden and expeditious incursion into Tuṇḍāka country and put to flight the Pallava king Nandipotavarman. He captured the Pallava king's musical instruments *kaṭumukha* and *samudraghoṣa* and his flag *khaṭvāṅgadhvaja* in addition to heaps of gold, rubies and herds of elephants. He then entered the city of Kāñcī in triumph, but did not raze it to the ground. On the other hand he acquired great merit by making munificent gifts to the temples of Rājasiṁhēśvara and others, which Narasiṅghapotavarman had built. He then crippled the Pāṇḍya, Cōḷa, Keraḷa and Kaḷabhra kings and set up a pillar of victory on the shore of the southern ocean. His son Kīrtivarman, even, when he was *yuvarāja* obtained his father's permission to lead another attack against the king of Kāñcī, who unable to meet this onslaught took refuge in his fortress. Kīrtivarman then seized a number of elephants and heaps of gold and rubies, all of which he presented to his father. The Ainūlī copperplates[122] give the name of Kīrtivarman's adversary as Nandipotavarman. So both these invasions of Kāñcī took place in the reign of Nandipotavarman i.e., Nandivarman Pallavamalla who had a long reign of 65 years. The three campaigns recorded in the Paṭṭadakal inscription are thus accounted for and they took place in the following order. The first, as shown above, took place during the time of Pallava Parameśvara II, In this Vikramāditya seems to have been assisted by the Western Gaṅga prince Durvinita-Ereyappor. The second campaign is mentioned in the Narvan plates of A.D. 741-42 and the end of Vikramāditya's reign (i.e., A.D. 744-45). That his conquest of Kāñcī is not a mere boast is borne out by an inscription of his at Kāñci in the Rājasiṁhēśvara temple,[123] which says that after the conquest of Kāñci the king made grants to the temple.

His reign is also noteworthy for the repulsion of the formidable Arab invasion of Gujarāt, which was a part of the Cālukya dominions. The Tājikas (i.e., the Arabs), who, according to the Navasārī plates[124] of A.D. 739, had already destroyed the Saindhavas, the Kacchellas, the Cāvoṭakas, the Saurāṣṭras, the Mauryas and the Gurjaras tried to attack the Cālukya dominions with a view to overrunning the whole of South India but were routed by Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin of the Gujarāt Cālukya branch and evidently a feudatory of Vikramāditya II who was so pleased with Pulakeśin that he conferred on him (Pulakeśin) the titles of *Dakṣiṇāpatha-sādhāra* (pillar of the southern country) and *Anivartaka-nivartayitṛ* (the repeller of the unrepeliable).

Thus while the Gujarāt Cālukyas continued to rule the Laṭa (Gujarāt) province, two Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes were in charge of parts of Mahārāṣṭra. The Narvan plates of Vikramāditya II[125] state that the king, while staying in his victorious camp at Ādityavāḍa, granted Naravaṇa and other villages in the Ciprarulana-*viṣaya* at the request of Rāṣṭhrakūṭa Govindarāja to some Brahmins in the Śaka year 664 (A.D. 741-42). Ciprarulana is modern Cipḷūṇ in the Ratnāgiri District and Naravaṇa is the modern Narvan in the same district. Ādityavāḍa has been tentatively identified with one of the two Āitavades in the Vāḷvā Taluka of the Sāṅgli District.

Dantidurga, the founder of the Mānyakheṭa branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, who later on overthrew the Cālukyas, made a grant to certain Brāhmaṇs the village of Pippalāla, in the district of Candanapurī-84, in the year Śaka 663 (A.D. 742) after bathing in the Guheśvaratīrtha at Elāpura. Elāpura is the famous Ellorā, where Dantidurga excavated the Daśāvatāra cave temple. Candanapurī is even to-day called by the same old name and is situated on the Girṇā river about forty five miles from Ellorā. Pippalāla is the modern Pimpraḷ, twelve miles south-east of Candanapurī. Though Dantidurga does not mention his overlord in this grant, the fact that he calls himself *Mahāsāmantādhipati* shows that he still owed allegiance to the Cālukyas who were the lords of this part of the country.[126]

The reign of Vikramāditya II also continued the great cultural and building activities for which this dynasty is noted. In the inscription of his son's time at Pattadakal[127] his queen Lokamahādevī of the Haihaya family is stated to have constructed the temple of the god Lokeśvarabhaṭṭāraka at Paṭṭaḍakal; and his other queen Trailokyamahādevī, the younger sister of Lokamahādevī and the mother of Kīrtivarman II (son of Vikramāditya) constructed the temple of Trailokyeśvarabhaṭṭāraka at the same place. The family gave great encouragement to temple architecture, as for example, by conferring the title of *Tribhuvanācārya* (preceptor of three worlds) on Guṇḍa or Anivāritācārya, the chief architect of the temple of Lokeśvara, mentioned above. This architect was also honoured by the conferment of a fillet of honour called *perjerepu- paṭṭa.*[128]

Music too was encouraged, as is witnessed by the fact that Lokamahādevī confirmed the covenants which had been given to the musicians and dancers *(gandharvas)* by Vijayāditya earlier. One of these dancers, named Acala seems to have founded a new school of dancing.[129]

Vikramāditya II had a son named Kīrtivarman, who succeeded him and perhaps a daughter named Vinayavatī,[130] queen of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Govindarāja mentioned above. He had the title of *Anivārita* besides the usual Cālukyan titles.

Kīrtivarman II succeeded his father probably in A.D. 744-45, for the only verifiable date in his inscriptions is found in the Kendūr copper-plates[131] issued in the sixth year of his reign on the full-moon day, in the month of *Vaiśākha* when there was a lunar eclipse in Śaka 672. The corresponding English equivalent is 7th April, A.D. 749. But the Vakkaleri copper-plates[132] and Ainūlī copper-plates[133] dated respectively in the eleventh and fourth years of his reign give slightly different starting points for his reign ; the details of the dates given in these, however, do not admit of verification. His inscriptions state that he became so proficient in the use of arms even in his childhood that his father became over joyed at his son's skill and nominated him as the *Yuvarāja.* It has already been noted that in this capacity as *Yuvarāja,* he obtained the permission of his father to attack the lord of Kāñcī, the hereditary enemy. Though he achieved a resounding victory against the Pallavas he seems to have been defeated by the Pāṇḍyas. The Veḷvikuḍi grant[134] of about A.D. 769-70 states that an officer of the Pāṇḍya king had defeated the Vallabha (i.e., Cālukya Kīrtivarman II) at Veṇbai and secured the hand of the Gaṅga princes in marriage for his master. In this conflict evidently the (Western) Gaṅgas assisted Kīrtivarman II.

It was in Kīrtivarman's reign that the Cālukyan sovereignty was overthrown by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Dantidurga sometime before 5th January A.D. 754 (the date of his Sāmangad plates) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas gained possession of the Cālukya dominions. But Kīrtivarman continued to rule in parts of his dominions for sometime more; for one of his inscriptions[135] on a pillar at Paṭṭaḍakal (which gives him the epithet *Nṛpasimha)* is of A.D. 754 and the Vakkalerī plates are dated in Śaka 679 corresponding to A.D. 757. These plates record a grant made by the king when he was staying in the victorious camp at Bhaṇḍāragaviṭṭage on the north bank of the river Bhīmarathī. This place has been identified with Bhaṇḍārakauṭe in the Śolāpūr District. The decline of the Cālukya power was evidently due to their constant conflicts with the Pallavas and other southern rulers (of whom the Pāṇḍya king who defeated Kīrtivarman was one), which had considerably weakened the Cālukyas. Taking advantage of this weakness, Dantidurga openly defied the Cālukyan might and utterly routed Kīrtivarman's forces - the famous Karnataka army, which had been expert in defeating the lords of Kāñcī, the kings of Keraḷa, the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas, Harṣa and Vajraṭa. Dantidurga was apparently aided in his fight against Kīrtivarman by the Pallavas, as the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla is believed to have been related to Dantidurga by marriage. Nandivarman has a wife by name Revā, whose son was called Dantivarman,[136] As Danti reminds one of Dantidurga it has been surmised that Reva was Dantidurga's daughter and Dantivarman, the Pallava prince, was named after his material grandfather, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga, who was also called Dantivarman.[137]

Dantidurga's successor Kṛṣṇa I is stated to have metamorphosed the great boar (the Cālukyan crest) into a fawn.[138] So by the time of Kṛṣṇa I even the vestiges of Cālukyan supremacy completely passed into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. We see many of the Cālukyan prince being mentioned in the Rāṣṭrakuta records as their subordinates.

Of these subordinates two branches of the Cālukyan family are well known-the Cālukyas of Vemulavāḍa and the Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. Taila of the latter branch who claimed descent from a younger brother of Vikramāditya II and who was a subordinate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III (A.D. 939-67) revived the lost Cālukyan power in A.D. 973 by overthrowing the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The other branch, namely that of Vemulavāḍa continued to be loyal to the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

[A prince called Pugavarman who has been considered to be a Cālukya and a son of Pulakeśin I may be mentioned here. He is known by a solitary record[139] found at Mudhōḷ (Bijapur District, Mysore State). It has been assigned to the 6th century A.D. and it refers to Pūgavarman as the son of *Śrī-pṛithvī-vallabha-Mahārāja* who had performed *Agniṣṭōma, Agnichayana, Vājapeya and Aśvamedha* sacrifices and the *Hiraṇyagarbha* gift. But it may be noted that neither the name *Cālukya* nor the title *Satyāśraya,* distinctive of the kings of this family is associated with either Pūgavarman or his father.]

The genealogical table of the family of the Cālukyas of Badāmī is given below:-

REFERENCES

1. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVI, p. 21.
2. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XII, pp. 309 ff.

3. *Ibid.,* pp. 274 ff.
4. *Ibid.,* pp. 150 ff.
5. *Gadāyuddha, Aśvasa* 2.
6. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 339.
7. Benares Sarasvatibhavana edition, *Sarga* 1, verses 39-57.
8. Surat Plates of Trilocanapālā of A.D. 1051, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, pp. 201 ff.
9. See, for example, *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. I, pp. 53-54.
10. Talegaon Plates of Kṛishṇa I, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff; Sāmangad Plates of Dantidurga, *Ind, Ant.,* Vol. XI, pp. 110 ff. and Pimpari Plates of Dharavarṣa Dhruvarāja, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, pp. 81ff.

    Kāncīśa-Kerala-narādhipa-Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya-śrī-Harṣa-Vajrāṭa-vibheda-vidhana dakṣam Karnāṭakaṁ balam=anantam=ajeyam-anyair=bhṛtyaih kiyadbhir=api yah sagasā jigāya.
11. Godachi plates, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.
12. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17ff.
13. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 376.
14. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXV, p. 29, fn. 1.
15. Fleet, *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343. fn. 5.
16. *Ibid.* The Miraj plates etc. also give this verse.
17. *"The Hindu" Weekly Magazine,* April 2, 1961, p. I.
18. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 343, fn. 5.
19. *Supplement to the List of Inscription of Southern India,* pp. 1-2.
20. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 473.
21. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, p. 82.
22. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.
23. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 309.
24. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. III, p. 360.
25. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. IX, No. 49.
26. *Journal of the Mythic Society,*. Vol. XLV, p. 226 (a).
27. Lohaner plates of Pulakeśin II, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 37.
28. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, p. 18.
29. *Ibid.,* Vol., XXVII, p. 8.
30. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, p. 1.
31. See, for instance, *ibid.,* Vol. XII, p. 143.

32. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXI, p. 289.
33. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 7.
34. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 8. This inscription is the earliest record which gives date in the Śaka era.
35. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 356.
36. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 161.
37. See Aihoḷe inscription of Pulakeśin II, text-line 3. The word Indukānti has been taken to be a general epithet of Pulakeśin I, meaning "he who had the brightness of the moon". However it seems more appropriate to take Indukānti to mean the name of his wife for in that case the *virodhābhāsa* contained in the verse would be better brought out. Indukānti is taken by J.Dubreuil to refer to the name of a city. (*Ancient History of Deccan,* p. 11)
38. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 344, note 6.
39. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. III, p. 305, Vol. V, p. 363.
40. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 62.
41. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.
42. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. I, pp. 29 ff.
43. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. III, p. 305; Vol. VI, p. 368 and Vol. X, pp. 57-48.
44. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. III, p. 51.
45. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. IX, p. 124 and *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIV., p. 144.
46. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VII, p. 261.
47. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 348 n.
48. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. IV, p. xlviii n.
49. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 257.
50. *Ibid.,* p. 261.
51. *JBBRAS.,* Vol. X, p. 365.
52. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 284
53. *Balakaṇḍa, Śarga* 5, v. 9.
54. Yekkeri rock inscription, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, pp. 7-8.
55. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 73; *samara-śata-sanghaṭṭa-saṁsakta-para-nripati-parājay-opalabdha-parameśvar-apara-namadheyah.* The relevant passage in inscriptions of Pulakeśin's successor is *samara-saṁśakta-sakala-uttarāpathā-esvara-śrī-Harśavardhana-parājaya-upalabdha-Parameśvara-apara-namdheyasya*

    The similarity between these is eloquent.
56. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 37.

57. *Ibid., Vol.* XIX, p. 63.

58. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 309.

59. *Avantisundarīkathāsāra,* ed. by G. Harihara Śhastri, Summary of Contents, p. 1 (*Supplement of Journal of Oriental Research,* Vol. XXV).

60. Since A.D. 590-91 fell in the reign of Kīrtivarman, Fleet thought that Kīrtivarman appointed him (Dhruvarāja Indravarman) as the governor of his possessions in Koṅkaṇ as we find him stationed in A.D. 610-11 in Revatī-dvīpa (*Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 345). But according to the Aihole inscription it was Maṅgaleśa who conquered Revatī-dvīpa. Dr. Mirashi, however, conjectures that Maṅgaleśa appointed Indravarman as governor of Revatī-dvīpa about A.D. 601-02 (*CII.,* Vol. IV, p. XLVIII n.); but Dhruvarāja Indravarman counted his regnal years from A.D. 590-91.

61. *CII.,* Vol. IV, p. 165.

62. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 360.

63. *Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 99.

64. *Bom. Gaz.,* Vol. I, part II, p. 353 ff.

65. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. IX, p. 123.

66. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIV, p. 144.

67. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VIII, p. 96; Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 64.

68. *SII.,* Vol. I, p. 144.

69. G. Jouveau Dubreuil: *The Pallavas,* p. 40.

70. *SII.,* Vol. XI, pt. i, p. 1.

71. Lohaṇer plates.

72. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VII, p. 106.

73. *SII.,* Vol. IX, pt. i, No. 46.

74. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 102.

75. *Ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 100.

76. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, p. 67

77. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXII, p. 213.

78. See, for instance, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, p. 64, text-line 16.

79. See Manor Plates of Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 21, text-line 11.

80. *CII.,* Vol. IV, p. 132.

81. *Karnātak Inscriptions,* Vol. II, p. 8.

82. Gadvāl Plates, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, p. 100 and Sāvanur plates, *ibid.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 115.

83. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVII, p. 343.

84. *SII.,* Vol. II, pt. iii, p. 371.

85. Dubreuil, *The Pallavas,* p. 43.

86. *SII.,* Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

87. *Ep. Ind.,* X, p. 15, text-line 11.

88. e.g., Jejurī plates of Vinayāditya, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, p. 62.

89. Rāyagaḍ plates of Vijayāditya, *Ibid.,* Vol. X, p. 14.

90. *CII.,* Vol. IV, p. 127.

91. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 229.

92. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 17.

93. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VII, p. 163.

94. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 45

95. *CII.,* Vol. IV, p. 110

96. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII, p. 201.

97. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXIX, p. 116.

98. *JBBRAS.,* Vol. XVI, p. 238

99. *Ibid.,* Vol., XXV, pp. 225ff.

100. *Mysore Archaeological Report,* 1939, p. 129.

101. Copper-plate No. 13, *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for 1955-56.

102. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXII, p. 26.

103. *CII.,* Vol. IV, pp. LXI ff.

104. *Ibid.,* p. 127.

105. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVIII. p. 17.

106. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 142; Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 64.

107. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, p. 62.

108. *An. Rep. Ind., Ep.,* 1955-56, No. 210, Apppendix B.

109. Gudigeri Inscriptions, *Ind. Ant.,* XVIII, p. 38.

110. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXIX, p. 207.

111. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 80.

112. *Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XXX, part iii, p. 288.

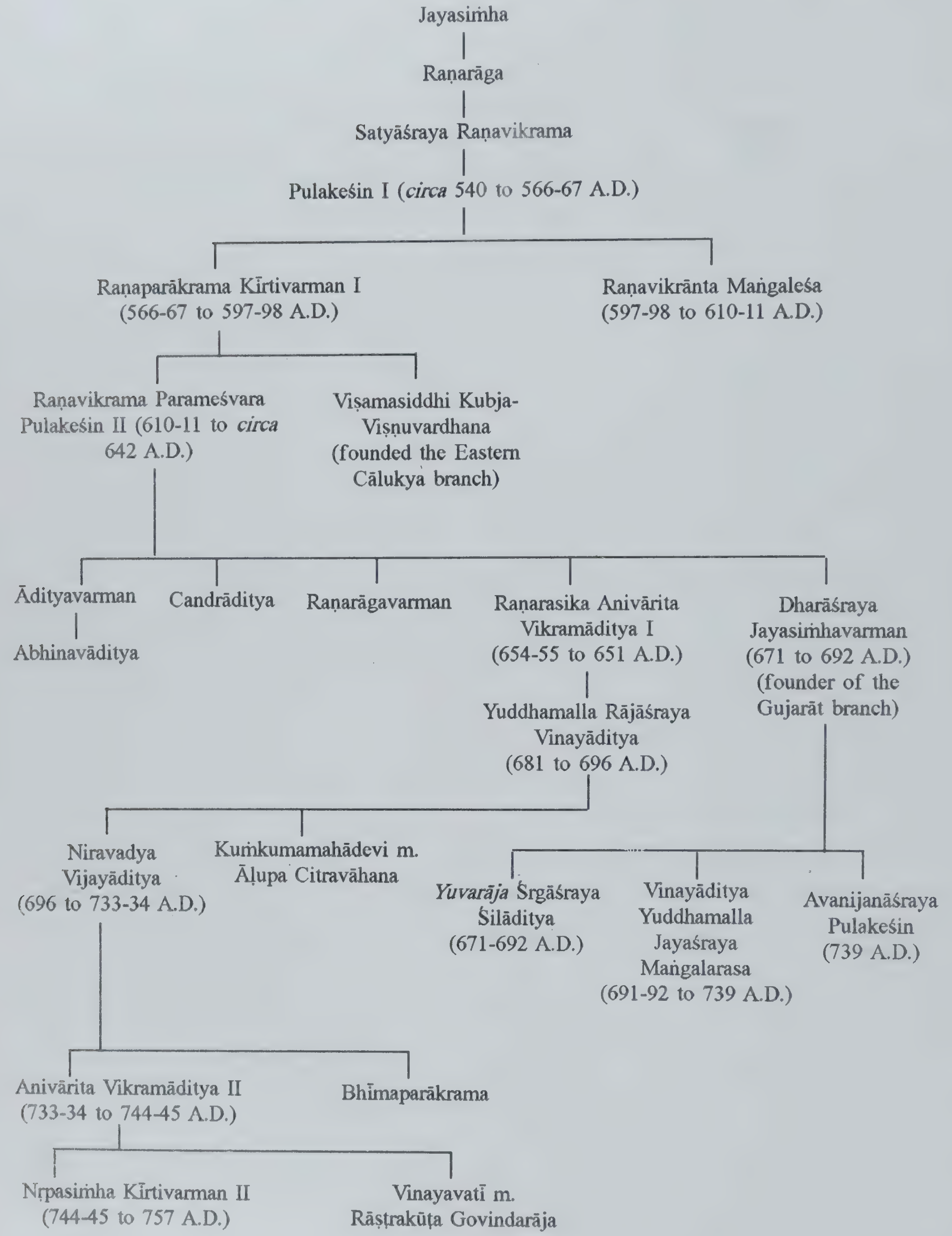
113. *JBBRAS.,* Vol. XVI, p. 5.

114. *Ind., Anl,* Vol. IX, p.126 and *Ibid.* p. 130

115. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, p. II.

116. *Ind. Hist., quart.,* Vol. IVp. 425.
117. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVI, p. 322.
118. *Ibid.,* Vol. III.
119. *Ind., Ant.,* Vol. X, p. 164.
120. Narvan plates, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 125 ff.
121. See. e.g., Vakkaleri plates, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, p. 202; and Kendur plates, *Ibid.,* Vol. IX, p. 200.
122. *Mys. Arch. Report,* 1909.
123. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. III, p. 360.
124. *C.I.I.,* Vol. IV, p. 137.
125. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 125.
126. *Ibid.,* Vol XXV, p. 29.
127. *Ibid.,* Vol. III, p. 1.
128. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. X, pp. 162-164.
129. *Ibid.,* pp. 166-67.
130. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXVII, p. 151, Vinayavati is described as the daughter of Vikramāditya, the lord of the four quarters.
131. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 200.
132. *Ibid.,* Vol. V, p. 202.
133. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1909.
134. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVII, p. 291.
135. Kielhorn's *Southern List,* No. 48.
136. Velurpalaiyam plates, *S.I.I.,* Vol II, p. 511.
137. Dubreuil: *The Pallavas,* p. 75.
138. *Mahā-avarāham harini-chakara, Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XII, p. 162.
139. *Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province from* 1911 to 1916, p. 6.

THE CHALUKYAS OF BADĀMI


Jayasiṁha
Raṇarāga
Satyāśraya Raṇavikrama
Pulakeśin I (*circa* 540 to 566-67 A.D.)
Raṇaparākrama Kīrtivarman I (566-67 to 597-98 A.D.)
Raṇavikrānta Maṅgaleśa (597-98 to 610-11 A.D.)
Raṇavikrama Parameśvara Pulakeśin II (610-11 to *circa* 642 A.D.)
Viṣamasiddhi Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana (founded the Eastern Cālukya branch)
Ādityavarman
Abhinavāditya
Candrāditya
Raṇarāgavarman
Raṇarasika Anivārita Vikramāditya I (654-55 to 651 A.D.)
Yuddhamalla Rājāśraya Vinayāditya (681 to 696 A.D.)
Dharāśraya Jayasiṁhavarman (671 to 692 A.D.) (founder of the Gujarāt branch)
Niravadya Vijayāditya (696 to 733-34 A.D.)
Kuṁkumamahādevi m. Āḷupa Citravāhana
Yuvarāja Śrgāśraya Śilāditya (671-692 A.D.)
Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayaśraya Maṅgalarasa (691-92 to 739 A.D.)
Avanijanāśraya Pulakeśin (739 A.D.)
Anivārita Vikramāditya II (733-34 to 744-45 A.D.)
Bhīmaparākrama
Nṛpasiṁha Kīrtivarman II (744-45 to 757 A.D.)
Vinayavatī m. Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govindarāja

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GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE NOḶAMBA-PALLAVAS*

One of the great feudatory families that played a prominent part in the history of Karnāṭaka for as long a period as three centuries *(circa* 750 to 1055 A.D.) is that of the Noḷamba-Pallavas. This family had important relations-political and matrimonial-with many of the well-known dynasties of South India like the Bāṇas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas, the Chālukyas, and the Vaidumbas. They started their career under the Western Gaṅgas of Talakāḍ as governors of the territory called Noḷambaḷige 1,000, which comprised portions of Anantapur (Āndhra Pradesh), Chitaldrug and Tumkur districts (Mysore State)**. *(Noḷambaḷige* 1,000 means the district of *Noḷambaḷige* consisting of 1,000 villages and hamlets.) This tract was probably bounded on the east by the river Pennār and on the west by the river Hagari. As they became more and more powerful, their territory became more and more extensive until it became a 32,000 district in the beginning of the Tenth Century. This province of *Noḷambavāḍi* 32,000 consisted of the districts of Tumkur and Chitaldrug and portions of Bellary, Anantapur, Kolar and Bangalore districts. During a certain period their sway extended over a much wider area including parts of North Arcot and Salem. The history of this important dynasty has already been dealt with by such eminent scholars as Rice and H. Krishna Sastri. But as a large number of inscriptions pertaining to this dynasty have come to light after these scholars wrote their accounts, some changes are necessitated in the history of the Noḷamba-Pallavas. Since a complete history will run to many pages I shall confine myself here to a discussion of the genealogy and chronology of these rulers.

It is from an inscription[1] on a pillar at Hēmāvati in Anantapur district that we get a somewhat detailed genealogical account of the early Noḷamba-Pallava chiefs. It is as follows: "In the family of Triṇayana-Pallava (of the *Īśvara-vaṁśa)* was born Maṅgala who had become famous in the world as Nombādhirāja; his son was Siṁhapōta, his son was Chāruponnēra; his son was Poḷalchōra-Nomba; his son was Mahēndra; his son was Nanniga-Ayyapadēva; his son was Anniga whose younger brother was Dilīpa." This record belongs to the reign of the last king mentioned above, viz., Dilīpa and is dated Śaka 864 (A.D. 943).

Inscriptions reveal, however, the existence of a few more chiefs of this family between Maṅgala and Dilīpa though the genealogies do not mention them-a prince who had the name or title Pallavamalla and three others called Iṛiva-Noḷamba, Ankayya and Iṛuḷachōra. Pallavamalla is stated to be the son of Pallavādhirāja, i.e., Chāruponnēra, by his queen Gavagaṇabbe and administering the districts of Madarikallu, Toṇḍūr, Ammavaḷḷi-12, Kōḷūr-12 and Gaṅgavura-30 under his father who is himself stated to be ruling the divisions of Noḷambaḷige 1,000, Nīrggunda-nāḍu 300, Irigalvāḍi 300, Gaṅgavura 30, and Nelligundi 12, as a subordinate of the Rāṣṭrākūṭa king Gōvinda II. We have no means of ascertaining whether this Pallavamalla who is described as the dear son *(priy-ātmaja)* of Pallavādhirāja is identical with Poḷalchōra whom all the inscriptions, which give the genealogy of this family, state to be the son of Pallavādhirāja. No record of this Pallavamalla in the capacity of a ruling chief has been discovered till now. The question may naturally arise whether he may not be identical with Poḷalchōra. But as it is not known from any source that Poḷalchōra was also called Pallavamalla, and Nombādhirāja appears to have been his distinctive title we may consider that he was different from Pallavamalla. If so, whether he was the elder of the two sons, whether predeceased his father are questions which further research alone can decide.[2] The second prince Iṛiva-Noḷamba is mentioned in an inscription at Āvaṇi in the Kolar district.[3] Therein he is stated to be the son born of *(puṭṭida magam)* Dīvalabbarasi, the senior queen *(agra-mahisi)* of Poḷalchōra. We know from several records that Mahēndra, the successor of Poḷalchōra, was the latter's son by his queen Jāyabbe. Thus it is clear that Mahēndra and Iṛiva-Noḷamba were sons of Poḷalchōra. To the question which may be asked why Mahēndra succeeded his father on the Noḷamba throne, though Iṛiva-Noḷamba was the son of the senior queen of Poḷalchōra, the Āvaṇi inscription supplies the answer. In this record Dīvalabbarasi who is described as the *janani* of Mahēndra is stated to have constructed on the latter's death a temple called Noḷamba-Nārāyaṇeśvara after one of his surnames, viz., Noḷamba-Nārāyaṇa. The record contains a verse which would show that Iṛiva-Noḷamba who is described as the younger son *(Kanīya-nandana)* of Dīvalabbarasi was, on the date of the record, being guided by her in the administration of the kingdom or in other words that she was queen-regent as this prince was too young to be entrusted with ruling powers. Thus it would appear that Iṛiva-Noḷamba who was a boy when Mahēndra died had not yet been born when Mahēndra ascended the throne. A word about the expressions *janani* and *magam* used in this inscription. Though it is well known that Mahēndra was the son of the Gaṅga princess Jāyabbe, Divalabbe who, according to the inscription under review, was born in the Kadaṁba-vaṁśa, calls herself the *janani* of Mahēndra who was apparently her stepson. This is quite in keeping with the agelong custom in Indian society. The expression *puṭṭida magam* used with reference to Iriva-Noḷamba seems to have been deliberately employed to make it clear that Mahēndra was her step-son.

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* Published in *QJMS.,* Vol. XLVIII, pp. 1-15.
** Now in Karnataka - Ed.

Two inscriptions in the Maddagiri taluk of the Tumkur district mention a king named Noḷambādhirāja-Noḷipayya as ruling the kingdom.[4] One of them is dated Śaka 820, Piṅgala (A.D. 898-899). As this date comes so close after the last known date of Mahēndra, i.e., Śaka 817 (A.D. 895) he may be identified with Iṛiva-Noḷamba, the step-brother of Mahēndra, as suggested by Kṛishṇa Sastri.[5] As will be shown in the sequel the only other Noḷambādhirāja-Iṛiva- Noḷamba-Noḷipayya known from inscriptions is Dilīpa, a grandson of Mahēndra who cannot, therefore, be the same as the Noḷambādhirāja- Noḷipayya who was ruling in Śaka 820. His surname Noḷambādhirāja-Iṛiva-Noḷamba-Noḷipayya must have been assumed by him after that of his grandfather-actually grandfather's younger brother- according to the common Hindu practice. Mi. 27 also informs us that this Noḷambādhirāja-Noḷipayya had a son by name Ankayya who does not find a place in the genealogies. Another prince that the genealogies do not mention is Iṛuḷachōra, the son of Aṇṇiga. It is revealed from an inscription at Dharmapuri that he was ruling in Śaka 851.

Of the first historical ruler Maṅgala we have no records. The reference in some Eastern Chālukya records to a Mangi described in one of them as "the king of the great Noḍambarāshṭra."[6] and stated to have been defeated by Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III cannot be our Maṅgalarāja; for while Guṇaka-Vijayāditya's period of rule is believed to be A.D. 848 to 892, we know that Maṅgala's grandson Chāruponnēra, also known as Pallavādhirāja,[7] was a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Jagattuṅga-Prabhūtavarśa-Pratāpāvalōka, son of Akālavarṣa, i.e. Gōvinda II, son of Kṛṣhṇa I.[8] This Gōvinda ruled from about A.D. 772 to 775 or 780. Krishna Sastri was of the opinion that Gōvinda, who was the overlord of Chāruponnēra, was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III (A.D. 794-813). But one of the Chaḷḷakere inscriptions (No. 34) states clearly that Gōvinda was the son of Akālavarṣa. In this family the only Gōvinda who was the son of an Akālavarśa is, as is well known, Gōvinda II. Thus it is evident that Chāruponnēra should be considered to be the subordinate of Gōvinda II and not of Gōvinda III. Consequently he may be placed in A.D. 775.

In a hero-stone at Doḍḍa-Uḷavarti[9] Chāruponnēra's father Siṅgapōta is mentioned as a subordinate of a certain Permmānaḍi, who, as the title suggests, was a Gaṅga king. As shown above. Chāruponnēra's date would be about A.D. 775. Consequently Siṅgapōta's overlord must be a Gaṅga who reigned before this date. And we know that Śrīpuruṣa of the Gaṅga family ruled from A.D. 726 to 788 and that he bore the title Permmānaḍi. It thus becomes clear that the Permmānaḍi of the Doḍḍa-Uḷavarti record is no other than king Śrīpuruṣa.

Now that we have placed Chāruponnēra about A.D. 775 it would not be unreasonable to assign the date A.D. 755 or 750 to his father Siṅgapōta.

The earliest known date for Mahēndra I, the grandson of this Chāruponnēra, is Śaka 800 (A.D. 878).[10] Between this date and A.D. 775 (the period to which Chāruponnēra has been assigned), the only king who is known to have ruled is Poḷalchōra-Nomba, son of Chāruponnēra. As this would be too long a reign for one single king, we may consider A.D. 775 as the initial date of Chāruponnēra. And if we assign to him a reign of twenty-five years according to the usual practice, the last year of his reign would be A.D. 800.

Now Mahēndra's latest known date is *Śaka* 817 (A.D. 895)[11] and his step-brother Noḷambādhirāja-Noḷipayya is known to have been ruling in *Śaka* 820 (A.D. 898). Mahēndra must have died between Śaka 817 and 820. He probably ceased to rule in or shortly after Śaka 817 (A.D. 895).

In fixing the initial year of his reign an inscription at Uḷachala in the Kurnool district would come to our aid by enabling us to fix the dates of his contemporary Bāṇa chief. This record which is dated in the thirty-fifth year of the reign of the Chālukya king Vijayāditya states that his son Vikramāditya (II) who was then *Yuvarāja* returned from Kāñchī after levying tribute from the Pallava king Paramēśvara. As the thirty-fifth year of Vijayāditya corresponds to A.D. 730-31, the Paramēśvara referred to here must be Paramēśvaravarman II who was succeeded by Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The accession of Nandivarman Pallavamalla must have, therefore, taken place about A.D. 731 to 795 or so. For his son Dantivikramavarman the latest date known is the fifty-first year of his reign. Therefore, he must have ruled from A.D. 795 to 845. And his son Nandivarman III for whom the twenty-third year is the latest so far known may be placed between A.D. 845 and 868. Nṛpatungavarman, son of Nandivarman, might have succeeded his father probably in A.D. 870-71.

We know that the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya, who had the titles *Jayameru* and *Bāṇavidyādhara* was a subordinate of Nandivarman III in the seventeenth and twenty-third years of the latter's reign and also of Nṛpatuṅga in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of that king.[12] Consequently Bāṇavidyādhara's period would be from about A.D. 861 to 895.

Vijayāditya I, the grandfather of this Bāṇavidyādhara, figures as a subordinate of Dantivikramavarman in the forty-ninth year of the latter's reign which would correspond to A.D. 843. Though we have no dated records for his son Malladēva, we may assume that he ruled between A.D. 845 and 861.

Thus Mahēndra's Bāṇa contemporary could only be Bāṇavidyādhara who ruled from A.D. 861 to 895. As Mahēndra claims to have destroyed the *Mahābalikula* in his Dharmapuri record of *Śaka* 815 (A.D. 892),[13] it is evident that the Bāṇa chief during whose reign this catastrophe happened could not have been the Bāṇavidyādhara who lived till the very end of Mahēndra's reign.

It, therefore, follows that the *Mahābalikula-vidhvaṁsana* must have occurred some time prior to A.D. 861. Mahendra must have, therefore, come to the throne sometime before this year. So the period of reign of Mahēndra's father Poḷalchōra-Nomba may be assumed to be from A.D. 800 to about A.D. 860. In other words, he had a long reign of sixty years which, though rare, is not uncommon in Indian history. This conclusion seems to be supported by a record at Hindupur[14] belonging to the reign of Eṟegaṅga-Permānaḍi and dated *Śaka* 775 (A.D. 853). According to the Gaṅga chronology this Eṟegaṅga would be Nītimārga-Eṟegaṅga, son of Rāchamalla-Satyavākya I. It is stated in this record that a Noḷamba subordinate of the king "ruled as far as Kāñchi". As shown above, the initial year of Mahēndra's reign is to be taken as A.D. 860 or a little earlier. Therefore, it is more probable that it was his father Poḷalchōra who was the subordinate of Eṟegaṅga in A.D. 853. Moreover, we learn from more than one record that this Poḷalchora had married Jāyabbe, the younger sister of Eṟegaṅga and the daughter of Rāchamalla I.[15] Further, in an inscription at Albur[16] Poḷalchōra figures as a subordinate of king Rāchamalla-Permānaḍi. As the initial year of Rāchamalla II is known to be A.D. 870 the Rāchamalla whose subordinate Poḷalchōra was must be Rāchamalla I. The reasons for fixing the date of Mahēndra I from A.D. 860 to 895 are already stated above.

Between *Śaka* 817 (A.D. 895), the last known date of Mahendra I and *Śaka* 841 (A.D. 919) which is the first known date of his son Ayyapadēva we find one Noḷambādhirāja-Noḷipayya ruling in *Śaka* 820, *Pingaḷa* (A.D. 897-98). It has been shown later that this Noḷipayya was the step-brother of Mahēndra I. In the absence of any other dated record of this Noḷipayya, it is not possible to say how long he reigned.

As noted above, *Śaka* 841 (A.D. 919) is the earliest available date for Ayyapa.[17] Another sure date for this king is A.D. 923 found in a hero-stone at Abbinahoḷe, Hiriyur taluk.[18] Krishna Sastri opined that Ayyapadēva might have ruled up to A.D. 938-39. This surmise of his was based on the view of Fleet that the Noḷamba king Ayyapa was overthrown by the Eastern

Chālukya king Bhīma II between A.D. 934 and 938. Fleet was led to this conclusion by a statement made in the Kaluchumbaru grant of Amma II,[19] where his father Bhīma is credited with having slain Ayyapa.

But the first known date of Aṇṇiga, the eldest son and successor of Ayyapadēva, is *Śaka* 853 (A.D. 931).[20] An inscription at Dharmapuri in the Salem district,[21] however, states that Aṇṇiga's son Iṟuḷachōra was ruling the kingdom in *Śaka* 851 (A.D. 929). As it is not possible that the son could have come to the throne earlier than the father, we may assume that Iṟuḷachōra was ruling conjointly with his father in A.D. 929. Or in other words, Aṇṇiga was on the throne in A.D. 929. It is therefore, impossible that Ayyapa ruled after A.D. 929. So we may infer that Aṇṇiga might have succeeded his father between A.D. 923 and 929. But it is not possible to ascertain precisely the first year of Aṇṇiga's reign. All that can be said is that between A.D. 923 and 929 Ayyapa must have ceased to rule and Aṇṇiga succeeded him. Another date for him is found in a record at Gunimorubāgal[22] in the Anantapur district. In it Aṇṇiga who is called Bira-Noḷamba Aṇṇayyadēva is stated to have made some gifts in *Śaka* 858 (A.D. 936).

In the Deoli plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III dated *Śaka* 862 (A.D. 940), this king is staed to have defeated Aṇṇiga and reduced him to miserable plight. As the initial year of Kṛishṇa III was A.D. 939, this event must have taken place after A.D. 939. Further, in view of the fact that the first known date of Aṇṇiga's brother and successor Dilīpa is A.D. 943 we may not be far wrong if we consider A.D. 940 as the probable last date for Aṇṇiga.

Aṇṇiga's wife was Attiyabbarasi of the Chālukya family, and he had a son named Iṟuḷachōra by her. As we do not hear anything of this Iṟuḷachōra after A.D. 929[23] and as we find the succession passing on from Aṇṇiga to his brother Dilīpa and the latter's direct descendants, we may conclude that in all probability Iṟuḷachōra died before his father.

Dilīpa succeeded his brother Aṇṇiga and the Hēmāvati record supplies us the earliest date known for him so far, viz. *Śaka* 864, *Śōbhākṛt* (A.D. 943). A comparatively large number of records which belong to his reign have been discovered, the latest which can be definitely assigned to him being dated *Śaka* 887 (A.D. 965)[24] recording a grant by his grandson Poḷalchora II. He had the titles *Ēkavākya, Iṟiva-Noḷamba, Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja, Pallavarāma* and *Palaroḍe-gaṇḍa.* There are, however, several records found in the Kolar and Anantapur districts where more of the records of Dilīpa's period are found referring themselves to the reign of Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Noḷipayya or Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja who bears practically all the titles of Dilīpa. Two of them are dated, one in *Śaka* 878 (A.D. 956) and the other in *Śaka* 885 (A.D. 963).

This Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Noḷipayya has been considered to be a son of Dilīpa for the following reasons. Firstly, Dilīpa's last date was thought to be Śaka 872 (A.D. 950). Secondly all the records coming after this date belonging either to Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Noḷipayya or Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja were taken to belong to a later member and perhaps a son of Dilīpa.

These reasons are not convincing for we find Dilīpa ruling even as late as A.D. 965 in a record at Kambadūru. It states that Poḷalchōradēva was the eldest son of Chaladaṅkākaṟa who was the eldest son of Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja who was ruling the earth in A.D. 965 *(pṛthvīrājyaṁ-geyye).* From other records[25] we learn that this Poḷachōra was the grandson of Dilīpa. This proves that Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja to whose reign the Kambadūru record refers itself is no other than Dilīpa. Consequently the argument that Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja figuring in inscriptions after A.D. 950 was a son of Dilīpa cannot be sustained. And we see that the dates of Noḷipayya fall during the reign of Dilīpa. On account of the similarity in the titles of Noḷipayya and Dilīpa, the territory over which Noḷipayya's sway extended and his dates, combined with the fact, that we do not know from any inscriptions of the existence of a third son of Ayyapa, it would appear that Noḷipayya and Dilīpa were one and the same person. So all the records referring themselves to Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja or Īṟiva-Noḷamba-Noḷipayya after A.D. 965 and up to the time of Nanni-Noḷamba, son of Dilīpa, will have to be assigned to Dilīpa himself.

Thus the records of Dilīpa range from A.D. 943[26] to 966-67.[27] Mb. 122 *(Ep. Car.,* Vol. X) of A.D. 969 shows that Nanni-Noḷamba, son of Dilīpa, was then reigning. Consequently Dilīpa could not have ruled long after A.D. 966-67.

A record at Hēmāvati[28] dated *Śaka* 888 (A.D. 966-67) of the time of Iṟiva-Noḷambādhirāja, i.e., Dilīpa, mentions his son Ayyapadēva by his queen Piriyabbarasi. From the genealogical lists given in the records of the later Noḷamba kings we find that Dilīpa's son was Nanni-Noḷamba. He was ruling in *Śaka* 890 (A.D. 968-69). As we find Nannigāśraya Ayyapadēva, probably the same as Ayyapa mentioned above, in a subordinate capacity in a record belonging to the reign of Mahēndra II dated *Śaka* 899 (A.D. 977) it is possible that he was a younger brother of Nanni-Noḷamba to whom the succession passed on from Dilīpa. Having dealt with the early kings of this family down to Dilīpa we shall now proceed to the later members of this family. There are many records[29] which give the genealogy of this line starting with Iṟiva-Noḷamba, i.e., Dilīpa, and going up to Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa. This list is supplemented by a record at Mōrigere which brings down the genealogy up to Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permānaḍi. The only sure date known for Nanni-Noḷamba is *Śaka* 890, *Śukla* (A.D. 969). He was also called Chaladaṅkakāṟa. An inscription at Kambadūru *(S.I.I.* Vol. IX. No. 30) states definitely that he was the eldest son *(agra-tanaya).* The Madivāḷa record[30] informs us that he was ruling the kingdom of the earth after having been crowned. Apparently his coronation took place a little earlier than the date specified in the record, i.e., *Śaka* 890, (A.D. 969)[31] Upto A.D. 977 no dated records of the family have come to our knowledge. A reason for this absence may perhaps be found in the description of the Gaṅga king Mārasiṁha II, as *Noḷamba-kul-āntaka* (destroyer of the Noḷamba family). Mārasiṁha II, whose death is placed in the year A.D. 974, is credited with achieving the destruction of the Noḷambas in a record at Kibbanahaḷḷi[32] dated *Śaka* 894, *Āṅgirasa* (A.D. 971-72) which states that he was ruling the 96,000 province after killing all the Noḷambas. Though it is nowhere stated who the Noḷamba victims of Mārasiṁha II were, we may presume that both Nanni-Noḷamba and his son Poḷalchōra II were killed by Mārasiṁha.

The only known date of Poḷalchōra's son Mahēndra II is *Śaka* 899 (A.D. 977). In this year we find Nannigāśraya-Ayyapadēva, whom we have identified with Ayyapa, son of Iṟiva-Noḷamba, making a gift as a subordinate of his grand-nephew Mahēndra II.

It may be observed here that neither the records of Nanni-Noḷamba nor of Mahēndra II mention any overlord (Poḷalchōra's records have not been found). And we see Mahēndra's eldest son and successor Ēkavākya figuring as a subordinate of the Chālukya king Taila II in A.D. 981 in a record at Kanchagāra-Beḷgali in Bellary district.[33] The record states that his queen Rēvaladēvi made a grant of lands to the temples of Kālapriyadēva and Viṣṇudēva of Kanchagāra-Beḷgali. The next member of this family whom we meet with is his younger brother Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa.[34] That this Iṟiva-Noḷamba was an important and favourite feudatory of the Chālukya king is borne out by the fact that he married the daughter of Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga-Satyāśraya.[35] Of him we have a few dated records, the earliest of which is the inscription at Ālūr of *Śaka* 933 (A.D. 1010). Therein he is described as the *pāda-padmōpajīvi* of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya V and governing the province of Noḷambavāḍi 32,000, Kōgaḷi 500, Ballakuṇḍe 300, Kukkanūr 30, and five villages in Māsiyavāḍinaḍ. The latest date for him i.e. *Śaka* 946 (A.D. 1024) is furnished by a record at Marol in Hunugund taluk wherein he is stated to be governing as a subordinate of Jagadēkamalla I in the region of Noḷambavāḍi. From the same record we learn that his queen (whose proper name appears from the context to be Mahādēvi) was administering the town of Maravoḷal.

From the Mōrigere record we gather that this Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa was called Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟadēva. Krishṇa Sastri took this Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa to be the son of Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa on the supposition that the former assumed his title Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga from his grandfather (on the mother's side) Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga Satyāśraya. But the fact that Udayāditya's earliest date falls between the first and last dates of Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa, combined with the statement in inscriptions that Udayāditya was the son of Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa leads us to the conclusion that Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa, is mentioned as Iṟiva-Beḍaṅga from Iṟiva-Bedaṅga-Satyāśraya who must have been his overlord just as his son and grandson took the titles Jagadēkamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permānaḍi and Trailōkya-malla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permānaḍi of their respective overlords. Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa's son Jagadēkamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permānaḍi *alias* Udayādityadēva is found in a record of *Śaka* 940[36] (A.D. 1018) governing the districts of Gaṅgavāḍi 96,000, Kadambaḷige 1,000, Kōgaḷi 500, Ballakuṇḍe 300, Kuḍihara 70 and five villages in Māsiyavādi under Jagadēkamalla I. This territory over which his administrative jurisdiction extended is practically the same as the one which his father was governing under Vikramāditya. As observed above Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa is found to be ruling till *Śaka* 946 (A.D. 1024). It may therefore be surmised that the father and son were ruling together for some time. We know that these chiefs enjoyed a privileged position under the Chālukya kings on account of their matrimonial relationship with the latter. Therefore, this tract was held by the Noḷamba chiefs as a heriditary fief.

The latest sure date known for Udayādityadēva is *Śaka* 958 (A.D. 1036)[37] found in a record at Oruvāyi in the Bellary district. An inscription dated *Śaka* 961 (A.D. 1039)[38] which mentions him only by his title of Jagadekamalla-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permānaḍi may be assigned to him though we find his son, Jagadēkamalla-Irmaḍi-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi in an earlier one of *Śaka* 958 (A.D. 1037).[39] This fact may be explained by assuming that just as Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa and his son Udayādityadēva were ruling together so also Udayāditya and his son were ruling conjointly. In fact we actually find both of them in a record of *Śaka* 960 (A.D. 1038) at Sōgi[40] in the Haḍagali taluk as governing certain districts. As noted above, Udayāditya's son

Jagadēkamalla-Iṟmaḍi-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi was governing under Jagadēkamalladēva in *Śaka* 958 (A.D. 1037), the earliest date known for him.

His younger brother Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi figures as a subordinate of Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) in a record dated *Śaka* 966 (A.D. 1044)[41] when his installation took place. The latest date known for him is *Śaka* 970 (A.D. 1049).[42]

In a record at Sattur of the reign of Sōmēśvara I, dated *Śaka* 966 (A.D. 1044),[43] We find a Noḷamba chief who is called Jagadēkamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi ruling practically over the same division as Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi. He may be the same as the latter, Jagadēkamalla being wrongly written for Trailōkyamalla. The other possibility is that he might have been same as the elder brother of Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba-Pallava-Permāḍi. But Iṟmadi being his distinctive title this alternative does not appear probable.

We have noticed above that up to *Śaka* 970 (A.D. 1049)[44] the Noḷamba chiefs of the main line were governing some territory or other under the Chālukyas. After this date, however, up to *Śaka* 976 a few other Noḷamba princes whose connection with the main line is not known were in charge of the administration of some of the divisions held by members of the main line. Two years later, i.e., in *Śaka* 978 (A.D. 1057),[45] we suddenly see Noḷambavādi 32,000 under the direct control of the Chālukya prince Vikramāditya VI. Again in *Śaka* 986 (A.D. 1064)[46] Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, brother of Vikramāditya VI, was the governor of Noḷambavādi 32,000 under his father Sōmēśvara I. In *Śaka* 990 (A.D. 1068)[47] another brother of Vikramāditya VI, namely, Jayasiṅgadēva who also bears all the Noḷamba titles is found governing the same territory under Bhuvanaikamalla (Sōmēśvara II). It is thus evident that from *Śaka* 978 (A.D. 1057) onwards Noḷambavāḍi passed on directly to the Chālukya rulers. As we do not hear of the Noḷamba chiefs after *Śaka* 976 we may surmise that by about *Śaka* 977 they were deprived of their hereditary dominions and passed into oblivion.

This discussion enables us to draw the genealogical chart printed.

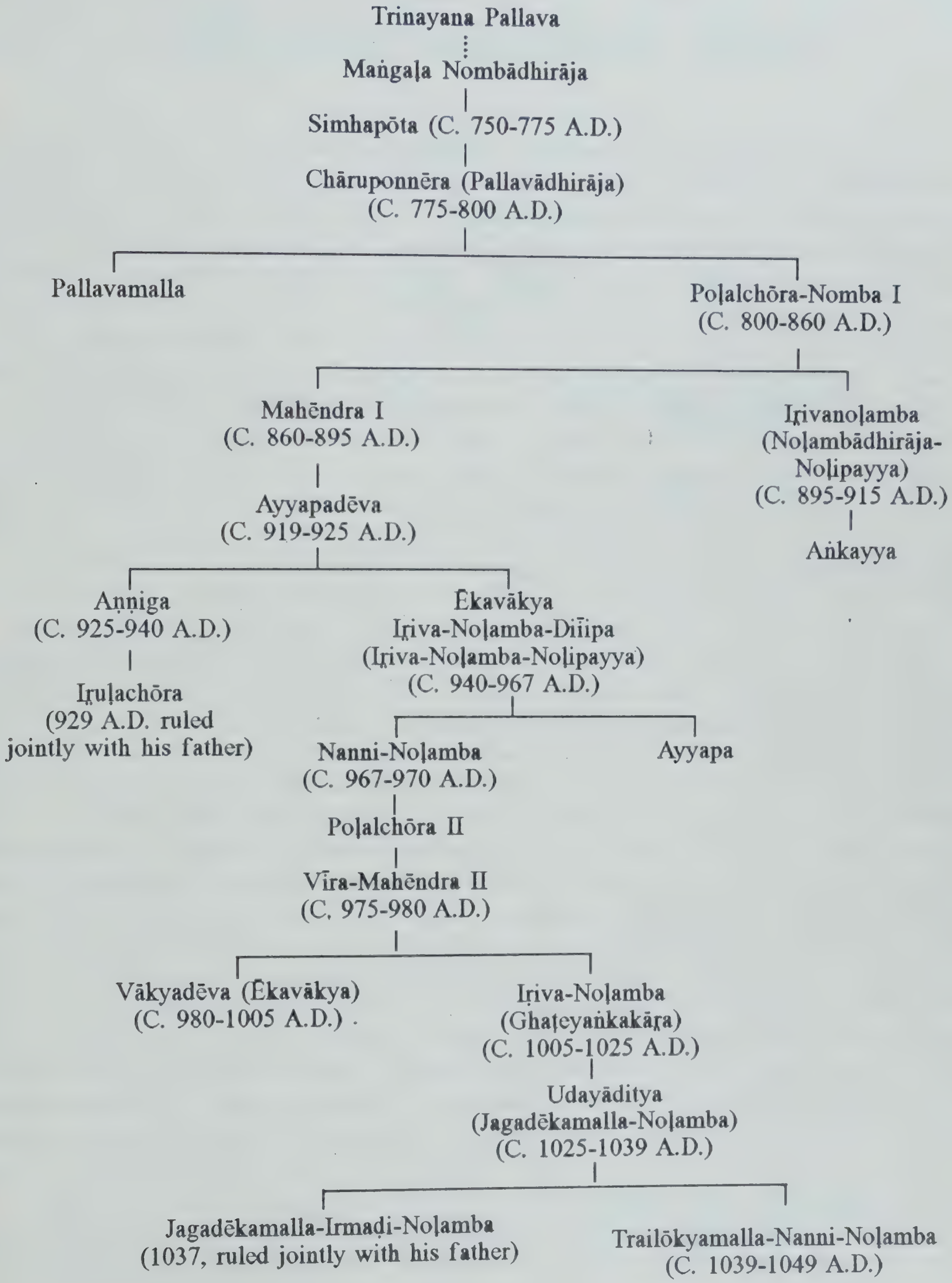
REFERENCES

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 561; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XII. Si. 38.
2. In the light of what has been said here, Rice's view *(Coorg Inscriptions*, Vol. I, Genealogy) that Pallavamalla and Poḷalchōra-Nombādhirāja were identical, does not appear to be tenable.
3. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. X. Mb. 38.
4. *Ep. Car.*, Mi. 27 and 52.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X. p. 62.
6. Maliyapūṇḍi grant of Ammarāja II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX. p. 51.
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X. p. 65.
8. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI. *Chaḻḻakere* Nos. 33 and 34.
9. *Ibid.*, Vol. XI. *Ci.* 8.
10. *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XII. Si. 38; *Madas Ep. Collection,* No. 348 of 1901.

11. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. III. *Md.* 13.
12. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XI. pp. 226 and 235.
13. *Ibid.,* Vol. X. p. 65.
14. *Ep. Rep.,* for 1913, part ii, para 13.
15. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X. p. 62 ff; *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX. No. 23; *Ep. Car.* Vol. XII. *Si.* 38; *S.I.I.,* Vol. VI. No. 453.
16. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. XII. *Tp.* 47.
17. *Ibid.,* Vol. XII. Si. 39.
18. *M.A.R.* 1918.
19. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII. p. 187.
20. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. X. *Cl.* 43 and 44.
21. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX. part i, No. 23.
22. *Ibid.,* Vol. IX. No. 24.
23. *Ibid.,* No. 23.
24. *Ibid.,* No. 30.
25. *Ibid.,* Vol. IX. Nos. 39 and 41; *An. Rep. on S.I.E.* 1932.
26. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI. No. 561; *Ep. Car.,* Vol XII. *Si.* 28.
27. *Ibid.,* Vol. IX. No. 31.
28. *Ibid.*
29. *Ibid.,* Vol. IX. Nos. 39, 41; *An. Rep., S.I.E.* 1931-32, part ii, para 8.
30. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. X. *Mb.* 122.
31. The date cited in the record, viz., *Śaka* 890, *Śukla Chaitra su.* 5, Monday, is irregular. In the cyclic year *Śukla* which corresponds to A.D. 969-70 *Chaitra śu.* 5 fell on Friday, 26th March A.D. 969, and not on Monday as given in the record.
32. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. XII. Tp. 103.
33. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX. No. 74.
34. I have shown elsewhere *(Ind. Cul.* Vol. VII. pp. 365 ff.) that this Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa is the son of Mahēndra II and not his brother as considered by some scholars.
35. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI. p. 28.
36. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No. 80.
37. *Ibid.,* No. 91.
38. *Ibid.,* No. 94.
39. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. XI. Dg. 126.

40. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No. 93.
41. *Ibid.,* No. 98.
42. *Ibid.,* No. 44.
43. *Ibid.,* No. 99.
44. *Ibid.,* No. 44.
45. *Ibid.,* No. 118.
46. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No. 126.
47. *Ibid.,* No. 133.

GENEALOGICAL CHART OF THE NOḶAMBA-PALLAVAS


Trinayana Pallava
Maṅgaḷa Nombādhirāja
Simhapōta (C. 750-775 A.D.)
Chāruponnēra (Pallavādhirāja)
(C. 775-800 A.D.)
Pallavamalla
Poḷalchōra-Nomba I
(C. 800-860 A.D.)
Mahēndra I
(C. 860-895 A.D.)
Iṟivanoḷamba
(Noḷambādhirāja-
Noḷipayya)
(C. 895-915 A.D.)
Aṅkayya
Ayyapadēva
(C. 919-925 A.D.)
Aṇṇiga
(C. 925-940 A.D.)
Iṟuḷachōra
(929 A.D. ruled
jointly with his father)
Ēkavākya
Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Diīipa
(Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Noḷipayya)
(C. 940-967 A.D.)
Nanni-Noḷamba
(C. 967-970 A.D.)
Ayyapa
Poḷalchōra II
Vīra-Mahēndra II
(C. 975-980 A.D.)
Vākyadēva (Ēkavākya)
(C. 980-1005 A.D.)
Iṟiva-Noḷamba
(Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa)
(C. 1005-1025 A.D.)
Udayāditya
(Jagadēkamalla-Noḷamba)
(C. 1025-1039 A.D.)
Jagadēkamalla-Irmaḍi-Noḷamba
(1037, ruled jointly with his father)
Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba
(C. 1039-1049 A.D.)

34

A NOTE ON NOḶAMBA POLALCORA II.*

In his interesting article on Noḷamba Poḷalcōra II on pp. 429 ff. of the April number of Volume VI of this journal, Mr. G.N. Saletore has, after an elaborate discussion, made out a genealogical table of the later Noḷamba-Pallavas. He has based this pedigree mainly on three inscriptions, namely the Kambadūru record of Poḷalcōra,[1] the Karṣaṇapalle epigraph of Mahēndra[2] and the Nēlapalli inscription of Iṛiva-Noḷamba.[3] But a correct understanding of the last mentioned record would, show that the pedigree of the Noḷambas as set forth by him is not acceptable. This inscription gives the genealogy of the family as follows:- Iṛiva-Noḷamba(Ēkavākya), his son Nanni-Noḷamba, his son Poḷalcōra, his son Vīra-Mahēndra, his son Vākyadēva, his younger brother Iṛiva-Noḷamba-*Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṛa (Pallavāditya).*[4] The portion specifying the relationship between Mahēndra and his son Vākyadēva and Iṛiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṛa reads:- Vira *Mahēndram=ātana māgaṁ Vākyadēvan=ātana tamman=Iṛiva-Noḷamba Ghaṭeyaṁkakāṛa Pallavādityaṁ.* Here the expression *māgaṁ* is apparently a mistake of the engraver for *magaṁ* meaning 'son'. That this is the correct way of interpreting the text of the record is proved by the Māgāṇḍlapalle inscription of Iṛiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṛa which furnishes the genealogy of the family in almost identical words as those of the Nēlapalli inscription. For ready reference I reproduce below the relevant passage from its text, which is published, with a *facsimile,* in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32 (part ii, para 8): *Svasti* [I*] *Samadhigata-paṁca-mahāśabda[ṁ] mahā-Pallavānvayaṁ śrī-Pṛthuvī-vallabhaṁ Palla[va]-kula-tiḷakan=Ēkavākyaṁ Kāṁcīpura-paramēśvaram śrīmad-Iṛiva-Nōḷamban=ātana magaṁ Na[nni-No]ḷamban=ātana magaṁ Poḷalcōradēvan=ātana magaṁ Vīra-Mahēṁdran=ātana magaṁ Ēkavākyadēva[ṁ] ātana tammaṁ Iṛiva-Noḷamba Ghaṭeyaṁkakāṛa Pallavādityaṁ.* It will be clear from the above extract that except for the title *Kāṁcīpura-paramēśvaram* applied to the first named Iṛiva-Noḷamba, the word *magaṁ* (=son) used here correctly to express the relationship of Ēkavākyadēva with his predecessor Vīra-Mahēndra and the name Ēkavākyadēva of the elder brother of Iṛiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṁkakāṛa in the place of Vākyadēva found in the Nēlapalli inscription, there is no difference whatever between the genealogical accounts of these two epigraphs. They establish beyond doubt that Vīra-Mahēndra had two sons Ēkavākyadēva or Vākyadēva and Iṛiva-Noḷamba of whom the latter was the younger. There is therefore no need to emend the words *Vīra-Mahēndran=ātana māgaṁ* (mistake for *magaṁ) Vākyadēvan* found in the Nēlapalli inscrption into *Vīra-Mahēndran=ātan=Amōghavākyadēvan* and to consider *Amōghavākya* as a *biruda* of Vīra-Mahēndra, as Mr. Saletore has done. It is thus evident that *māgam* of the Nēlapalli inscription is, as already stated, only a mistake for *magaṁ* and that the division of words followed in the published text of this record in Volume IX of the *S.I.I.* take for Ēkavākyadēvam. The misunderstanding of the Nēlapalli inscription has led Mr. Saletore to the error of taking Mahēndra II and his son Ēkavākyadēva or Vākyadēva as one and the same person and reducing the five generations of the family enumerated in the epigraph to four. With the rectification of this error and with the addition of the information obtained from an inscription at Morigeri[5] which carries forward the lineage by two more generations the revised genealogy of the later Noḷamba-Pallavas from Iṟiva-Noḷamba (Dilīpa) down-wards would stand as given below:-

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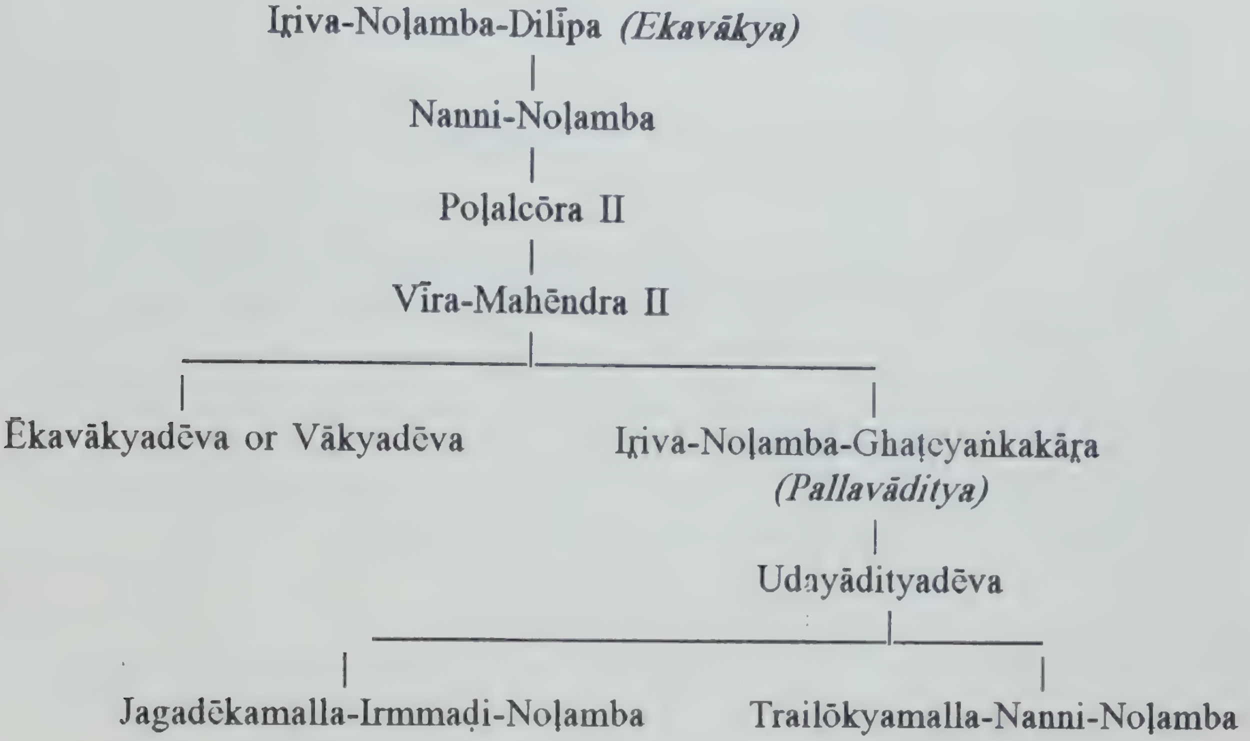
* Published in *Indian Culture,* Vol. VIII, p. 365-368.


Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Dilīpa *(Ekavākya)*
Nanni-Noḷamba
Poḷalcōra II
Vīra-Mahēndra II
Ēkavākyadēva or Vākyadēva
Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa *(Pallavāditya)*
Udayādityadēva
Jagadēkamalla-Irmmaḍi-Noḷamba
Trailōkyamalla-Nanni-Noḷamba

As other branches of this dynasty are beyond the limited scope of this short note they have not been taken into account here.

Now that it has been shown that Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṁkakāṟa was a son and not the younger brother of Vīra-Mahēndra II, as suggested by Mr. Saletore, the Mahēndra who has a younger brother named Iṟiva-Noḷamba must be regarded as different from Vīra-Mahēndra II. Consequently the supposition that Poḷalcōra, whose two sons were Mahēndra and Iṟiva-Noḷamba, is identical with Poḷalcōra II is not borne out by facts. It appears to me, therefore, that until future discoveries reveal the existence of a Poḷalcōra who had two sons bearing the names Mahēndra and Iṟiva-Noḷamba, we cannot lightly set aside the late Rao Bahadur H.Kṛishṇa Sastri's surmise that Mahēndra (I) and Iṟiva-Noḷamba (I) were the sons of Poḷalcōra I by two different wives.[6] Dīvalabbarasi, the queen of Poḷalcōra, mentioned in the Āvani inscriptions,[7] may therefore be considered as the mother of Iṟiva-Noḷamba (I), while the mother of Mahēndra (I) was Jāyabbe. The expression *puṭṭida-magaṁ* (i.e. son born to her) used with reference to Iṟiva-Noḷamba in Mb. 38 is significant and seems to have been deliberately employed in order to indicate that Mahēndra, though described as the son of this queen, was not her own son but her stepson. The practice of calling or describing stepsons as sons is not uncommon in inscriptions or literature and this custom exists even today in Hindu society.

Incidentally it may be observed that it does not seem proper to construe the clause *kanīya-nandanana rājyaman=īkṣisug=āva kālamuṁ* occurring in Mb. 38 as 'that great one's mother (i.e. Dīvalabbarasi)...was looking forward to the time when her younger son should come to the kingdom.' I would translate it as 'may the great one's mother...see always the kingdom of her younger son,' that is to say, may her younger son rule the kingdom for a very long time under the guidance of his mother.

REFERENCES

1. *South-Indian Inscriptions,* Volume IX, No. 30.
2. *Ibid.,* No. 39.
3. *Ibid.,* No. 41.
4. It may be pointed out here that the Nēlapalli inscription does not declare Iṟiva-Noḷamba-Ghaṭeyaṅkakāṟa to be the son of Vākyadēva as stated in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1914 (part II, para 37) and *Ibid.,* for 1931-32 (part II, para 8).
5. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, No. 101.
6. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, pp. 61 and 62.
7. *Ep. Car.,* Vol. X, Mulbagal (Mb.) 38 and 50.

35

A RĀSHṬRAKŪṬA COIN (?)*

The Gold Coin (No.14, Pl. XXV) Bhandarkar's list of Northern Inscriptions, has at the centre a standing bull facing left. The Syllable श्री punched twice on the coin once at the top and once at the bottom of the bull. The legend on the coin, which is punched clockwise, starts immediately after the syllable श्री at the top and ends just before that syllable. Both the syllable श्री and the legend are in Kannada characters of about the tenth century A.D. The legend reads धर्म्म [म] हींभर धवळ. Except for the third syllable म (the top of which has not come out on the coin) and the *repha* of र्म्म all the other letters are practically clear. The reverse of this coin is plain.

Whose coin can this be? First of all it has to be determined whether धवळ at the end of the legend is the proper name or family name of the king who issued the coin. We do not know of any king named धवळ who flourished in the tenth century and who could have used Kannada characters on his coins. We know only two kings who bore the name धवळ both of whom ruled in Rajasthan. The earlier of the two, who belonged to the Maurya lineage, flourished in the eighth century A.D. (A.D. 738).[1] The later Dhavala lived in A.D. 997 (Vikrama Samvat 1053) as recorded in an inscription of his found at Bijapur (near Mount Abu) in Rajasthan.[2] Though this king ruled during the period, to which the legend on the coin has been assigned paleographically, it is not possible that his coins could have been in circulation in Vidarbha (at Bhadravati near Chanda), so far away from his dominions; nor could he have used Kannada characters.

It is also difficult to take धवल as a family name. Though we know of a king named नरेंद्र धवल[3] who is considered to belong to the family called धवल his sphere of activity was in Northern Orissa, bordering on Bihar and as he was not a very prominent king his coins could not have been in use in Vidarbha. And it is impossible that he should have used the Kannada script. So the entire legend must be taken as the *biruda* of a king who issued the coin.

We must therefore look for a king, of whose dominion Vidarbha was a part, who reigned in the tenth century and who would have used the Kannada characters. The Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa kings of Malkhed, Govinda III (A.D. 792-814) and his son Amoghavarsha I (A.D. 814- 880) had the *birudas* Tribhuvana dhavala[4] and Atisaya dhavala[5] respectively. Of course Vidarbha was under the Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs for not less than two centuries. It is well known that the Rāshṭrakūṭas were of Kannada origin. So there is every probability that the title *(biruda)* धर्म्म महीभर धवल on this coin was borne by one of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa monarchs, who ruled in the tenth century. Among the kings of this family who flourished in the tenth century the most powerful was Kṛisnṇa III, (A.D. 939- 67), who ruled over an extensive empire and whose inscriptions are found from Jura near Maihar in M.P. to South Arcot district in Madras State. In fact in one of his inscriptions he is described as *Chakravartin.* In this connection it is worth noting that the title *Dharmma mahi-bhara-dhavala* resembles-closely-the biruda *Dharma-Mahārāja* borne by kings of a number of southern royal families, namely, Pallava, Vākāṭaka, Kadamba and Western Ganga.

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* Published in *Satabda Kaumudi*, Centinary Vol. of the Central Museum, Nagpur, 1964, p. 165-165.

One more point about assigning the coin remains to be examined; and that is the bull emblem appearing on the coin. It may be contended that as the Rāshṭrakūṭa emblem was the *Garuḍa,* it might be difficult to explain the appearance of the bull emblem. But there is no such formidable difficulty since we know instances of ruling dynasties using some other symbols instead of their own *lāñchhana.* For example on some coins of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishamasiddhi (Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana of the Seventh Century)[6] we find the symbol of the lion, while the Chālukya emblem is a boar. Similarly, one of the later Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇa who bore the title *Trilokyamalla*[7] issued coins with the symbol of a lion though the Chālukya emblem is a boar. Again the coins of the Vijayanagara kings[8] bear different emblems like Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa, Hanuman, Garuḍa and elephant, though their *lānchhana* was a boar. So the presence of the bull on the coin under review need not be considered to be a serious obstacle in assigning it to the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty of Malkhed.

We may now examine the possibility of assigning the coin to any of the monarchs whose emblem was the bull. The Eastern Gangas of Kalinga had the bull emblem but in the tenth century they did not use the variety of the Kannada or Telugu script.

Nor could their coins be in circulation near about Chanda. Another family which had the bull emblem and which used Kannada script was that of the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇa but they rose to power only in the middle of the twelfth century.

Thus, as stated above, in all likelihood the coin was issued by the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Krishna III. Future discoveries will have to confirm the attribution of the coin to this king.

REFERENCE

1. Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions-No. 18.
2. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, pp. 20 ff.
3. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff.
4. *Ibid.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 240.
5. *Ibid.,* Vol. VI, p. 100.
6. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXV, p. 322.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 321.
8. *Ibid.,* pp. 317-18.

36

A COIN OF KING KRISHNARAJA OF THE KALACHURI DYNASTY*

(Pl. V, 1)

Recently I had occasion to examine a silver coin in the possession of Dr. M.C. Chaube, Vice-President of the Hiralal Archaeological Society, Jabalpur, who was kind enough to give me a photograph of it. He told me that he got it from a goldsmith at Tewar (ancient Tripuri).

The coin was first noticed by Bhau Daji in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Volume XII (1876), pp. 213-4 who read the legend on it as *Rājā Parama Māheśvara; Mānasa Nṛipa Dēva Dhyāna Śrīkasa* (?). In his opinion the coin belonged 'to a king, probably of the Dakhan, about the end of the fourth century of the Christian era.'

Later the legend was read by Cunningham as *Parama Mahesvara, Mahāditya pādānudhyāta Sri Krishṇa Rājā* in his *Archaeological Survey of India Report,* Volume IX, p. 30. He attributed the coin to Kṛishṇa Rājā Rāshṭrakūṭa, whom he places in A.D. 375 to 400.

Fleet who examined the coin read the legend as *Parama-mahaśvara-matapatṛipadanudhyata-śrī-Kṛishṇaraja* which according to him represents *Paramamāhēśvara-mātāpitṛipādānudhyāta-śrī-Krishna rāja. (Indian Antiquary,* Volume XIV (1885), p. 68). He was of the view that the coin was in all probability issued by the Kalachuri king Kṛishṇarāja, father of Śaṅkaragaṇa *(Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, Bombay Gazetteer,* Volume I, part ii, p. 296).

Neither Vincent Smith nor Rapson who were aware of Fleet's reading accepted it. While the former slightly emended Cunningham's reading as *Parama Mahēśwara, Mahāditya* (or *Mahākshatra*) *pādānudhyāta Śrī Kṛishṇa Rājā (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Volume XXI (1889), p. 138), the latter deciphered it as *Parama Mahēśvara-mahādēvyōḥ pādānudhyāta Śrī Kṛishṇarāja (Indian Coins* (1898), p. 27, plate IV, coin No. 17).

It will be seen that the legend on the coin, whose photograph I am now publishing (Pl. V. 1) is both clear and complete. It can be read as परम [माहे]श्वर [मातापि]तृपादा[नु]ध्यात [श्रीकृ]ष्णराज This confirms the reading of the legend as corrected by Fleet.

Scholars are now agreed that his attribution of the coin to the Kalachuri King Kṛishṇarāja is correct. And Shri M.S.Vats has pointed out that the *Kṛishṇarāja-rūpaka* mentioned in the Anjaneri Plates of Pṛithivichandra Bhogaśakti of the Hariśchandra family is evidently the same coin *(Epigraphia Indica,* Volume XXV, p. 229). Apparently the human head on the obverse of the coin represents king Kṛishṇarāja who issued the coin.

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* Published in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. XVI, pt. I.

37

INFLUENCE OF CONTEMPORARY SCULPTURE ON THE KANNAḌA POET RUDRABHAṬṬA*

It is a well known fact that the distinguishing feature of the Hoysaḷa architecture is the richness of ornamentation and the enormously large variety of *motifs* employed in the sculptural decorations on the walls, pillars, towers and wherever space could be found, in temples of this style. The fabulous bird *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* (the mighty double-headed eagle) was a favourite bird with the sculptors of the Kannaḍa country; and fine specimens of the sculptural representation of this bird are found in many temples in the Hoysaḷa country. Students of South Indian History are familiar with the fact that the Hoysaḷas bore the title of *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* and possibly this mythical bird was one of the emblems.[1] That this bird was adopted as the insignia and *biruda* of this dynasty of rulers, as well as of many others in the Deccan[2] is probably due to the fact that it is a symbol of extraordinary strength and ferocity. It is depicted in many places as carrying elephants and lions in its claws and beaks. According to popular tradition, at the time of the Narasiṁha (man-lion) incarnation of Viṣṇu the world was frightened and to ally the fear of men Śiva took the form of a *śarabha*, which is supposed to have eight feet and to be capable of subduing lions, whereupon Viṣṇu assumed the form of a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* which is said to be stronger than the *śarabha* and its deadly enemy. Thus on account of its being associated with the royal insignia and on account of its incredible strength and form, which afforded the sculptor unlimited scope for the display of his imagination and skill, this fabulous bird must have been chosen as a favourite theme in the decoration of many temples of the Hoysaḷa period. In one single frieze the artist could depict the superiority in form and strength of one animal to another from the elephant up to *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* showing the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* as the most powerful of the series so as to make the whole design beautiful and attractive. Such sculptural panels intended to give an idea of the incredible strength and formidableness of the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* are to be found at least in two Hoysaḷa structures namely, the Kēśava temple at Bēlur and the Būchēśvara temple at Koramaṅgala, both in the Mysore state, the home country of the Hoysaḷas. These sculptures have been called 'the chain of destruction' by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Rao Bahadur R.Narasimhacharya, who has described them fully. The following description of the sculpture in the Bēlur temple which was built by the Hoysaḷa king Viṣṇuvardhana in A.D.1117 is given in his monograph on the Kēśava temple at Bēlur:[3] "To the right of the north-east ugly structure enshrining Raṅganātha, a chain of destruction-a double headed eagle or *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* attacking a *śarabha*, which attacks a lion, which in its turn attacks an elephant, the latter seizing a snake, which is in the act of swallowing a rat-with the figure of a sage wondering at the sight." The same scholar has described almost in the same words a similar sculpture on one of the walls of the shrine of Sūrya in the Būchēśvara temple at Koramaṅgala which was consecrated by Būchirāja on the day of the coronation of the Hoysaḷa king Ballala II in A.D. 1173:- "A chain of destruction-a double-headed eagle or *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* attacking a *śarabha,* which attacks a lion, which in its turn attacks an elephant, the latter seizing with its trunk a huge serpent which is in the act of swallowing an antelope-with the figure of a sage wondering at the sight."[4]

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* Published in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XX, pp. 341-344.

This sculptural *motif,* in spite of its not being natural, appears to have been so highly popular with, and evoked the admiration of the cultured classes of the 12th century that the Kannaḍa poet Rudrabhaṭṭa thought it appropriate to give a graphic account of it in his work *Jagannāthavijaya.* There are reasons to belive that this work was composed in about A.D. 1180, during the reign of the Hoysaḷa king Vīra-Ballāḷa II who ruled from A.D. 1173 to 1220.[5] While expatiating on the grandeur of the wild forest on the slopes of the Raivata mountain, Rudrabhaṭṭa has recorded his appreciation of this artistic design in vivid language in the following verse:-[6]

> "Mare-dind=ā sarpanaṃ hastiye piḍiduduv–ā sarpanaṃ hastiyaṃ ke-
> sari kop-āṭōpadiṃ poyd=ugibagiduḍuv=ā sarpanaṃ hastiyaṃ ke- |
> sariyaṃ siṃhāriy=eṇṭum padadin=iṛidud–ā sarpanaṃ hastiyaṃ ke-
> sariyaṃ siṃhāriyaṃ tuṃḍadoḷe piḍidu pāṛittu bheruṃḍan–āgaḷ" ||

It may be translated thus:

"The elephant caught the serpent which had eaten the deer; the lion struck and tore asunder that serpent and that elephant, with furious rage; the lions's enemy (i.e., *śarabha*) seized and pierced with its eight feet that serpent, that elephant and that lion; and then the *bheruṇḍa* caught hold of that serpent, that elephant, that lion and that lion's enemy in its beak and flew away." We may take it, that the poet Rudrabhaṭṭa was apparently inspired by the sculptural representations of this imaginary scene which must have been displayed prominently on several structures of his day and arrested his attention frequently.

REFERENCE

1. *An. Rep. on S.I.E.,* for 1937, p. 77 where is noted the existence of the figure of a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* sculptured on each of the four door-jambs of the big *gōpura* in the middle of the Kīḻchittirai-vīdi at Śrīraṅgam.
2. The history of the double-headed eagle or *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* goes back to very early times. On this *motif* Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy has observed as follows:- "The two-headed bird which first appears in Hittite art at Boghazkoi then on a Jain *stūpa* base at Taxila, later as a common Saracenic and European armorial device, and finally in Simhalese folk art." *(History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 12). The Taxila monument is attributed to the reign of the Scytho-Parthian king Azes II, i.e., about the Ist century A.D. The earliest example of *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* in South India is the one at the top of the *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa-stambha,* set up at Beḷagāmi, in the Mysore state, by the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Cāmuṇḍarasa in Śaka 969 (A.D.1047) though as a title *bhēruṇḍa* is found to have been borne by a chief named Satyāśraya in an inscription of Śaka 953 *(Ep. Carn.,* vol. VII, Shikarpur 30). It may be noted, however, that the sculpture at Beḷagāmi "takes other form of a human being, standing upright with two birds' heads looking opposite ways like the Russian eagle. It is eating or tearing something which it holds in its hands. (Cousens, *Chalukyan Architecture,* p.

146). The Coḷa feudatory chief Tribhuvanamalla Mallideva-Coḷa is given the title *vairi-nṛpa-śarabha-bheruṇḍa* in an inscription of Śaka 1101 *(S.I.I.,* vol. IX, No. 273). More than one Hoysaḷa king had the title *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* (see e.g. *Ep. Carn.,* vol. V, Arasikere 178; *S.I.I.,* vol. IX, No. 343; *S.I.I.,* Vol. VII, No. 213). Coming to the Vijayanagar dynasty we notice that *Rāya-gaja-gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is the legend on the coins of Devarāya *(Ind. Ant.,* vol. XX, pp. 303-304). Kṛṣṇadēvarāya had the title *gajaugha-gaṇḍabheruṇḍa (S.I.I.,* IV, p. 53) and *Arībha-gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is a *biruda* of Acyutarāya *(EI.,* III, p. 154). On one of the gold coins of Acyuta is found the figure of a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* holding elephants in its beaks and claws. *(Ind. Ant.,* vol. XX, p. 306; photograph on pl. ii). Some later chiefs are also known to have had the title *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa. Arirayagaja-gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is a *biruda* of the *Sāḷuva* chief Sāḷuva-Malla of Nagara who flourished in the 16th century *(S.I.I.,* vol. VII, No. 207). In the ceiling of the Vīrabhandra temple at Keḷadi (Karnataka) constructed by the Keḷadi chief Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka (A.D. 1566) is carved a fine specimen of the figure of *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa (Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1928, pl. XI). Even at the present day the royal house of Mysore uses this as a *biruda* and the figure of the bird adorns the Mysore flag. In the Telugu country *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* occurs as the *biruda* of the chief Rācūri Dāraparāja, whose wife made a grant in Śaka 1008 to the god Bhīmēśvara at Drākṣārāma *(S.I.I.,* Vol. No. 1053). The Koṭa chiefs of Amarāvatī had the appellation *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* and the seal of the Eḍavalli plates of Keta III, of this family (Śaka 1162) bears in relief the figure of a *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* (*Mad. Ep. Rep.,* 1916, part II, para 55). It was also borne by the Telugu Cōḍa chiefs Bhaktirāja and Annadeva *(Journal of Oriental Research,* vol. V, p. 139 and *S.I.I.,* vol. V, No. 145). The Sāgi chief Gannama-Nāyaka is stated in an inscription of Śaka 1399 at Vinukoṇḍa in the Guntur Dist. of the Madras Presidency (Now in Andhra Pradesh) (No. 528 of 1913 of the Madras Epigraphical collection) to have had the title *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa.* Below this inscription is a fine figure of the fabulous man-bird lifting up two elephants with his two hands.

It may not be out of place to add that the two-headed eagle is represented on the coins of Nasir-ud-din Mahmud (A.H. 597-619) and Rukn-ud-din Maudud (A.H 619-29) of the dynasty of Urtukis of Kafya *(Coins of Urtuki Turkmans* by Lane Poole, pp. 20 ff.; pl. V, Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 7). On one of them (No. 3) the eagle appears with grotesque wings formed of bearded heads of men. Lane Poole observes:- "The origin of the two-headed eagle is very obscure. One thing alone is certain, that it was known in the East long before it was adopted by the emperor of Germany".

3. Page 8.

4. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1920, pp. 4-5.

5. R. Narasimhacharya, *Karṇāṭaka-Kavi-charite,* Vol. I (revised), p. 270.

6. *Jagannāthavijaya* (ed. Mysore Oriental Library), *āśvāsa* 16, v. 14.

38

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE OF THE VIJAYANAGARA KING MALLIKARJUNA*

In the Hanumān temple at Hampi (near the old gate), are engraved two inscriptions (published below), one on each side of the entrance, above two sculptured human figures. One of them is very interesting as it states that the figure above which it is incised is that of king Mallikārjuna, son of Prahuḍa(Prauḍha)-Dēvēndrarāya. This is the first known sculptural representation, bearing a label, of any of the kings of the Sangama dynasty of Vijayanagara. The other states that the temple was constructed by Sīraṁgu (Śrīranga) the chauri bearer of the king Mallikārjuna. As the known dates of Mallikārjuna range from 1447 to 1465 A.D., the construction of this temple must be placed during this period.

The other known images of Vijayanagara rulers are the metallic statures of the great Kṛishṇarāya and his queens Chinnādēvi and Triumaladēvi. I take this opportunity of pointing our that the labels on these images are in Kannaḍa. They read: *Chinnādēviyammanavaru, Kṛishṇadēvarāyaru, Tirumaladēviyammanavaru.* A copper statue of Venkaṭarāya (Venkaṭa I as he is known) labelled in clear Telugu characters of that period still adorns the right side of the entrance into the Venkaṭēśa-Perumāḷ temple on the Tirumale hill. The stone images of a king and queen which are placed to the left of this copper statue do not bear labels . The late Rao Bahadur H.Krishna Sastri, the revered savant, was of the opinion that "they may represent the parents of Venkaṭa. viz., the first Karnāṭa king Tirumala and his queen Vengaḷāmbā."[1] However, Mr.V.N.Srinivasa Rao, in his scholarly book entitled Tirupati *Śrī-Venkaṭēśvara Bālāji* (published by Umadevan and Co., Madras, 1949), where he has published the photographs[2] of these images, considers that they are the statues of Achyutarāya and his consort. But I do not know on what authority he bases his opinion.

Yet another sculpture to be noted, is the one representing a king and two queens on his either side, at the foot of the left pillar of the *Tulābhāra,* near the Viṭṭhala temple. The sculpture does not bear any label, but it is conjectured to be that of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and his queens.[3]

Text of the Inscriptions

A

1 ಪ್ರಹುಡದೇವೇಂ-
2 ದ್ರರಾಯರ ಮಗ
3 ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ-
4 ರಾಯರು

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* Published in *Studies in Indian History and Culture,* (Dr.P.B. Desai Felicitation Volume), pp.181-182.

B

1 ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ-
2 ರಾಯರ ಚವರದ
3 ಸೀರಂಗು
4 ಕಟಿಸಿ-
5 ದ ಗುಡಿ

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. *Archaeological Survey of India Annual Repot,* 1911-12, p. 189 and Pl. LXXVI.
2. Illustration facing p. 155.
3. Longhurst: *Ruins of Hampi,* p. 41.

39

THE NAYAKAS OF KELADI*

One of the most prominent feudatory families which rose to power under the Vijayanagara rulers and finally established as an independent state was that of the Nāyakas of Keḷadi. As a complete history of this family cannot be compressed into the short space available in this volume, I shall here content myself with fixing the chronology of the chiefs of this house and give a brief account of the dynasty as gathered from inscriptions and other sources.

The first member of the family who rose to eminence was Chauḍa-Gauḍa of Keḷadi, a village in the Shimoga District of the Mysore State. He was born of humble parents who were cultivators ; his father was Basappa of Paḷḷivayal and his mother Basavamāmbe.[1] Though the exact process by which Chauḍappa came to the front cannot be ascertained, all accounts agree in attributing his rise to the hidden treasure which he unearthed one day while ploughing his field. By means of this treasure he and his younger brother Bhadrappa seems to have gathered round them a brand of armed men with whose help they began to take possession of the neighboring villages and probably tried to carve out a small principality for themselves. The date of this acquisition of power by the brothers cannot be determined with any exactitude with the material now available. The *Keḷadi-Nṛipa Vijaya* (K.N.V.) a Kannaḍa work in *champū* style dealing at length with the history of this family states that the emperor of Vijayanagara who recognised the growing strength and influence of these brothers and invited them to his presence was the great Kṛishṇarāya, though it places in A.D. 1499 Chauḍa's installation as the Nāyaka of Keḷadi, which according to this very source took place after the latter had returned from Vijayanagara.[2] This date, it should be noted, was full ten years before Kṛishṇarāya ascended the throne. The *Śivatatvaratnākara* (S.T.R.) an encyclopaedia in Sanskrit, which also gives a history of the family, however, does not mention the name of the Vijayanagara king who sent for Chauḍappa. But this much is certain that Chauḍa was powerful enough to record on stone a grant of land in his own name in A.D. 1506,[3] without mentioning any paramount sovereign. It appears not unlikely that the adventurous career of Chauḍa began sometime in the reign of the Tuḷuva king Vīra-Narasiṁha who, according to Nuniz, "during the six years of his rule Busbalarao was always at war; for, as soon as his father was dead, the whole land had revolted under its captains."[4] The brothers were promptly ordered by the sovereign to be seized and imprisoned at the capital.[5] It is worth noting that both the S.T.R. and the K.N.V., the two chief literary sources for the history of this family are silent about this inglorious incident. An opportunity having presented itself to show their loyalty, the Keḷadi brothers offered their services to put down a rebellious chief; and when they succeeded in their undertaking the king appointed Chauḍa as the chief of Keḷadi and other places that the brothers had captured.[6] Though both the S.T.R. and the K.N.V. inform us that the title of *Nāyaka* was conferred upon Chauḍa by the king of Vijayanagara, his inscription referred to above as well as a record of the time of his son[7] Sadāśiva-Nāyaka his name is presented only as Chauḍa-Gauḍa and in neither of them is the title of *Nāyaka* applied to him. That the title of *Nāyaka* is not coupled with his name even in the epigraph of the reign of his son would indicate that the Nayakship of Keḷadi was not founded during the time of Chauḍa. The change of the family's capital from Keḷadi to Ikkeri in the cyclic year Prajōtpatti (=A.D. 1511-12) is attributed to Chauḍa by K.N.V. Rice, however, places the event in about A.D. 1560[8] without citing any authority and Fr.Heras in the reign of Chikka Saṅkaṇṇa[9] on the authority of S.T.R. But according to this work the builder of Ikkeri was Veṅkatappa I.[10] The K.N.V. ascribes to him a rule of 14 years from A.D. 1499 to 1513,[11] but the only epigraph of his, known so far, is dated Śaka 1429 (A.D. 1506).[12] In the inscription of Chauḍa-Gauḍa, just mentioned, the title of *Yādava-Murāri* is applied to him, though the S.T.R. states that the title was given to Sadāśiva-Nāyaka by Rāmarāja. Moreover the dates assigned in this literary work to the Keḷadi chiefs[13] up to the time of Veṅkatappa-Nāyaka I, do not tally with those that can be obtained for them from inscriptions and I have therefore adopted only the dates known for each member of the family from epigraphs. This and *Kōṭe-Kōlāhala* were characteristic *birudas* of the family borne by all the rulers from Sadāśiva-Nāyaka onwards. Chauḍa had two sons Sadāśiva and Bhadra. From the inscription of Sadāśiva noticed above we learn that the name of his mother was Virupamma.

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* Published in *Vijayanagara Sex centenary Commemoration Volume,* pp. 255-269.

There is no means of ascertaining the exact date of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka's accession. While the K.N.V. gives us to understand that he ruled from A.D. 1513 to A.D. 1545,[14] the earliest reliable date for him as recorded in an inscription at is the cyclic year Krōdhin corresponding to A.D. 1544-45.[15] And among his numerous inscriptions there are two which furnish for him the date Śaka 1487[16] (=A.D. 1565). It may be noted, however, that though these records are on stone and otherwise beyond suspicion, the details of date recorded in them do not work out correctly. But a stone inscription[17] at Hoysāḷa in South Kanara district, is dated Śaka 1486, Rudhirōdgārin, Bhādrapada, śu. 12, Śrāvaṇa-dvādaśi corresponding quite regularly to A.D. 1563 August 30. So we may safely conclude that he ruled at least up to A.D. 1563 and probably upto A.D. 1565. In the K.N.V we are told that Sadāśiva-Nāyaka met the emperor, who was pleased with his prowess and bestowed upon him the title of Immaḍi-Sadāśivēndra-Nāyaka.[18] But according to the S.T.R.[19] the Vijayanagara king whom the Nāyaka met was Rāmarāja, the de facto ruler of the kingdom during the reign of Sadāśivarāya. The statement of the S.T.R. is in perfect accord with the dates obtained for Sadāśiva-Nāyaka from inscriptions, all of which mention either Sadāśivarāya or (Aliya) Rāmarāja as his overlord. From the same work we learn that Rāmarāja placed him at the head of an army in a campaign against the rulers of Kalyana and Kalburgi who were joined by the lord of Bijapur. Sadāśiva-Nāyaka easily defeated the enemy and aided Rāmarāya in capturing the city of Kalyāṇa.[20] This battle is placed by Fr. Heras in about A.D. 1549.[21] In recognition of the services rendered on this occasion, Rāmarāja besides bestowing upon Sadāśiva the titles of *Rāya-Nāyaka* and *Kōṭe-Kōlāhala* appointed him governor of Chandragutti, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru. And it may be noted that in the earliest record of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka of A.D. 1544-45 noticed above, he is not mentioned as the governor of any district. But in an inscription[22] dated Śaka 1474 (A.D. 1550) he is for the first time, stated to have been ruling Araga (18 *kampaṇas).* He was administering the district under the orders of Sadāśivarāya, who was reigning at Hampi. We do not, however, find him governing the districts below the ghats, i.e., Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūru, etc., till A.D. 1554. It may be interesting to observe here that one[22-a] of the inscriptions of the reign of Sadāśivarāya states that it was the *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Veṅkatādrirāja that had entrusted Sadāśiva-Nāyaka with the administration of Bārakūru.[23] This Veṅkatādri is no other than the brother of Aḷiya Rāmarāya and was wielding considerable influence. The next notable achievement of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was his invasion of the country of Baridu Padushah, Sultan of Bidar, which was also undertaken at the bidding of Rāmarāya.[24] This must be one of the several encounters between the rulers of Vijayanagara and Bidar. He was then asked to put down the rebel chiefs of Tuḷu and Kēraḷa. It was probably with a view to keep these chiefs under control that Sadāśiva- Nāyaka was made the governor of Tulu-rajya which we find him ruling till A.D. 1565. Another chief that was taken captive by Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was Madrasa of Bankāpura.[25] The extent of territory governed by Sadāśiva is stated in an inscription[26] of A.D. 1563 to be 56 *gāvudas* comprising Āraga, Gutti thirty-six *kampaṇas,* Tuḷu-rājya, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru.

Inscriptions dated Śaka 1488[27] (A.D. 1566) i.e., one year later than the last known date of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, refer themselves to the reign of Immaḍi-Sadāśiva-Nāyaka; and A.D. 1566 is the only date available for him so far. It may therefore be surmised that he was the successor of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka. But none of the inscriptions of Immaḍi-Sadāśiva tell us whether this was his name or surname nor do they reveal the relationship that he bore to his predecessor. as has been stated above, Immaḍi-Sadāśivēndra was, according to the K.N.V., the title bestowed on Sadāśiva-Nāyaka by Kṛishṇarāya, the emperor of Vijayanagara. The S.T.R., however, tells us that under this name Sadāśiva-Nāyaka installed his younger brother, Bhadrappa, on the throne of Keḷadi just before his retirement.[28] A copper-plate inscription of A.D. 1592 about whose genuineness there is no room for suspicion, states that Sadāśiva-Nāyaka and Immaḍi-Sadāśiva were the grandfather and father respectively of Venkatappa-Nāyaka I,[29] thus indicating that Immaḍi-Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was the surname of Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa, whose son was Veṅkatappa I, according to all authorities. While we learn from the K.N.V. that the successor of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka was Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa that Sadāśiva was succeeded by Bhadrappa. Though the evidence regarding the identity of Immaḍi-Sadāśiva is conflicting, I am inclined to think that the epigraphical document which refers itself to the reign of the son of Immaḍi-Sadāśiva in A.D. 1592, barely six years after the only known date of the latter chief, is entitled to greater credence than the literary sources which are removed by centuries from his time. I would therefore identify Immaḍi-Sadāśiva-Nāyaka with Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa, the father of Veṅkaṭappa and son of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka. Other evidence also seems to support this identification. Fr. Heras has stated on the authority of *Keḷadi-Arasu-Vaṁśāvaḷī* that Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa was deposed.[30] There is perhaps a veiled allusion to this unfortunate incident in the statement of the S.T.R. that the emperor asked Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa to stay at the capital with his family, entrusting the administration of his territories to his younger brother.[31] This work further states that after ruling the kingdom for some time Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa went on a pilgrimage[32] -probably on account of his deposition. To this pilgrimage of Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa a large space devoted in the K.N.V. The fact that the few inscriptions of Immaḍi-Sadāśiva are all dated in the same year viz., Śaka 1488, would indicate that his reign was short and uneventful.[33] Probably, it is this personage who is represented as fettered and manacled in a sculpture in the Aghōrēśvara temple, with the label Huchcha Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka. All these taken together would lead us to the surmise that Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa was also known as Immaḍi-Sadāśiva. The only historical fact of his reign that is worth mentioning is his campaign against the Portuguese in company with Rāmarāya's cousin Viṭṭhala, which is recorded in the S.T.R.[34] This probably refers to Viṭṭhala's southern expedition in the course of which he came into conflict with the Portuguese on the Fishery Coast.[35] Though the lord of Goa is stated to have been captured, we have no means of verifying the correctness of this statement. If so, this victory must have been achieved when Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa was the Yuvarāja under his father for the last known date of Viṭṭhala is A.D. 1558.

All authorities are agreed that Chikka-Saṅkaṇṇa succeeded Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa and inscriptions which refer themselves to the reign of Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka without the epithet Doḍḍa or Chikka have probably to be assigned to the younger of the two brothers. The earliest of these records[36] is dated Śaka 1492 (A.D. 1570) and the latest[37] Śaka 1503 (A.D. 1580). But we also find epigraphs of Rāmarāja-Nāyaka, the son of Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa ranging in date from Śaka 1493[38] (A.D. 1570) to Śaka 1508[39] (A.D. 1586). The explanation of this overlapping of dates is found in a lithic record from S.Kanara, dated Śaka 1500 (A.D. 1577), which states clearly that Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka and Rāmarāja-Nāyaka were together ruling over Gutti, Āraga, Bārakūru and Maṅgaḷūru districts.[40] It may therefore be concluded that at least up to A.D. 1580 these two princes ruled their dominions jointly. Their loyalty to the paramount authority even after the staggering disaster of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi is noteworthy. Most of the records of these two chiefs mention the ruling Vijayanagara sovereigns Sadāśiva, Tirumala or Śrīraṅga.[41] One great achievement of Saṅkaṇṇa was the subjugation of Bhairadēvi of Gērusoppe.[42] He is also described as having defeated Mamjulakhana (Manzar Khān).[43] The K.N.V makes Chikka-Saṅkaṇṇa the contemporary of Aliya Rāmarāja and relates that he took part in the battle of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi.[44] But this statement cannot be relied upon as the earliest date known for this Nāyaka is A.D. 1570, i.e., five years after the catastrophe of Rakkasa-Taṅgaḍi and one year before the only known date of Immaḍi-Sadāśiva (Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa). As noted above the latest available date of Chikka-Saṅkaṇṇa is A.D. 1580; and we find inscriptions of his co-regent Rāmarāja-Nāyaka dated Śaka 1503 (A.D. 1582)[45] and Śaka 1508 (A.D. 1586).[46] There is however no means of ascertaining definitely whether both the uncle and nephew ruled conjointly till A.D. 1586 or Rāmarājayya ruled independently after A.D. 1580. No outstanding exploit is recorded about Rāmarajayya. But he was keeping intact his hereditary province. According to an inscription[47] dated Śaka 1495 (A.D. 1573), he was ruling, under the orders of Śrīraṅgarāya, the districts of Āraga, Gutti, Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūru and other kingdoms 'devolved in succession.' It is necessary here to draw attention to a serious error of the S.T.R. which besides telling us that Chikka-Saṅkaṇṇa was succeeded by Veṅkatappa, makes Rāmarāja-Nāyaka the latter's younger brother and Yuvarāja.[48] But Veṅkatappa is known to have been the younger brother and successor or Rāmarājayya.

While the initial year of Veṅkatappa-Nāyaka's reign is placed in Śaka 1505 (A.D. 1588) by the K.N.V.,[49] the earliest known for him from epigraphic records is Śaka 1514 (A.D. 1592).[50] We find him acknowledging the suzerainty of the Vijayanagara king till A.D. 1613, in which year he is stated to have been ruling Tuḷu-rājya and Malerājya, as a subordinate of Veṅkatapatidēva Mahārāya I.[51] The Italian traveller Pietro della Valle who went to Ikkeri with a Portuguese embassy states that "this prince Veṅkatappa Naicka was sometime vassal and one of the ministers of the great king of Vidia Nagar ... but after the downfall of the king ... Venkatappa Naicka remained absolute prince of the State of which he was governor, which also soldier, he hath much enlarged."[52] In an inscription of his grandson and successor Vīrabhadra, he is described as a diamond elephant goad to the rutting elephants the bounding Tauḷava kings, a sun to the darkness the Kirātas, a boundary mountain to stop the great ocean of Mlēchchhas ever seeking to overflow the south in victorious expedition.[53] The S.T.R. and K.N.V attribute to him numerous victories among which may be mentioned the repulsion of the Bijapur forces under Maṁjula-Khāna, which had come to help a certain Hanuma, who invaded his territory and the defeat and capture of Bhairadēvi of Gērusoppe, who was a feudatory of Bijapur. In commemoration of the first victory he erected a pillar at Hāngal.[54] He acquired territory down to the borders of Malabar and even came into conflict with the Portuguese. So powerful was he that the Portuguese sent an embassy to him in A.D. 1623.[55] He greatly increased the power of his dynasty and largely extended his kingdom by his conquests. The latest date available for him from inscriptions is Śaka 1551[56] (A.D. 1629), which was also the last year of his reign according to K.N.V.[57] He married a daughter of Virūpanna-Nāyaka,[58] whose name is not known, and had a son named Bhadrappa. This prince died during the lifetime of his father, leaving a son named Vīrabhadra. The latter was assisting his grandfather Veṅkaṭappa in the administration of the province, and in course of time succeeded him.

Vīrabhadra-Nāyaka's earliest date gathered from inscriptions is A.D.1629,[59] which is also given as the first year of his reign in the K.N.V.[60] From this reign onwards the dates assigned in this work to the chiefs of this family may be regarded as fairly correct. In 1631, the Portuguese were able to obtain from the king of Ikkēri (i.e. Vīrabhadra) a treaty under which he agreed not only to cede the island of Kamboli and the fort of Errakālur but also allowed them certain trading privileges.[61] He had to shift his capital in A.D. 1638 from Ikkeri to Bidanur on account of Ranadulla Khan's attack on, and devastations of the former place.[62] An inscription of A.D. 1641, however, describes him as 'having given protection of the southern kings alarmed by the great army of the Pātuśāha' (i.e., the Sultān of Bijāpur).[63] The same record also praises him as 'a long right arm to the *Rajādhirāja Paramēśvara* Veṅkatādri'. It is not possible to determine whether the sovereign referred to here was Veṅkata II of Vijayanagara who reigned from A.D. 1630 to 1642 for, none of the epigraphic records of Vīrabhadra mentions any paramount ruler. If, on the other hand, the monarch meant was Veṅkatapatirāya I, who died in A.D.1614, the services of Vīrabhadra must be considered to have been rendered when, as *Yuvarāja,* this Keḷadi prince was the lieutenant of his grandfather. It may be interesting to notice here a copper-plate grant[64] whose date falls into this reign. This record which bears the date Śaka 1553, Pramōda, Mārgaśira, śu. 5 (=A.D. 1630 November 28, Sunday; not verifiable) refers itself to the reign of Vīrappa-Nāyaka, son of Rāmarāja-Nāyaka. Though this prince is mentioned in the K.N.V.[65] under the name of Vīra-voḍeya, he is not known to have ever ascended the throne. If the grant is genuine we must surmise that he ruled for some time jointly with Vīrabhadra. Śaka 1567 expired or Śaka 1568 current (A.D. 1645) is the latest date recorded for him both in inscriptions and in the K.N.V.[66]

Vīrabhadra-Nāyaka had no sons and is, therefore, stated to have placed the administration of the kingdom in the hands of his uncles Śivappa-Nāyaka and Venkatappa-Nāyaka, having crowned the elder of them.[67] The *Chikkadēvarāyavaṁśāvaḷi,* however, informs us that Śivappa-

Nāyaka murdered his chief Vīrabhadra-Nāyaka and ascended the throne and hence Chikkadevaraja the *Yuvarāja* of Mysore rejected the presents offered to him by such a traitor.[68] Though there is no apparent reason for doubting the veracity of this statement, no other evidence in support of it is available from any other source. The epigraphs of Śivappa-Nāyaka, who was one of the most distinguished members of his house, range in date from A.D. 1652 to 1659. According to the K.N.V.[69] he ruled from A.D. 1645, to 1660 and as the latest known date of his predecessor is 1645, there does not seem to be any objection to accept the date assigned to him by the Kannaḍa work. Among his military achievements, the one that had far reaching consequences was the recapture of Vēlāpura (Vellore), from the enemy who had taken possession of it after driving out the emperor Śrīrangarāya. Hearing of the victory of Śivappa-Nāyaka Śrīraṅga who was wandering without a home came back to Vellore and gave him many titles and honours.[70] The incident narrated here seems to refer to the siege of Vellore by the combined forces of Bijapur and Golcoṅḍa and the consequent flight of Śrīraṅga.[71] Śivappa who was a great warrior and who, according to Leonard Paes 'possessed enormous wealth and maintained a standing army of forty to fifty thousand men,' could easily achieve the victory claimed for him in the S.T.R. 'In 1653, the Bednur chief, with the help of the Dutch, drove the Portuguese out of the Honavar fort';[72] he also recovered from them other forts such as Ikkēri, Sorab and Udagaṇi, etc.[73] and built many forts in the Kēraḷa country.[74] In 1657 he recaptured from the Portuguese the forts of Kundapur, Gangolli and Mangalore.[75] He was constantly at war with Oḍeyars of Mysore and at one time laid siege to the fort of Paṭṭaṇa (Śrīraṅgapaṭṭaṇa)[76] which was their capital. An inscription describes him as ruling over Āraga, Gutti, Bārakūru, Maṅgaḷūru and other places, his kingdom stretching to the western ocean.[77] According to Leonardo Paes his possessions extended from the Tudry river to Kasargod or Nileśvar.[78] Thus the testimony of literature and inscriptions agree with that of foreigners in describing him as a successful warrior who confirmed the stability of his kingdom. He also introduced the land assessment known as Śivappa-Nāyaka's *shist*[79] which was in prevalence for a considerable time after him.

I have very little to add to what has been already written about the successors of Śivappa by Rice and other scholars. So, I do not consider it necessary in this short paper to treat individually the reign of every ruler that followed Śivappa. The order of their succession and dates will be found in the pedigree of the dynasty given at the end of this article. Here I shall only make a few observations concerning three of them. The last date of Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka I was A.D. 1671 both according to Rice and the K.N.V. but there are two inscriptions which furnish for him the dates Śaka 1596 (A.D. 1674)[80] and Śaka 1599 (A.D. 1677).[81] It has therefore to be surmised that he lived up to A.D. 1677, though the administration of the kingdom was being carried on in the name of her husband by his wife Chennammāji, the heroic Keḷadi queen, who defeated the army of Aurangazeb which was pursuing Rājārāma, son Sivaji, and gave him shelter. Another important fact disclosed by a third record[82] is that Chennammāji the initial year of whose reign is given by the K.N.V. and Rice as A.D. 1671, had as early as Śaka 1583 (A.D. 1661) issued independently, an order granting a piece of land. This date, it must be noted, falls into the reign of Bhadrappa-Nāyaka, who was the elder brother of Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka I and for whom inscriptions supply us with the dates A.D. 1661 to 1663. How could Chennammāji, the lawful wife *(dharmapatni)* of Sōmaśēkhara I, make a grant under her own authority in the reign of Bhadrappa? It is difficult to solve this problem unless we suppose that, Sōmaśēkhara also began to rule in A.D. 1661 and was co-regent with his elder brother up to 1663 which is the earliest date yet discovered for Sōmaśēkhara from inscriptions,[83] and that Chennammāji was associated with her husband in the government of the country from the very commencement of his reign. The third chief whose life has to be touched upon here is Sōmaśēkhara III, the last of the Nāyakas that exercised ruling powers. According to Rice, he died unmarried in Poona, whither he was taken by the Marathas.[84] But in the publisher's preface to the S.T.R. we are told that "on hearing that Hyder was contemplating an invasion of the Maratha country, he (Sōmaśēkhara) was kept under the protection of the Desai of Nargund," that he married a daughter of Basappa Setti at Nargund, where his descendants are still living .

A few words may now be said about the monuments of the Keḷadi chiefs, their coinage and religious and literary activities. Chauḍappa is stated to have built the temple of Rāmēśvara at Keḷadi, his grandson Doḍḍa-Saṅkaṇṇa installed the image of Vīrabhadra in a building by the side of the temple of Rāmēśvara and erected at Ikkēri the Aghōrēśvara temple.[85] These structures which are still preserved in a good condition have been fully described in the *Mysore Archaeological Report*, for 1932,[86] from which I give an extract:- "The Rāmēśvara temple is a medium sized structure built completely of greenish grey stone in the mixed Hoysaḷa-Dravidian style which was prevalent under the Ikkēri Nāyakas. The Vīrabhadra temple is nearly similar in form to the Rāmēśvara temple. The Aghōrēśvara temple at Ikkēri is a remarkable piece of work specially because it is the largest and finest example of the Ikkēri school of architecture which appears to have flourished in the Malnāḍ during the Vijayanagara period. It reminds us of several characteristic features of Hoysaḷa architecture. It combines Hoysaḷa with Dravidian features and suggests that the architecture of Malnāḍ unlike that of Maidan was not overwhelmed by the Southern or Drāvidian style but retained numerous features of Hoysaḷa style." In the temple of Aghorēśvara are to be seen three prostrating figures, in low relief, bearing the labels Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, Bhadra-Nāyaka and Huchcha Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka.[87] Other noteworthy monuments of the Keḷadi rulers is the *Champakasarasīmaṭha* at Ānandapura, and the tank in it called Champakasaras, both stated to have been built by Venkaṭappa-Nāyaka.[88] About these Rice says that this *maṭha* "must also probably have been a superior building. There still remain some fine stone elephants and a splendid tank belonging to it built round with steps of laterite".[89] A fine specimen of the sculpture of this period is the exquisite figure of the fabulous bird *gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* in the ceiling of the Vīrabhadra temple at Keḷadi.[90] Town planning had also reached a high level of excellence during this period. The city of Ikkēri which was visited by Pietro Della Valle is described by him as follows:- "It was in a beautiful plain with three fortified gates and three ditches ... The town was very large ... and was laid out in broad shady streets and there were many pools of water and a few groves."[91]

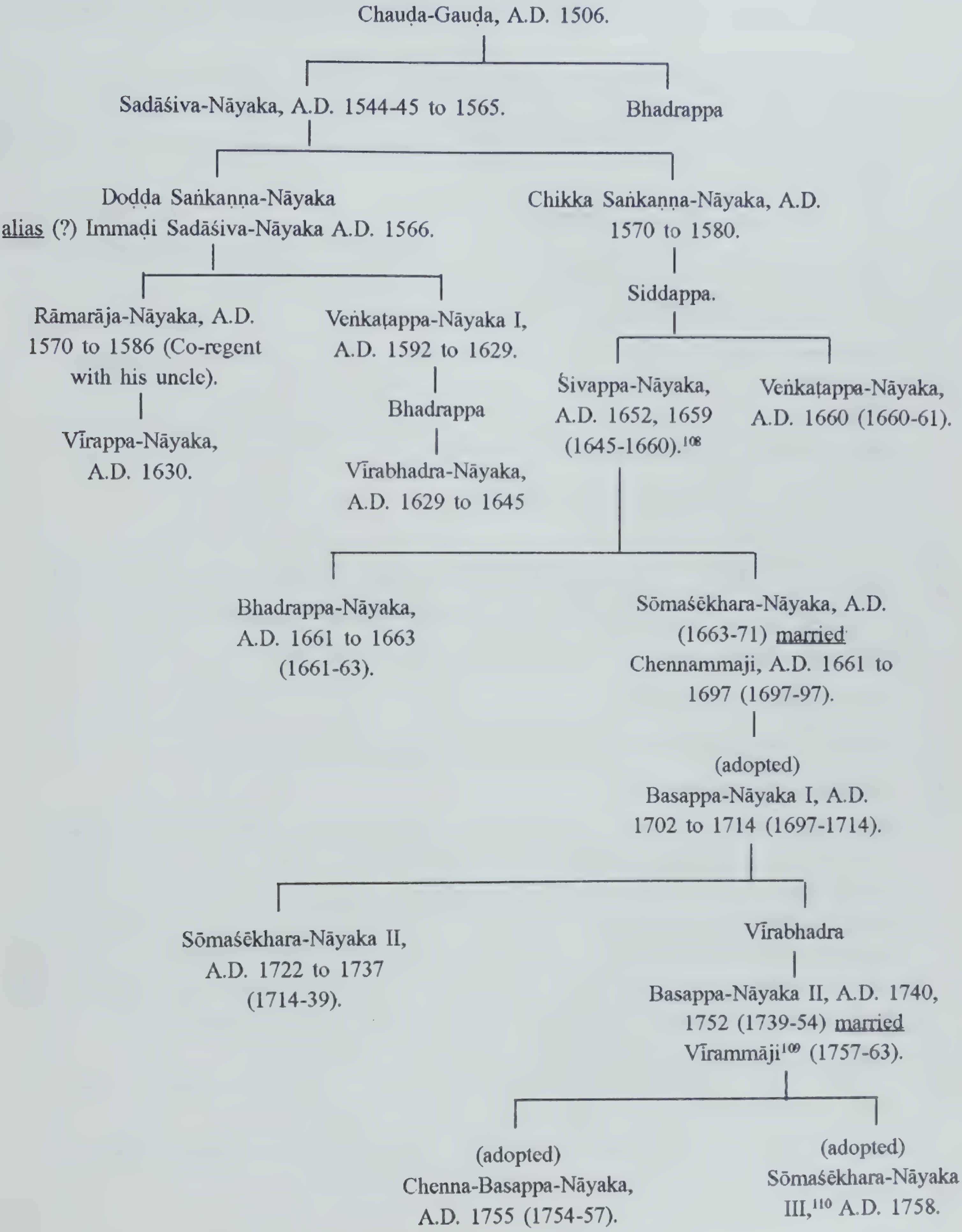
The Keḷadi Nāyakas issued their own gold coins which are well known by the name of Ikkēri-*varahas*. The gold coins of Sadāśiva- Nāyaka, which were probably restruck from time to time till the end of the dynasty, have been described by the veteran scholar M.M. Rao Bahadur R.Narasimhacharya. He says:- "They bear on the obverse the figure of Siva holding the trident in the right hand and the antelope in the left with Pārvatī seated on his left thigh, while on the reverse there is the legend *Śrī-Sadāśiva* in two or three horizontal lines in Nagari characters. This obverse which was derived from the coins of Harihara, Dēvarāya and Sadāśiva of Vijayanagara was also adopted subsequently by Hyder and Kṛishṇarāja Oḍeyar III of Mysore. It is of some antiquity being found in the Tinnevelly coins of the Koṛkai king Karikāla, who ruled in the early part of the 12th century. That these coins do not belong to Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara is clear from the absence of the epithet *Pratāpa* on the reverse."[92]

Vīraśaivism appears to be the faith to which the Nāyakas adhered but their catholicity and toleration are amply borne out by inscriptions and literature. They were great devotees of the Advaita *maṭha* at Śringeri to which institution they made several grants; and the *biruda viśuddha-vaidik-ādvaita-siddhānta-pratishṭhāpana* was borne by them. An inscription at Sringeri dated Śaka 1542 (A.D. 1621) states that Veṅkatappa-Nāyaka I re-established Sringeri.[93] Another of the same place[94] records the restoration of the endowment of the Śringeri *maṭha* by Śivappa-Nāyaka. Sachchidānanda-Svāmin, the Advaita *guru* of Muḷabāgilu (in the Shimoga District) who was also a recipient of many gifts from this family granted the village Bhadrasamudra in Śaka 1588 for the increase of the glory of Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka.[95] They also gave liberal patronage to the Dvaita *maṭhas* at Udipi and Kudali. Rāmarāja-Nāyaka made a grant of land in Śaka 1493 (A.D. 1571) to the celebrated Dvaita teacher and scholar Vādirājatīrtha for worship in the temple of god Kṛishṇa[96] at Udipi. It is interesting to observe that this gift was made in order that Sadāśiva-Nāyaka may obtain reunion with Śiva. At the time of the reinstallation *(punahpratishtha)* of god Kṛishṇa at Udipi by Vēdavēdyatīrtha, disciple of Vādirājatīrtha, in Śaka 1536 (A.D. 1613) Veṅkaṭappa-Nāyaka granted to the temple the village of Hūvinakere in Bārakūru-rājya.[97]

Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka III made a grant of the village Sāvagoṇḍanahalli to Raghurājatīrtha of the Kūḍali-*maṭha.*[98] They made endowments not only to Hindu institutions but also to mosques. As an instance of this may be mentioned a grant of land made in Śaka 1550 (A.D. 1627) by Veṅkatappa-Nāyaka I to a mosque built by him at Bhuvanagiridurga.[99] Though no gift is known to have been made to any Christian institution, "there were more than thirty thousand Christians among the subjects of Śivappa-Nāyaka."[100]

As regards literature, Veṅkatappa-Nāyaka I wrote a commentary in Sanskrit on *Śivagita*[101] and got Kannaḍa work of the same name as well as another entitled *Śivāshṭagīte* written by Tirumalabhaṭṭa.[102] During the same reign the poet Ranganātha Dīkshita wrote a commentary on the Agamic work *Tantrasāra.* Aśvapaṇḍita, another scholar in his court, wrote a treatise on horses known as *Mānapriya.* Rāmānuja-Śriṅgin, a great Viśishṭādvaita teacher, was greatly respected and supported by this Nāyaka.[103] The patronage afforded by this ruler to the Mādhva scholars Vādirājatīrtha and his disciple Vēdavēdyatīrtha has already been mentioned. Basavappa-Nāyaka I, the adopted son of Chennammāji, wrote the *Śivatatvaratnākara*[104] in A.D. 1708. He was also the author of another Sanskrit work named *Subhāśhita-suradruma* and the Kannaḍa work *Suktisudhakara.*[105] Appayya of Bhaṭakaḷa, who composed many songs in Kannaḍa and to whom M.R. Narasimhachārya assigns the date *circa* A.D. 1705, seems to have been a protege of this ruler.[106] Nirvanayya, a minister of Sōmaśēkhara II, wrote the *Śivapūjāvidhāna* in Kannaḍa.[107] Thus the Nāyakas of Keḷadi were not only scholars well versed both in Sanskrit and Kannaḍa but were also patrons of many learned men and poets.

Pedigree of the Nayakas of Keladi


Chauḍa-Gauḍa, A.D. 1506.
Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, A.D. 1544-45 to 1565.
Bhadrappa
Doḍḍa Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka alias (?) Immaḍi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka A.D. 1566.
Chikka Saṅkaṇṇa-Nāyaka, A.D. 1570 to 1580.
Siddappa.
Rāmarāja-Nāyaka, A.D. 1570 to 1586 (Co-regent with his uncle).
Veṅkaṭappa-Nāyaka I, A.D. 1592 to 1629.
Śivappa-Nāyaka, A.D. 1652, 1659 (1645-1660).[108]
Veṅkaṭappa-Nāyaka, A.D. 1660 (1660-61).
Vīrappa-Nāyaka, A.D. 1630.
Bhadrappa
Vīrabhadra-Nāyaka, A.D. 1629 to 1645
Bhadrappa-Nāyaka, A.D. 1661 to 1663 (1661-63).
Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka, A.D. (1663-71) married Chennammaji, A.D. 1661 to 1697 (1697-97).
(adopted) Basappa-Nāyaka I, A.D. 1702 to 1714 (1697-1714).
Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka II, A.D. 1722 to 1737 (1714-39).
Vīrabhadra
Basappa-Nāyaka II, A.D. 1740, 1752 (1739-54) married Vīrammāji[109] (1757-63).
(adopted) Chenna-Basappa-Nāyaka, A.D. 1755 (1754-57).
(adopted) Sōmaśēkhara-Nāyaka III,[110] A.D. 1758.

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1. *Śivatatvaratnākara,* (published by B.M. Nath & Co., Madras), *Kallola* V, *Taraṅga* 2 and K.N.V., p. 8.

   A copper-plate inscription *(Mys. Arch. Rep* for 1928, p. 66), which appears to be suspicious, carries back the pedigree of the house by two generations. According to this grant Dēvāgoṇḍa (-gauḍa) and Gōpa-Gauḍa were grandfather and father respectively of Basappa, whose name is given as Basa-Gauḍa.

2. *Mysore University edition,* pp. 29 ff.

3. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1930, p. 219, No. 65.

4. Sewell: *Forgotten Empire,* p. 314 f.

5. Rice: *Mysore,* Vol. II, p. 458.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Madras Epigraphical Collection* No. 397 of 1928.

8. *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 156.

9. *Aravīḍu Dynasty,* p. 423.

10. *Kallola VI, Taraṅga* 1, verses. Apparently Fr. Hereas was led to this error by the *Sources of Vijayanagara History,* which attributes the construction of Ikkēri to Chikka-Saṅkaṇṇa.

11. Not found in the Mss.

12. *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1930, p. 219.

13. Apparently Rice's dates for these Nāyakas are based on this work.

14. Not found in the Mss.

15. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Sk. 255. A copper-plate grant *(Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1928, p. 66) dated Śaka 1431 (current), Vibhava, Kārthika, ba. 30 Ra[vivāra] solar eclipse, purports to belong to his reign. But the date cited in it is irregular. There was no eclipse in the month of Kārthika in the cyclic year Vibhava and though in the next year Śukla=Śaka 1432 current, a solar eclipse did occur in Kārthika the week day was Monday. Moreover the date appears to be too early for Sadāśiva as it would be improbable that he did not issue any records for 35 years after he began to rule. Further the editor of the Report had remarked that the record appears to be spurious (p. 119).

16. *Madras Ep. Collection* Nos. 292 and 301 of 1932.

17. *Ibid.,* No. 283 of 1931-32.

18. See pp. 30 and 32.

19. *Kallōla* V, *taraṅga* 5.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Aravīḍu Dynasty,* pp. 79 ff.
22. *Ep. Carn.,* vol. VIII, Nagar 77.
22a. *Mad. Ep., Coll.* No. 433 of 1928.
23. *S.I.I.,* Vol. VII, No. 366.
24. *S.T.R.,* Kallōla V, *taraṅga* 5.
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Mad. Ep., Coll.* No. 487 of 1928-29.
27. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Nagar 1 to 4 and *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1923, p. 83, No. 73.
28. *Kallōla* V, *taraṅga* 5.
29. *Op. Cit.,* p. 180.
30. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* for 1923, pp. 105 ff.
31. *Kallōla* V., *taraṅga* 7.
32. *Ibid.*
33. One of these *(Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1923, p. 83) gives him the titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara.* As these *birudas* are not known to have been borne by any ruler of this family the application of them to Yimmaḍi-Sadāśiva is probably due to a mistake of the engraver who on account of the similarity of the names of the overlord Sadāśivarāya and his feudatory, omitted the name of the former before that of the Nāyaka.
34. *Kallōla* V, *taraṅga* 7.
35. *Heras, Op. Cit.* pp. 158 ff.
36. *S.I.I.,* Vol. VII, No. 389.
37. *Ibid.,* No. 375.
38. *Madras Epigraphical Collection* No. 574 of 1929-30.
39. *S.I.I.,* Vol. VII, No. 321.
40. *Madras Epigraphical Collection* No. 267 of 1931-32. By mistake both the chiefs are stated, in the *Annual Report on S.I.Epigraphy* for the year, to be the sons of Sadāśiva-Nāyaka.
41. See e.g., *Madras Ep. Collection.*No. 487 of 1928-29, *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VIII, Sorab 35 and *Ibid,* Tirthalli 5.
42. *S.T.R., Kallōla* V, *taraṅga* 15.
43. *Ibid.*
44. pp. 66 f.

45. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 232.
46. *S.I.I.,* Vol VII, No. 321.
47. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Tl. 5.
48. *S.T.R. Kallōla V, taraṅga* 16.
49. See p. 70.
50. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1923, pp. 105 ff.
51. See *S.I.I.,* Vol. VIII, No. 297.
52. Sewell, *Forgotten Empire,* p. 220n.
53. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Sh. 2.
54. *S.T.R. Kallola,* VI, *taranga* 13.
55. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 158.
56. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 266.
57. See pages 90 and 92.
58. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Tl. 97.
59. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1923, p. 107.
60. p. 93.
61. Not found in the Mss.
62. *K.N.V.,* p. 98.
63. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Sh. 2.
64. *Ibid.,* Tl. 51.
65. p. 71.
66. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Tl. 40 and *K.N.V.,* p. 106.
67. *S.T.R., Kallola* VI, *taranga* 27.
68. Rāmānuja Iyengar's edition.
69. p. 116.
70. *S.T.R. Kallōla* VII, *taraṅga* 14.
71. pp. 2370 of the *Mys. Gaz.* by Mr. Hayavadana Rao.
72. *North Kanara Gazetter.*
73. *K.N.V.,* p. 110.
74. *S.T.R., Kallōla* VII, *taraṅga* 14

75. Not found in the Mss.
76. *K.N.V.,* p. 115.
77. *Ep. Carn.,* VI, Sg. 11.
78. Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 159.
79. *Ibid.,* p. 158.
80. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Tl. 188.
81. *Ibid.,* Tl. 77.
82. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1927, p. 145, No. 170.
83. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Sk. 27.
84. *Op. Cit.,* p. 161.
85. *S.T.R., Kallola* V, *taranga* 4, 9 and 10.
86. pp. 40ff.
87. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* for 1911, p. 21.
88. *S.T.R., Kallōla* VI, *taraṅga* 13
89. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Introduction, p. 16.
90. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1928, plate XI.
91. *Della Valle,* Travels III, 220.
92. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1909.
93. *Ep. Carn.* Vol. VI, Sg. 5.
94. *Ibid.,* Sg. 11.
95. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Tl. 156.
96. *Ibid.,* Sb. 35.
97. *S.I.I.,* Vol. VIII, No. 297.
98. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VII, Sh. 98.
99. *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, Tl. 38.
100. Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 159.
101. *Sources of Vijayanagara History,* p. 345, n.
102. *K.N.V.,* p. 88.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *S.T.R.* p. 434.

105. *K.N.V.,* p. 175.

106. *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets,* Vol. II, pp. 102.

107. *Ibid.,* p. 28.

108. The dates inside brackets are those given by the *K.N.V.* and Rice; others are those found in inscriptions.

109. No epigraph of this queen's reign has yet come to light.

110. No date is assigned to this ruler in the *K.N.V.*

MISCELLANEOUS

40

AN INTERESTING REFERENCE TO MUSIC IN A KANNADA INSCRIPTION*

While editing a volume of Kannada Inscriptions, I came across an inscription from Gaḷaganāth (Haveri Taluk, Dharwar District) of the reign of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya VI, which appeared to contain a reference to a rather unusual mention of a specific aspect of music. It is dated in the 3rd year of the reign of this emperor, i.e., 1094 A.D. and it mentions *Yuvarāja* Jayasimhadēva, the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI. This musician bears, according to the record the following titles (among others):

> ಸಮಸ್ತಗೀತವಾದ್ಯನೃತ್ಯಾನೇಕಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಸಾಧಕಂ, ಮೂರುರಾಯಆಸ್ಥಾನಬಿರುದ ಬಗೆಕಾರ ಮುಖದರ್ಪಣಂ
> ..... ಡೆಂಕವಿಳಾಸಂ, ಬತ್ತೀಸರಾಗ ಬಹುಕಳಾಬ್ರಹ್ಮಂ ವಾಗ್ದೇವೀಲಬ್ಧವರಪ್ರಸಾದಂ.

What struck me as unique was the mention of ಬತ್ತೀಸರಾಗ (ಬತ್ತೀಸ = 32), i.e., 32 *rāgas.* Such a mention of a definite number of *rāgas* (i.e., 32) is, to my knowledge, not found in any earlier inscription. The only inscription which deals in some detail with music is the Kuḍimiyāmalai (Tiruchirapalli District, Tamil Nadu) inscription of the 7th century A.D. The treatise, which has been so ably edited by the late R.B.P.R. Bhandarkar of Indore in *Epigraphica Indica,* Vol. XII (p. 226) is stated to have been composed by a king, who is considered by scholars to be Mahēndravarman I of the Pallava dynasty. It is divided into seven sections corresponding to the seven classical *rāgas* of the time, viz., (1) Madhyamagrāma, (2) Shaḍjagrāma, (3) Shāḍava, (4) Sādhārita, (5) Pañchama, (6) Kaiśikamadhyama and (7) Kaiśika. According to P.B. Bhandarkar the number of *rāgas* known at the period of this inscription (7th century A.D.) was *only seven,* though later works like the *Sangītaratnakara* of Śārṅgadēva of the 13th century A.D. mention many more *rāgas.*

Thus it will be seen that the inscription of the time of Chalukya Vikramāditya VI, which is the subject of this paper, becomes especially important as it is earlier than even the Sangītaratnākara. With a view to finding out whether there were any inscriptions containing references to music before 1079 A.D., I looked up many inscriptions, especially of the Kannada country. But excepting for some statements of a general nature concerning music and dancing, the specific number of the *rāgas,* or their names or other details could not be traced. A few of these statements are mentioned below:**

1. An undated inscription at Paṭṭadakal (Bijapur District) of the time of the Western Chalukya King Vikramaditya II (733-45 A.D.) records that the Queen consort Lokamahadevi

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* Published in *QJMS.,* Vol. LXV., No. 3, pp. 1-4.

** Though there may be one or two inscriptions earlier than the Kudimiyamalai inscription mentioning a prince well versed in music or some gift made for the maintenance of musicians, these are not noticed here as they are of a too general nature.

confirmed the covenants, which had been given to the singers (ಗಂಧರ್ವರ್) by Vijayāditya. This shows that King Vijayāditya, father of Vikramāditya II also had been encouraging music and musicians. Some of the best reliefs at Paṭṭadakal depict various types of musical instruments like the flute, the *mṛidaṅga,* and stringed instruments resembling the *viṇa, tamburi* or similar once indicating there by the advanced state of musical knowledge in the early 8th century A.D. in the Kannaḍa country.

2. Two kings of the Western Gaṅga dynasty, viz., Eṟegaṅga and his son Narasimhadēva of circa 10th century are described as great masters of music. Eṟegaṅga is described as "a Bharata in the arts of singing, instrumental music and dancing" and his son as having learnt "at an early age the arts of dancing, singing and instrumental music." (Mys. Arch. Report, 1921, p. 21.)

3. An inscription of the time of the Chālukya King of Kalyāṇna, Jayasimha II which is dated 1035 A.D., mentions a gift made by ಹಾಡುವ ಕಾಮವೆ ನಾಗವೆ to the temple of Kalidēvaswāmi of Bāgaḷi (S.I.I., Vol. IX, No. 89).

4. Another inscription, dated 1068 A.D. of the reign of Sōmēśvara II of the same family (Chālukya) mentions among the gifts made: ಪಾಡುವರ್ಗೆ ಮತ್ತರರು-10, ವಂಸಕಾರಂಗೆ ಮತ್ತರು-5. (S.I.I. Vol. IX, No.133.)

Thus it is evident that from very early times there was a high degree of attainment in music among kings, queens and others. But though there are some references to music and musicians, no inscription specifies an exact number of *rāgas* as this Gaḷganāth inscription of Vikramāditya VI. This epigraph is the only one which makes a mention of a specific number of *rāgas,* i.e., 32. Evidently these 32 must have been in existence in the 11th century, though in the 7th century (as mentioned in the Kuḍimiyāmalai inscription) *only* 7 existed. I was curious to know what these 32 *rāgas* were. So I requested the eminent authority of music, Prof. P Samba Moorthy of Madras to enlighten me on this matter. He was kind enough to write to me as follows:

"I am very thankful to you for having drawn my attention to this inscription. The epithet *Battīsā-rāga* meaning skilled in 32 ragas has a special significance: It refers to the skill in the 32 Mela Kartha ragas based on the 12th Swarasthanas of the Sthayi and which free from vivadi dosha. You know there are 72 Mela Karthas but 40 of them which take one or other of the following notes, viz., Suddha Gandhara Shatsruti Rishabha Suddha Nishada and Shatsruti Dhaivatha suffer from vivadi dosha. 32 of the 72 are free from vivadi dosha and these 32 melas were known in early times. The only vivadi melas known in ancient Indian Music are Varali and Nata, the 39th and 36th in the list of 72. The biruda..... simply means that he was skilled in all the 32 non vivadi mela kartha ragas. This is an inscription of historical importance."

In this connection I may also point out that these 32 ragas were prevalent even in the time of Basavēśvara (i.e., nearly a century later). This is evidenced by one of the *vachanas* of Basavanna himself which runs as follows:

ಎನ್ನ ಕಾಯುವ ದಂಡಿಗೆಯ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯಾ
ಎನ್ನ ಶಿರವ ಸೋರೆಯ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯಾ
ಎನ್ನ ನರವ ತಂತಿಯ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯಾ

ಎನ್ನ ಬೆರಳ ಕಡ್ಡಿಯ ಮಾಡಯ್ಯಾ
ಬತ್ತೀಸರಾಗವ ಹಾಡಯ್ಯಾ
ಉರದಲೊತ್ತಿ ಬಾರಿಸು
ಕೂಡಲಸಂಗಮದೇವ ॥ (ವಚನ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ೫೦೦)*

From this we may note what a great master of music, both instrumental and vocal, Basavēśvara was.

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* ''ಬಸವಣ್ಣನವರ ಷಟ್‌ಸ್ಥಳದ ವಚನಗಳು''. ಸಂಪಾದಕರು: ಬಸವನಾಳ ಶಿವಲಿಂಗಪ್ಪನವರು, ಲಿಂಗಾಯುತ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಾಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆ, ಧಾರವಾಡ-1962.

As I could not readily lay my hands on this vachana I sought the help of Sri N. Basavaradhya. Dy. Director of the Institute of Kannada Studies, Mysore University, who was good enough to supply me with the above noted vachana.

41

THE COUNTRY OF SAPĀDALAKSHA*

The Kannaḍa poet Pampa of the 10th century A.D., while giving the genealogy of his patron Arikēsarin II in his work *Vikramārjunavijaya* states that Yuddhamalla I, an early ancestor of Arikēsarin, was the ruler of the Sapādalaksha country.[1] This fact is also recorded in the undated Vēmulavāḍa inscription of Arikēsarin II[2] and in the Parbhaṇī copperplate grant of Arikēsarin III dated Śaka 888 (= A.D. 966).[3] Where was this country? The object of this short note is to ascertain its location by means of evidence afforded by epigraphy, though attempts have already been made to identify it on historical considerations and literary testimony.

Professor K.A.Nilakanta Sastri in his valuable paper on the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa[4] has, in his masterly way, dealt with the genealogy of this line of kings and the part they played in the history of the Deccan. In the course of his discussion on the territory over which these rulers held sway he has suggested that the Sapādalaksha country which Yuddhamalla I was governing might be Śākambharī, i.e., Sāmbhar in Eastern Rajaputana, to which the name of Sapādalaksha is usually applied. Since this tract was far removed from parts of Hyderabad connected with the activities of this family, he would assume that Yuddhamalla was governing Sapādalaksha as a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga who, he believes, should have captured Eastern Rajaputana during his campaigns in the north. Thus it is the memory of this adventure, according to Professor Sastri, that was carefully treasured in the annals of the family.

Dr. N.Venkata Ramanayya has also discussed this question in his learned article on the Rāshṭrakūṭa conquest of Sapādalaksha.[5] After pointing out that there were a number of territories in India which went by the appellation of Sapādalaksha, he avers that the only country which would be appropriately called by this name in the 9th century A.D., the period in which Yuddhamalla I of the Vēmulavāḍa branch of the Chālukyas flourished, was Śākambharī. He thus accepts the identification proposed by Professor Sastri.

Long before these savants took up this question for consideration, my Assistant, Mr. M.Venkataramayya, had started an enquiry into it, though indirectly, while trying to locate the region of Aśmaka mentioned in early literature, both Hindu and Buddhist, as well as in inscriptions.[6] He came to the conclusion that Aśmaka whose capital was Pōdana and Sapādalaksha in which apparently this place was situated were to be looked for round about the Nizamabad and Karimnagar Districts in the Hyderabad State. He based this surmise on the statement of Śrutasāgarasūri who, in his commentary on the Sanskrit *Champū-kāvya, Yaśastilaka* of Sōmadēvasūri, a court poet of Baddega, the son of Arikēsarin II, explains that the chief or prince Aśmantaka figuring in the latter work was the resident of the mountain region of Sapādalaksha.[7]

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I had to study this problem in connection with my work on the inscriptions of Vēmulavāḍa which I copied some time ago and which I am editing for the Hyderabad Archaeological Department. One of these records which is in the Kannada language affords a definite clue for locating this territorial division. It refers itself to the reign of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla, i.e., Vikramāditya VI and is dated in Chālukya-Vikrama year 8, Rudhirōdgārin (=A.D. 1033-34). His feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rājāditya is stated therein to be governing a portion of the Savalakhkhe province and Chabbi twenty-one-thousand district from the *nelevīḍu* of Lēmbuḷavāḍe which is described as the *rājadhāni.*[8] This statement makes it clear that Savalakhkhe, which is but a Kannaḍa rendering of Sapādalaksha, was within easy reach, for purposes of administration, of Lēmbuḷapāṭaka. Now it is well known that Lēmbuḷapāṭaka is no other than Vēmulavāḍa in the Karimnagar District of the Hyderabad State, the find spot of the inscription under reference. It is thus evident that the country of Sapādalaksha was situated not far from the Karimnagar District. In this connection it is worth remembering that both the Kannada poet and the Sanskrit inscription of Arikēsarin II at Vēmulavāḍa glorify the fact that Yuddhamalla I, the lord of Sapādalaksha, had his elephants bathed in wells filled with oil at Pōdana (Paṁpa spells it Bōdana). This would show that Pōdana, i.e., modern Bōdhan in the Nizamabad district was included in the dominions of Yuddhamalla; and, be it noted, Nizamabad and Karimnagar are adjacent districts. According to the inscription of Vikramāditya noticed above, Rājāditya was also governing Chabbi twenty-one-thousand, which was obviously in the neighbourhood of Sapādalaksha. The Parbhaṇi plates of Arikēsarin III register a grant of the village Vanikaṭupula situated in Rēpāka twelve, a sub-division of Sabbi one-thousand.[9] This same district of Sabbi one-thousand is mentioned in the Daulatabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II which tells us that the division of Ātkūru seventy was included in it.[10] In the Palampet pillar inscription of Kākatīya Rudradēva,[11] Rēcherla Rudra is stated to have built temples at Ātukūru after which this division seems to have been named and it has been identified with a place of that name about ten miles north-east of Warangal.[12] We learn from the Anmakonda inscription of Kākatīya Prōla[13] that Vikramāditya VI conferred the district of Sabbi one-thousand on Tribhuvanamalla Bēta, one of the ancestors of Prōla. The late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri who has edited this inscription is of the opinion that Anmakoṇḍa and Warangal might have been included in the Sabbi-sāyira district. Mr. G.H.Khare identifies Rēpāka mentioned in the Parbhaṇi plates of Arikēsarin III as the headquarters of Rēpāka twelve in Sabbi one-thousand with a village of the same name in the Karimnagar District.[14] Sabbi-sāyira was evidently a smaller division in the bigger province of Chabbi twenty-one-thousand referred to above. If this surmise is correct, part of the Warangal district on the south-east may be said to have been situated in this province besides a portion of Karimnagar. It can therefore be taken as established beyond doubt that Savalakhkhe (Sapādalaksha), mentioned along with Chabbi twenty-one-thousand in the Vēmulavāḍa Kannaḍa inscription, comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State, i.e., Nizamabad and a major portion of Karimnagar districts, though its actual extent and boundaries cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.[15]

REFERENCE

1. *Vikramārjunavijaya* or *Paṁpa Bhārata* (Karnataka Sahitya Parishad edition, 1931), Canto I, v. 16.
2. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 169 ff. and plate.

3. *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* by G.H.Khare, Vol. II (1934), pp. 34 ff. and plate.
4. Journal of the Madras University, Vol. XV, No. 2 (1944), pp. 101 ff.
5. *Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume* (1946), pp. 113 ff.
6. *J.O.R.,* Vol. XII (1938), p. 264.
7. *Yaśastilakam (Kāvyamālā Series,* No. 70), 1916, p. 188.
8. *Savalakhkheya bhāgamumaṁ Chabbiy-irppattondu-sāsiramumaṁ dushṭa-nigraha-śishṭa-pratipālanadiṁ paripāḷisuttum rājadhaṇi Lēmbuḷa-vāḍeya nelevīḍinoḷ sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ- geyyuttum=irddu.*
9. See text-lines 40-1.
10. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series,* No. 2, p. 8, text-line 70.
11. *Ibid.,* No. 3, p. 11, text-line 200.
12. See map published in the monograph.
13. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 258.
14. *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan,* Vol. II (1934), p. 35. There are two villages of the name Rēpāka in the Karimnagar District.
15. As already pointed out, Mr. Venkataramayya had thrown out a hint indicating this identification.

42

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTES*

Inscriptions contain a number of place names all of which have note been identified. Here, I propose to suggest the identification of a few such names:-

I. DORAVADI

Doravadi which gave its name of the geographical sub-division called Doravadi-*nāḍu* or Doravadi-*vēṇthe* is mentioned in quite a few inscriptions of the Bellary District. Though these inscriptions were published long ago, the place Doravadi has not yet been identified. In an inscription of 1099 A.D.[1] of the reign of Vikramāditya VI of the Chālukya family (Tribhuvanamalladēva) at Kuḍatini, 10 miles from Bellary, the road to Doravadi is mentioned among the boundaries of a land gift (ದೊರವದಿಬಟ್ಟೆಯಿಂ ತೆಂಕ). Another inscription[2] of the reign of the Chālukya King *Pratāpa-Chakravarti* Jagadēkamalladēva II (1148 A.D.) mentions a subordinate of this king, viz., *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Kācharasa of Doravadi-*nāḍu.* This same inscription states that Doravadi was a sub-division of 70 villages (ದೊರವದಿ ಎಪ್ಪತ್ತು). This inscription in the village of Oruvāyi of the Bellary Taluk (about 15 miles from Bellāry). It states that the *Prabhu-Gāvuṇḍas* of ದೊರವದಿ-70 made a gift to Bhīvarāśi-Paṇḍita, the *sthānapati* of the temple at Oruvāyi for the maintenance of some temples. This fact indicates that Oruvāyi was included in the Doravadi-70 sub-division. An inscription of 1190 A.D. at Channarāyapatana[3] (Hassan Dist.) mentions among the places captured by the Hoysaḷa King Ballāḷa II, the towns of Doravadi and Kurugōḍu. But the most important reference to Doravadi-*nāḍu* is found in an inscription[4] at the Durga shrine in the Pampapati temple at Hampi. This inscription of the year Śaka 1121 (1199- 1200 A.D.) gives the exact location of Doravadi-*nāḍu.* It states the Doravadi-*nāḍu* was an ornament of Ballakunde-*nāḍu,* the capital of which was Kuṟugōḍu and in that Doravadi-*nāḍu* was situated Pampā-tīrtha, i.e., Hampi.

ವಾರಾಪರೀತೋದ್ಯಧ್ಧಾರಿಣಿ ಮಧ್ಯಮೆನಲೆಸೆವ ಮೇರುವ ತೆಂಕಲ್ [।*] ರಾರಾಜಿಪ ಕುಂತಳಧರೆಗೋರನ್ತಿರೆ ಬಲ್ಲಕುಂದೆ ನಾಡೆಸೆದಿರ್ಕ್ಕುಂ ॥ ಆನಾಳ್ಕೆ ಪಟ್ಟಣಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಿಳಯಂ ತಾನೆನಿಪ್ಪ ಕುಱುಗೋಡದನು [।*] ರ್ವ್ವೀನುತ ಕಲಿದೇವನೃಪಂ ತಾನೊಲವಿಂ ಪಾಳಿಸುತ್ತಮಿರೆ ಫಣಿವಂಶಂ ॥ ಫಳಿತಸುರಕುಜದ ಚೆಲ್ವಂ ತಳೆದಿರ್ದ್ದ ಬಲ್ಲಕುಂದೆ ನಾಡೊಳ್ತಳ್ತೊಂ [।*] ದೊಳ್ಗೊಂಬೆನೆ ದೊರವದಿ ನಾಡೆಳೆಯೊಳ್ ರಂಜಿಪುದು ನೋಡೆ ನಾಡುಗಳರ[ಸಂ] ಆ ದೊರವದಿ ನಾಡೊಳ್ಪಂ ಪಾಲೇರ್ತ್ಥಮಿಪ್ಪುದದೆಂತನೆ॥

As Hampi is stated to be in Doravadi-*nāḍu,* Doravadi must have been in the vicinity of Hampi. Since Doravadi was included in Ballakunde-nāḍu, the capital of which was Kuṟugōḍu, we have to look for Doravadi in the neighbourhood of Hampi, Kuṟugōḍu, Ballakunde and Oruvāyi. Ballakunde, Kuṟugōḍu and Oruvāyi continue to retain these very names even today. In the area covering these three villages and Hampi must be situated the village of Doravadi, and there is a village in this area which phonetically corresponds of Doravadi. *This is the present* village called *Darōji,* which is about 12 miles from Hampi. From the information contained in the inscriptions mentioned above, it will be evident that Doravaḍi which gave its name to the subdivision (Doravaḍi-*nāḍu)* must have been a very prominent town in the 11th and 12th centuries A.D. It continued to retain its importance in later times also. An inscription[5] of the reign of the Yādava King Rāmachandra dated 1280 A.D., states that a military officer of this King, named Chauṇḍarasa having led an army against Mummaḍi Siṅgeya-Nāyaka of Doravaḍi in Kuṛugōḍa-*nāḍu.*

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* Published in *QJMS,* Vol. LXIV, Nos. 1-4, pp

Another inscription[6] at Kurikuppe in Hospet Taluk of the time of the Vijayanagara emperor, Kṛishṇarāya-Mahārāja, dated 1523 A.D., records a grant of land to the temple of Virūpākshadēva at the *agrahāra* of Kuṛiyakuppe, otherwise known as Anantasētu, situated in Doravaḍi-*vēṇṭhe* (sub-division), included in the division *(vaḷita)* of Hastināvati, i.e., Hampi.

Yet another inscription,[7] at Iṭṭigemuddalāpuram in the same Taluk, dated Śaka 1464 (1542 A.D.) states that *Paramahaṁsa Parivrājakāchārya* Surēndratīrtha-Srīpāda consecrated the image of Tiruveṅgaḷanātha at Santhemuddalāpura, called also Immaḍidēvarāyapura, situated on the banks of the Nārāyaṇi (the stream Nārihaḷḷa) in the Doravaḍi-*vēṇṭhe* of the Hastināvati-*vaḷita.*

It will thus be seen that till about the 16th century the division of Doravaḍi enjoyed a certain amount of prominence. It must be noted, however, that during the Vijayanagara period it was included in the Hastināvati-*vaḷita* and not Ballakunde-*nāḍu* or Kuṛugōḍa-*nāḍu.* This change was apparently brought about on account of the fact that Hampi as the capital became very important. It is also to be noted that instead of Hampi being in Doravaḍi-*nāḍu,* Doravaḍi-*vēṇṭhe* became part of Hastināvati (Hampi)-*vaḷita.*

But today Doravaḍi has lost all its importance and is known only for its big tank built by Tippu Sultān, which breached in 1851 and destroyed the old village. The modern Darōji was shifted to a new site nearby. *Sic tranist gloria mundi* !

II. MADHUVANA

An inscription[8] in the Kumārasvāmi temple on the Kumārasvāmi hill near Saṇḍūr (Bellary Dist.) states that the Hoysaḷa King Vīra-Ballāḷadēva II, after his extensive conquests, was camping at the *neleviḍu* (secondary capital or standing camp) of Madhuvana on the bank of the river Tungabhadrā.

(ತುಂಗಭದ್ರಾ ನದೀತೀರದ ಮಧುವನದ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳ್ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾವಿನೋದದಿಂ ರಾಜ್ಯಂ ಗೈಯುತ್ತಮಿರೆ)

By his order, his officer *Mahāpradhāna* Mahadēva-daṇḍanāyaka restored the gift of the village Kereyapaḷḷi which had been formerly granted to the Lord Shaṇmukha by the Rāshṭrakūṭa King Kṛishṇa III but which had lapsed. The record is dated Śaka 1127 (1206 A.D.). It is well-known that Madhuvana was the famous orchard at Kishkindhā which belonged to the monkey king Sugrīva mentioned in *Vālmiki-Rāmāyaṇa* (Sundarakāṇḍa). It was at Kishkindhā that Rāma and Lakshmaṇa were awaiting the arrival of Hanumān from Lanka. The cave dwelling of Rāma and Lakshmaṇa at Kishkindhā is stated to have been situated on the bank of the river Pampā, which is known to be the another name for Tungabhadrā:

ಪಂಪಾತೀರರುಹಾನ್ ವೃಕ್ಷಾನ್ ।
ವೀಕ್ಷಮಾಣೌ ಸಮಂತತಃ ।
ಇಮಾಂ ನದೀಂ ಶುಭಜಲಾಂ ।
ಶುಭಯಂತೌ ತರಸ್ವಿನೌ ॥[9]

and

ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾಹಿನೀಂ ಚೈವ ।
ನದೀಂ ಭೃತಮಕರ್ದಮಾಂ ।
ಗುಹಾಯಾಃ ಪರತಃ ಪಶ್ಯ ।
ತ್ರಿಕೂಟೇ ಜಾಹ್ನವೀಮಿವ ॥[10]

Scholars are of the view that "Kishkindhā was situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampā, where Rāma met Sugrīva the monkey chief".[11]

Thus Madhuvana referred to in the inscription noticed above was in the vicinity of Hampi, on the bank of the Tungabhadrā. Evidently Ballāḷa had taken up his residence at this place at Madhuvana on the bank of the Tungabhadrā in order to keep a watch over his northern frontier (probably constituted by the Malaprabha and the Kṛishṇa from the point where the Malaprabha joins the Kṛishṇa). This fact is borne out by an inscription which shows that he was camping at Vijayasamudra or Vijayapura, i.e., modern Haḷḷūr on the Tungabhadrā in the Ranibennur Taluk.[12] It is known from an inscription[13] that in the decisive battle fought between the Hoysaḷas and the Yādavas for the possession of portions of the Chālukyan territory, Ballāḷa had pursued the Yadava King Bhillama from Soraṭūr (not far from the Tungabhadra) to the bank of the river Kṛishṇa.

We may note that from the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa* till the beginning of the 13th century A.D., Madhuvana continued to have the same name, i.e., Madhuvana.

III. BHOGAVATĪPURA

The Sindas were an important feudatory family of the Kannaḍa country having several branches. Some of the more important among them are known from inscriptions to have held sway over large tracts of territory, like the region around Bāgaḍage (Bhagalkot in Bijāpur Dist.), Tiḍgundi (also in Bijāpur Dist.)[14] and the area around Kuṛugōḍu (Bellary Dist.)[15] They claim to belong to the Nāgavaṁśa or Phaṇivaṁśa (family of serpents) and had the title of *Bhōgāvatīpura-Paramēśvara.* One of the branches was also ruling in the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh, whose inscriptions give the name of the family as Chinda i.e. Sinda.[16]

Where is this Bhōgāvatīpura? Fleet[17] thought that it was a mythological place, and so he did not try to identify it. But Dr. V.V. Mirashi[18] states that according to the *Navasāhasanka-Charita* of Padmagupta, this town was situated to the south of the Narmadā. So we may have to consider Bhōgāvatīpura to be a real place the lords of which town were the Sindas, and not a purely mythological one.

Scholars are aware that the Rāshṭrakūṭas called themselves *Lattalūrpura-Paramēśvara,* the Gaṅgas of Talakād called themselves *Kuvaḷāla-puravarēsvara,* the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu called themselves *Oṛeyūrpura-paramēśvara* and the Śilāhāras called themselves *Tagarapura-paramēśvara.* These places are believed to have been the original homes of the respective dynasties. Similarly, the Sindas called themselves *Bhōgāvatipura-Paramēśvara.*

It may be noted in this connection that the river Narmada has always been regarded as the dividing line between Northern and Southern India. So we will have to look for Bhōgāvatipura in South India. The provenance of the inscriptions of the Sinda chiefs and the districts or divisions on which they exercised authority all exist in the Kannaḍa Country (i.e., the present Mysore State) excepting the region of the Chindas of Bastar. The Bhairanmaṭṭi inscription of the branch of the Sindas which ruled in Bāgaḍage as feudatories of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa during the 10th and 11th centuries is the earliest record which professes to give the origin of the Sinda family and it allots all the Sindas to the Nāgavaṁśa.[19] Possibly the different branches of the family were descended from the Sindas of Bāgaḍage. There is a place called *Bhagati* not far from Bhairanmaṭṭi and I may venture to suggest that this place is very likely Bhōgāvatīpura, the original home of the Sindas.

IV. MANCHUL

In the Poona copper-plate inscription[20] of Chālukya Vikramāditya dated Śaka 612 (690 A.D.) is recorded the grant of a piece of land in the village of Torave by the king, (to two Brahmins named Durga-Śarman and Ravi-Śarman). At the time of making the grant the king was residing at the victorious camp *(vijaya-skandhāvāra)* of a place, the name of which has been wrongly read in the published text as Mañchōh-grāma, but which has been rightly corrected as Mañchuḷ-grāma, by the editor of *Epigraphia Indica.* He, however, has not identified the village, Mañchuḷ-grāma. Since the village Torave is very near Bijāpur, the headquarters of the district of the name in Mysore State, we have to look for the king's military camp *(vijaya-skndhāvāra)* of Mañchuḷ-grāma at a place round about the Bijāpur region. There is a place in the neighbouring area which exactly corresponds to Mañchuḷ, and that is the present Manchāla on the bank of the Tungabhadrā in the Adoni Taluk (formerly of Bellary Dist., in Mysore State and now in Kurnool Dist, A.P.). This Manchāla has become famous since 1671 A.D. as Mantrālaya where the *Brindāvana (samādhi)* of the great Mādhva saint and scholar Śrī Rāghavēndratīrtha-Śrīpāda is situated. This saint is credited with supernatural powers which are felt to this day by thousands of devotees. It is worth noting that the inscription mentioned about carries back the antiquity and importance of the place of a royal residence to the 7th century A.D. This is the oldest record mentioning the place known so far. Chronologically the next early record[21] mentioning the place as Mañchāḷa is found at Manchāla itself and is dated Śaka 815 A.D., (893-94 A.D) in the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Akālavarsha (Kṛishṇa II). In a later record[22] of the year 1142 A.D. we find Mañchāḷa being referred to as the chief town of the sub-division called, Manchāḷu-36.

It thus becomes evident that the place referred to in all these inscriptions-Manchul, Mañchala, Manchāḷu, -is one and the same, i.e., modern Mañchāla (Mantrālaya).

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15. *S.I.I.,* Vol. IX, pt. I; Nos. 296 and 297, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIV, p. 281.
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43

EMINENT WOMEN OF KARNATAKA*

The women of Karṇāṭaka have not lagged behind the women of other parts of India, in making their own glorious contribution to our common culture. They have distinguished themselves in all walks of life, as administrators, poetesses (both in Sanskrit and in Kannaḍa), heroines, philosophers, literary geniuses, philanthropists, beauty queens, religionists, and patrons of art, architecture, learning, music and dancing. Brief biographical sketches of only the most prominent of them are given below, on account of limited space. Each of the various ladies mentioned herein stands as an example of one or more of the different categories stated above. The sketches are given in chronological order, in order to show that there has been a continuous line of illustrious women through the ages in this part of India.

Vijayamahādēvī, The Sarasvatī of Karṇāṭa (Circa 659 A.D)

As already mentioned women of the Kannaḍa country have been distinguishing themselves in intellectual as well as other pursuits from very early times. We have the reputed example of Vijayamahādēvī the poetess from such an early period as the fifties of the seventh century.

Sanskrit anthologies quote a number of excellent verses of a poetess named Vijjikā, Vijayāṅkā and Vidyā.[1] The Sanskrit poetess has been, on good grounds, identified with Vijayamahādēvī the queen of Chandrādityadēva, a king of the Chāḷukya family of Bādāmi. She is as well known from inscriptions as from literary sources. Inscriptions describe her as the beloved queen *(priyamahiṣī)* of king Chandrāditya, son of Pulakēśin II and elder brother of Vikramāditya I.

This queen is known to have composed a number of verses in Sanskrit showing high poetic merit. One of the verses attributed to her may be translated as follows: 'Not knowing that I, Vijjakā, am dark like the blue lotus, Daṇḍin has wrongly said that that Sarasvatī is all white.' This verse shows that the talented lady considered herself as proficient as Sarasvatī, the Goddess of learning though, unlike her, she was dark in complexion. It also indicates that she was known by the name of Sarasvatī. This is supported by a verse of Rājaśēkhara who praises her poetic gifts. He says that like Sarasvatī, Vijayāṅka of Karṇāṭa was, after Kālidāsa, the abode of the *Vaidarbhī* style. That she regarded herself a poetess of great merit is evident from one of her verses which says that she, the beloved of the king of Karṇāṭaka, would bow only to three poets, viz. Brahmā, Vyāsa and Vālmīki, but would place her left foot on the heads of later composers. The Karṇāṭarāja who was her husband is described by her in a verse of *double entendre* which says that he subdued Aṅga, Kuntala, Cōḷa, the Madhyadēśa and took possession of Kāñchi.

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In inscriptions she is called Vijayabhaṭṭārikā and Vijayamahādēvī. Only two of her inscriptions, both copper-plate charters, have come to light. In one of them she is stated to have granted some fields in the village of Tarakāgāhara to Āryasvāmidīksita, the son of Svāmi-Caturvēda and the grandson of Gṛhapati of the Vatsa *gōtra.* This record is dated in the fifth year apparently of the reign of Vikramāditya I (A.D. 655-681) her husband's brother. The other document likewise registers a gift of land made by her to a Brāhmaṇa in the village of Koccuraka, identified with the modern Kochrēm in the Ratnagiri District, Bombay State. The provenance of the first record is Nerūr in Sawantwadi, Bombay State, thus showing that the scene of her activities was largely in these regions.

Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī (Circa 708 A.D.)

Among the early philanthropists, we may mention Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī, the younger sister of the Chālukya King Vijayāditya (696-734 A.D.) This lady is known to have been responsible for the construction of a Jaina temple *(Jina bhavana)* at Purigeṛe, (modern Lakshēśvara, Dharwar District, Bombay State*). This temple was called *Āne-sejjeya-basadi,* possibly because of its large size. From epigraphs we learn that even in the twelfth century, this celebrated temple maintained its high reputation. This religious place was honoured by king Vijayāditya who made the gift of an entire village called Guḍḍigeṛe, for its maintenance inclusive of repairs and additions; for the expenditure connected with the worship of the deity; and for the upkeep of a free feeding house.

As another example of the liberality of Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī, we may refer to the gift of a village called Lōhagañjavāṭaka that her brother made at her request to a Brāhmaṇa. She is also known to have performed the ceremony of *Hiraṇya-garbha,* which involved in her case, the presentation of such costly things as elephants and chariots.

From one of the inscriptions which mentions her, we learn that this pious lady was the wife of the Ālupa king Citravāhana, who was ruling over Banavāsi. He is described as a king, who had earned a reputation for generosity and valour and was responsible for the extension of the Chālukya power. Kuṅkuma-Mahādēvī, being born in the Chāḷukya family, which was noted for its benevolence and being the wife of a liberal minded king, naturally possessed a charitable disposition.

Lōkamahādēvī (Circa 740 A.D.)

In the galaxy of noteworthy patrons of art and architecture, the Karṇāṭaka country also can boast of many names. As early as the eight century A.D. Lōkamahādēvī, the principal queen of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya II of Bādāmi, distinguished herself as a lover of architecture by encouraging in various ways many of the architects of this part of the country, who were responsible for the construction of some of the finest monuments in India. The temples constructed by them are excellent examples of what has come to be known as the Chāḷukyan style of architecture.

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* Now in Karnataka.

The temple of Lōkēśvara (now known as the Virūpāksa temple), at a place called Pattadakal (Bajapur District, Bombay State),* was built at the instance of the queen, who was so pleased with the grandeur and sculptural beauty of the building that she made her husband bestow the title of Tribhuvanācāri (the best architect in the three worlds) on the principal builder, Guṇḍa *alias* Anivāritācāri. She also had the fillet of honour conferred on him in appreciation of his extraordinary craftsmanship. Further, in recognition of the skill of the builders of this temple, she exempted the entire artisan class of the district, from the payment of certain taxes. Ananda K.Coomaraswamy calls this temple "One of the noblest structures in India."

Her encouragement to the fine arts is evident from the fact that she honoured the musicians and dancers *(Gandharvas)* by conferring on them a number of privileges ad honours. One of these, by name Acala, seems to have founded a new school of dancing.

Another queen of the same king, by name Trailōkyamahādēvī was responsible for the construction of another temple, called Trailōkyēśvara at the same place (viz. Paṭṭadakal). She perhaps drew inspiration from her sister, the chief queen.

It is clear that if it were not for the liberal patronage of such great personages as these, many of our great monuments and great works of art, symbols of our culture, would never have come into existence.

Śilamahādēvī (Circa A.D. 786)

One of the most familiar examples known to history, of a king and a queen ruling jointly over a territory and having equal powers is that of Queen Mary and William of Orange in England late in the seventeenth century. But this kind of joint rule was not unknown in India very much earlier than the seventeenth century.

One of the most renowned queens who had joint authority to rule over a much larger territory than Great Britain was an Indian princess of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty as early as the eight century. This lady was none other than Śīlamahādēvī, wife of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king, Dhruva. History tells us that the Rāshṭrakūṭas were very powerful monarchs and that their empire was a very large one. It extended from even beyond the Vindhyas in the north to the kingdom of the Pallavas in the south. The extension to the north was due to king Dhruva, who also defeated the Pallava king as well as the Gaṅga king. The very fact that such a powerful ruler should hold authority conjointly with his queen is an indication of Śīlamahādēvī's importance in the administration of the country. She was the daughter of a mighty monarch named Viṭṭarasa who had the titles of *Sarvalōkāśraya* and Vishṇuvardhana (apparently Vishṇuvardhana IV of the Eastern Chāḷukya dynasty). We learn from epigraphical evidence that this lady was as generous towards learned Brāhmaṇas as she was powerful. We also learn from the same source that she had the power to grant very large gifts without even the consent of her husband. A copper-plate inscription, records the grant of a village to two Brāhmaṇas taking care to specify the boundaries of the village so that there may be no room for unnecessary litigation. These two Brāhmaṇas to whom this gift was made are mentioned as great religious students, one of them being well-versed in the four Vēdas. This is an indication that she made lavish gifts to those who were pursuing religious learning.

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* Now in Karnataka.

The order containing the grant is addressed to provincial governors *(rāṣtrapati)*, district governors *(viṣayapati)*, village officers *(grāmakūṭaka)* and other officers. The concluding portion of the record reveals to us that the officers who drew up the document carried out their duties according to the orders, not of king Dhruva, but of Śīlamahādēvī who is described as *paramēśvarī* and *paramabhaṭṭarika* which indicate her paramountcy. All these show that she exercised supreme authority over the whole of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dominions.

There are other examples also of noted women who were great administrators but Śīlamahādēvī has been picked out to show the high degree of polity in the Karṇāṭaka country as early as the eight century.

A famous Sanskrit poetess named Sīlabhaṭṭarikā has been mentioned by Rājashēkhara (of the ninth century) as a peer of Bāṇa in the *Pāñcālī* style. Dhanadadēva also speaks of her as a renowned poetess and places her in the same class as Vijjakā. The suffix *bhaṭṭātirika* indicates that she might have been of royal descent and it is quite possible that this poetess and the queen Śīlamahādēvī are one and the same.

Dānacintāmaṇi Attimabbe (Circa 993 A.D.)

In the last quarter of the tenth century A.D. there lived a lady who was destined to become famous as Dānacintāmaṇi Attimabbe. She was born in a family of learned men. Her grandfather was a renowned Jain named Nāgamayya who had two sons, Mallappayya and Ponnamayya. General Mallappayya, the father of Attimabbe, was a great scholar, a reputed astrologer, an excellent teacher of archery and a supporter of learning. He had another daughter, in addition to the aforementioned Attimabbe, named Guṇḍamabbe. These two sisters were married to Nāgadēva, commander-in-chief of the Chāḷukyan armies and son of Dhallapa, the prime minster.

In one of his master's campaigns, Nāgadēva was killed and his second wife, like Madri of *Mahābhārata*, burnt herself on her husband's pyre. Attimabbe was persuaded not to follow her younger sister's example, because she had a son Aṇṇigadēva who was too young to look after himself. So, in order to bring up her only son, she determined to live; and what a glorious life it turned out to be.

She was a devout follower of Jainism and she was responsible for the spread of that religion which was at this period waning in its influence. As an instance, we may mention her work in connection with the preparation of a thousand manuscript copies of *Sāntinātha Purāṇa*, a Jaina religious work of a court poet called Ponna, who was encouraged to write this famous religious book by Attimabbe's father and uncle. We can well realise the enormity of the task of getting ready a thousand manuscript copies.

Like her father, she patronised a very famous court-poet called Ranna (the author of a very lively prose verse composition in Kannaḍa called *Gadāyuddha)*, who is responsible for giving us a good deal of information regarding his patroness. At her instance and on account of her generous help, he wrote a highly important religious work on Jainism entitled *Ajita Purāṇa.* This great Kannaḍa literary cum religious work would never have been written but for Attimabbe. The poet, in the first and the last sections of this work, glorifies his generous patroness in well chosen epithets like *Jinadharma Patāka* (the banner of Jainism) and *Dānacintāmaṇi* (the ever-yielding gem of gifts). Ranna also had such high regard for Attimabbe, that he named his own daughter after her. She was also held in high esteem by the citizens of the Chālukyan empire and even by the emperor (Taila II) himself.

The fact that the title of *Dānacintāmaṇi* was well-merited, becomes evident when we know that she got made one thousand and five hundred golden images (set with precious stones) of Jina and gifted them to the deserving. From two inscriptions of 1007 A.D. found at Lakkundi (near Gadag) of the Dharwar District in Bombay State,* we learn that she was responsible for the construction of a number of Jaina *bastis.* For the maintenance of one of these bastis she made a gift of a village named Suruki.

A number of miracles are attributed to her. It is said that she determined to go on a pilgrimage on foot to Śravaṇabeḷagoḷa to pay her homage to the gigantic image of Kukkuṭēśvara or Gommaṭēśvara. It is further stated that the moment she saw the image, there was a shower of rain to ease the strain of her journey.

Another miracle of hers has it, that at the request of the emperor, she tried to bring down the level of the water in flooded Gōdāvarī. The account mentions that as she walked into the river with the image of Jina on her head, the Gōdāvarī calmed down at once.

A third wonder concerning her states that an elephant which was running amuck started saluting her the moment it beheld her.

She stands as a glorious example of what a cultured lady can do for religion, society and letters.

Akkādēvī (Circa 1010-1064 A.D.)

Among the famous heroines and administrators of Karṇāṭaka, the name of Akkādēvī stands very high. She was a Chālukyan princess who was ruling over various divisions of the Chālukya dominions, such as Banavāsi, Kisukāḍu and Māsavāḍi, for as long a period as nearly half a century. This great administrator was the daughter of Daśavarman and Bhāgaladēvī and was the sister of Vikramāditya V and Jayasiṁha II, both Chālukyan emperors of Kalyāṇa. She is described in inscriptions as a very Bhairavī in battle and in destroying hostile kings and whose feet were rubbed by the diadems of opponent kings, that is to say, who had subjugated a large number of enemies. She is also described as unswerving in her promises *(Ēkavākyeyar).* The seat of her Government was Vikramapura (modern Arasibidi, Bijāpur District, Bombay State)* which apparently got this name because of her *(arasi*-princess).

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* Now in Karnataka.

Akkādēvī seems to have married the Kadamba chieftain, Mayūravarman, who along with her was ruling Banavāsi in 1037 A.D. They had a son called Tōyimadēva, who was ruling the Banavāsi region, as a feudatory of the Chālukyan emperor, Sōmēśvara I in 1054 A.D. Her name is associated with the foundation of a number of temples. She also evinced great interest in promoting education. An inscription of 1021 A.D. says that she made a gift of a large plot of land for feeding and clothing five hundred students and provided them with free quarters. The fact that she reigned not only in conjuction with her husband, but also independently, is an indication that she was "a personage of considerable reputation and importance" in her time, and no less than three successive Chālukyan emperors had confidence in her administrative ability.

Candralēkhā or Candaladēvi (Circa 1080 A.D.)

Even in the field of beauty a Karṇāṭaka princess of the eleventh century won all-India renown. She was one of the principal queens of the redoubtable Chālukyan emperor Vikramāditya VI who founded an era of his own called the Chālukya-Vikrama Era. We can get an idea of her beauty if we read the *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* of Bilhaṇa, the Kashmiri poet who has celebrated in poetry the exploits of his patron Vikramāditya VI. We must read in particular those cantos of *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* which deal with the description of the princess's beauty, where a minute inventory of the princess' charms beginning with her toe nails and ending with her raven tresses is given.

We learn from historical and other sources that this lady, Candralēkhā or Candaladēvi was the daughter of the Śilāhāra prince, Mārasiṁha who was ruling over Karahāṭa (modern Karhad in the Satara district of Bombay State). Legend has it that since Candralēkhē had marvellous beauty, the goddess Pārvatī commanded Mārasiṁha to hold a *svayaṁvara* so that she might select a partner, worthy of her great charms.

The most well-known instance of a *svayaṁvara* in Northern Indian is that of Saṁyuktā, who finally eloped with Pṛithvīrāj Chauhān. But in the south, evidently in was only Candralēkha who deserved one such. This is a clear indication of her extraordinary beauty. She must indeed have been the every queen of beauty in her time since princes from practically all over India attended the function. There was the lord of Ayōdhyā from north-east, as also the kings of Cēdi and Kanyākubja. From the north there was the prince of the Carmṇavatī region. From the north-west came princes of Mālawa and Gūrjara. And from the south came the Pāṇḍya and the Chōla princes. Chālukya Vikramāditya VI was of course present and Candralēkha chose him for her spouse.

It was not uncommon for the disappointed suitors to start a fight with the successful suitor. But fear of the great Chālukyan emperor restrained the suitors from starting a row when Candralēkhā rejected them.

There is also another piece of evidence which tells us of the incomparable beauty of Candralēkha. Another Kashmiri poet called Kalhaṇa in his work *Rājatarangiṇi* says that king Harṣa of Kashmir on seeing a portrait of Candralēkhā, (after she had become Vikramāditya's queen) was so much overcome with passion for her that he even determined to lead an expedition against Vikramāditya, with the object of killing him in battle and carrying away Candralēkha. But evidently better counsels prevailed and the proposed march against the mighty Chālukyan emperor was abandoned.

There are many roads to fame and the Karṇāṭaka Candralēkha's lay through that of beauty.

Rebbaladēvī (Circa 1090 A.D.)

It is not members of royal families who are responsible for the construction of temples and for the institution of charities.

There have been notable examples of people who did not belong to the princely race, but who were as philanthropical as any king, queen or prince.

Towards the close of the eleventh century, during the reign of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalladēva (Vikramāditya VI), a Brāhmaṇa lady, called Rebbaladēvī earned a great reputation for having built a temple to Kēśavadēva at her birth-place, Hūvinahaḍagali, in the Bellary district. This lady was the wife of a brave Brāhmaṇa general called Ravidēva, who was as charitably disposed as his wife and who established charities on the banks of the Gaṅga, the Yamunā and the Narmadā.

Rebbaladēvī, besides building the temple in her native place, which was noted for its Vedic lore, made a large number of grants of many plots of land for the service of the deity. In addition, she made the necessary arrangements to establish and to maintain a feeding-house for Brāhmaṇas. She also arranged for the maintenance of a flower garden. Evidently, the temple became so popular that at the request of Rebbaladēvi's husband, the king made the gift of a whole village for the service of the same God. To show how well-known the temple became, we may also mention that a lady called Sōrikavve, made a gift of a large plot of wet land for the service of the God. This temple is really a beautiful monument.

The author of such a charming shrine had many lovable qualities: she was a mine of Dharma; she was well-versed in learning and in the fine arts; and she was universally respected.

Kanti (Circa 1100 A.D.)

Kanti, the first great Kannaḍa poetess so far known, adorned the court of the famous Hoysaḷa King Ballāḷa I (who was a great patron of learning). To understand how important a poetess she was, we must know something about Nāgacandra, who called himself Abhinava Pampa and who was her contemporary in the same court. Nāgacandra thought so highly of himself - others also though equally high of him - that he felt that he had the ability to write as ably as the first Kannaḍa poet Pampa who had lived in the tenth century.

Often there used to be contests in poetical composition between Kanti and Nāgacandra. That she had the ability to cross swords intellectually with a poet of Nāgacandra's calibre is an indication that she herself possessed no mean intellect or poetical ability. Though born in a middle class family, by sheer merit she was able to find a place for herself in the company of great court poets like Nāgacandra. The verses which go by the name of *"Kanti Pampana*

Samasyegaḷu" (The problems of Kanti and Pampa) are the main source of information about her. We learn for instance that Nāgacandra had a great ambition to be praised by Kanti. But Kanti would never praise him openly, though she had high regard for him. So in order to coax an eulogy out of her, he pretended to be dead on a certain day and had news of his demise spread throughout the town. Of course Kanti believed the rumour and lamented over his death selecting the highest possible epithets, calling him "the king among poets" etc. The ambition of Nagacandra was thus fulfilled.

Some of her verbal contests with Nāgacandra are very interesting and can be read and enjoyed in the verses already mentioned.

That she was a poetess of a very high degree is borne out by the fact that a poet of a much later generation called Bahubali (1560 A.D.) praises her in very laudatory terms, going to the extent of calling her Abhinava-Vāgdēvī.

Śāntaladēvī (1117-1131 A.D.):

It is well-known that during the Hoysaḷa rule were built some of the most magnificent Hoysaḷa temples of our land. One of the renowned royal personages of this dynasty was Śāntaladēvi, the senior queen of Vishnuvardhana. She was responsible for the construction of a beautiful temple called *Savatigandhavārana Jinālaya* at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa in A.D. 1123 and the installation in it of the image of Śānti-Jinēndra. Not only was she a great lover and patroness of architecture but she was also a highly accomplished, cultured and charming lady. An inscription at Bēlūr in the Mysore State describes her as "proficient in all arts, an earnest student of the Bharatāgama, a crest-jewel in dancing, a Sarasvatī in singing." Another inscription at Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa tells us that she was a "Bṛhaspati in discrimination, a Vācaspati in ready wit, the victorious banner of king Cupid, a lamp for the prosperity of her family and delighting in gifts of food, shelter, medicine and learning." It is remarkable that this lady who was a Jaina by faith not only assisted her husband, who was a Vaisṇava, in constructing many a noble edifice dedicated to Vishṇu but she herself built the temple of Rāmēśvara at Iśapura and set up an exquisite image of Vishṇu which goes by the name of Kappe-Cennigarāya at Bēlūr. Evidently on account of her religious toleration she is praised in the inscriptions as 'the cause of the elevation of the four *samayas* (creeds)' and a' jewel of protection to all faiths.' She died at the *tīrtha* of Śivagaṅge (near Bangalore) in A.D. 1131.

Akkamahādēvī (Circa 1160 A.D)

Among the well-known Vīraśaiva literary geniuses, Akkamahādēvī or Mahādēvīyakka holds a high place. Among the literary women of Karṇāṭaka few can claim equality with her. She was born in an ordinary lower middle class family at a place called Uḍutaḍi. It is not surprising that she became even from her infancy a devout follower of Śaivism, considering the fact that her parents were great devotees of Lord Śiva. Since she was very beautiful, the chief, Kauśika, of her town desired to marry her. But she decided not only not to marry him (because he was not a follower of Lord Śiva) but also to renounce the world. She therefore became an ardent disciple of Basavēśvara, the founder of the Lingāyat cult.

From this time onwards she started giving out many of her sayings which have become practically aphorisms, comparable in quality to those of Confucius. There is great poetical merit, simplicity of expression and reference to our daily cares, turmoils and tribulations in them. Every one of them ends with the word Cenna-Mallikārjuna, the god of her devotion. To show the universality of these sayings, which number over a thousand, a couple of them are translated below. The originals are of course in Kannaḍa in which she made these utterances, so that the common folk could easily understand them.

(1) Oh, foolish one, learn about Cenna-Mallikārjuna; do not go to ruin by trusting your body. Fie upon this body; what else it is but a vessel of filth, a pot of urine, a screen of bones and a receptacle of pus?

(2) Listen, Oh lord Cenna-Mallikārjuna ! Having been born in this world, we must be calm without being angry in mind, if praises or censures are heaped on us. Will it do to be afraid of wild beasts after having constructed our house on the top of a mountain? Will it do to be afraid of waves and foam after having built our house at a sea-shore? Will it do to be shy of sound after having made our home in the middle of the market-place?

In addition to these sayings, Akkamahādēva is also known as the author of the following religio-literary compositions: (1) *Yōgāṅgatrividhi,* (2) *Sṛiṣṭiya Vacana,* and (3) *Akkagaḷa Pīṭhike.*

Evidently, she was so popular even after her demise that there came into existence, a work about her entitled *Mahādēviyakkana Purāṇa,* i.e. the story of Mahādēviyakka.

It is said that towards the close of her life she went to Śrīsaila to worship her favourite deity Cenna-Mallikārjuna in that place and eventually died there.

Gangādēvi (Circa 1360 A.D.)

It is well-known that the Vijayanagara kings were great patrons of learning, men of letters and of the fine arts like poetry and music. Among the ladies of the first Vijayanagara dynasty there was a famous poetess named Gaṅgādēvi who wrote a great Sanskrit *kāvya,* called *Madhurāvijayam.* In this work she has described in fascinating style the conquests of her husband Kampaṇa, the son of Bukka I, in the south. The work is not only of high literary merit but it also of great historical value as it gives a detailed account of the prince's campaigns. It is unfortunate that we know nothing more of this talented lady.

Ōduva Tirumalāmbā (Circa 1539 A.D.)

In the court of Acyutarāya, one of the later Vijayanagara kings, was a poetess of great merit, who was possibly employed as a "Reader" to the royal court, whose duty was, perhaps, the reading of poetical and other compositions to the harem as well as to the royal court. The name of this lady was Tirumalāmbā and she was popularly known as *Ōduva Tirumalāmbā* (Tirumalāmbā the reader). Evidently she was a genius, since she was an excellent musician and a grammarian, possessing in addition a good command of rhetoric and diction. She was a scholar of the Indian epics, poetry, drama and philosophy. Besides these accomplishments, she had many others as well, like being a linguist having a good knowledge of many languages and having the ability to write in many scripts. In addition to all these excellent qualities she must have possessed great beauty as well, for, emperor Achyutaraya became so enamoured of her that he elevated her to the position of one of his queens *(rāja-mahiṣī).* We learn most of these details from the epilogue to one of her works entitled *Varadāmbikā-Pariṇaya-Campū* which is a romance in Sanskrit celebrating the wedding of king Acyutarāya and his senior queen Varadāmbikā. It is learnt from epigraphical and other sources that Varadāmbikā was the principal queen *(Paṭṭamahiṣī)* of Acyutarāya and it is interesting to note that a junior queen should have celebrated in song the marriage of her rival without showing any jealousy. Possibly she might have been a good-natured lady and written the prose-verse *(campū)* romance only out of regard and affection for Varadāmbikā. We also learn from the epilogue to the *campū* that she was a patroness of learned priests, scholars and poets and that she made liberal gifts and endowments to temples and other religious institutions. This poem also describes the birth of Prince Veṅkaṭādri, the first born of Varadāmbikā.

There are two sets of opinions regarding the literary merits of *Varadāmbikā Pariṇaya.* One is highly laudatory and the other is rather lukewarm. But it cannot be denied that the work shows that Tirumalāmbā was a highly educated and cultured lady, who wrote for the cultured and the well-educated. She was the only queen in her age who had the ability to compose a literary piece in a classical language.

It is known from epigraphical evidence that she composed two Sanskrit ślokas on the occasion of one of Acyutarāya's *dāna* ceremonies called *Ānandanidhi* and had these ślokas engraved in many places. She composed another verse commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmaṇas at Hampi in Śaka 1455 (1533 A.D.). It is also surmised that the three verses recording the king's *tulabhāra* or pearls at Kāñcīpuram in the same year were composed by her.

Cennammāji (Circa 1670 A.D.)

When the mighty Vijayanagara empire disintegrated, of the many viceroys who became independent rulers, the Nāyakas of Keḷadi became prominent. Of the later chiefs of this dynasty two people became rather well known - the brothers Bhardrappa Nāyaka and Somaśekhara Nāyaka - in the second half of the seventeenth century. It was at this time that Somaśekhara Nāyaka's wife Cennammāji attained eminence. It may be surmised that the two brothers were ruling jointly round about 1661 A.D. and that Cennammāji also held authority along with her husband. Evidently she was a lady of great administrative ability since her husband allowed her to hold the reins of government, not only when he was ruling along with his brother, but even later on when he himself was the sole monarch. Towards the later part of his life it was Cennammāji who was carrying on the administration of the kingdom, though she was doing it in the name of her husband.

After his demise in 1677 A.D. she assumed full command and ruled wisely and well for as long a period as twenty-five years. The principal sources of information about her are a Kannaḍa literary work entitled *Keḷadinṛpa Vijaya* and an encyclopaedia in Sanskrit called

Śivatattva ratnākara the author of which is Hiriya Basappa Nāyaka, the adopted son of Cennammāji. From these sources, as well as from epigraphs, we learn that this lady distinguished herself by an act of heroism of no mean order: she had the courage to offer shelter to Rājarāma, the son of Śivāji who was being hotly pursued by the armies of the terrible Aurangzeb. Her courage does not stop with this only. When the Moughal forces of Aurangzeb had the temerity to enter her State to capture Rājarāma she routed them so totally that she came to be regarded as a very great heroine, who had the bravery to stand up against the imperial Muslim army. Aurangzeb was so struck with wonder at her heroism that he honoured her greatly by sending her valuable gifts. Another act of her military prowess was the defeat of the Mysore army led by Daḷavāyi Timmappa, when she took captive the Daḷavāyi's son. She founded in memory of her husband a town called Somaśēkharapura on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra and presented it to the Brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vēdas. This act is an indication of her generosity and respect for learning. We also learn (from the sources already mentioned) that she respected religion and combining religion with benevolence (since she was of a benevolent nature) she established, at a number of sacred places, permanent charities in her own name. These sacred places were Banaras, Rāmēśvaram, Tirupati and Śrīśaila. In addition to these she built *maṭhas* for the itinerant Lingayāt monks *(Jaṅgamas)* and protected dharma. It is said that she administered her kingdom so well that her subjects, as well as others, said that there was no other ruler who could match Cennammāji in nobility of character, in prowess, in charity and in devoutness.

Honnamma (Circa 1680 A.D.)

Literary genius is not confined only to the members of the Brāhmaṇa class, or to the Kṣatriya class. A women belonging to the last class, namely the Śudra class, became very reputed as the writer of a socio-poetical composition in Kannaḍa. Her name was Honnamma and she probably belonged to Yelandur (Mysore State). She was working in the palace of the Mysore king Chikka Dēvarāja. She was evidently the favourite maid servant of the chief queen Dēvājammaṇṇi. She was educated at the instance of the queen by a well-known scholar proficient in the four Vēdas, in two Vedāntas and who was the author of a drāma called *Mitravindā Gōvinda*. This teacher, Aḷasiṅgalācārya, was evidently so pleased with the ability of his pupil, that he called her the goddess of charming literature *(Sarasa-sāhityada varadēvate)* and that she had learnt the secret of poetry, *alaṅkāras* and plays. This praise of a pupil by a teacher impressed the king so much that he told his queen to get a literary piece written by Honnamma. It is thought that the queen communicated the king's wishes to Honnamma, who wrote an important book called *Hadibadeya Dharma* which deals with the duties of a chaste woman *(Hadibade,* the *tadbhava* form of *Pativratā).* This book has become so popular that verses from it are sung even today. It is of value also from the point of view of history, since it gives the genealogy of the Mysore kings up to the seventeenth century.

Celuvāmbā (Circa 1725 A.D.)

Among the later poetesses of the Karṇāṭaka country, we may mention Celuvāmbā, the queen of Dodda Kṛishṇarāja, the king of Mysore. She is reputed as the author of a long poem called *Varanandi-Kalyāṇa.* She has also written lullaby songs on the greatness of God Veṅkaṭācala of Tirupati *(Veṅkaṭācala-māhātmya)* and on Alamēlumaṅgamma. She has in addition written a prose commentary on the *Talākāvēri Mahātmya.* She states that she wrote the delightful *Varanandī-Kalyāṇa,* at the command of her husband. Her style is very mellifluous.

Heḷavanakaṭṭe Giriyamma (Circa 1750 A.D.)

The poetesses that have been mentioned so far do not belong to the Brāhmaṇa class. This does not mean that there were no poetesses belonging to this class. We have the excellent example of a devotee of God Raṅganātha, at a place called Heḷavanakaṭṭe, who was a Brāhmaṇa poetess. This lady is remembered for her devotional poetry and some of her well-known poems deal with the popular themes like the marriage of Sītā, the story Candrahāsa and the story of Uddālaka. Besides these, she has composed a number of songs which are quite popular even today. A point of interest regarding these songs is that even the *ragas* are specified by her. We can recognise her compositions by the words "Helavanakatte Rangayya," towards the end of the pieces. All her works are in Kannaḍa. Tradition says that she lived at the village of Komāranahaḷḷi near Harihara (in Mysore State) about two hundred years ago.

Mahārāṇi Kempananjammaṇṇi Avaru (Died 1935 A.D.)

We may close this roll of honour with a short account of one of the towering personalities of our own times. viz. Mahārāṇi Kempananjammaṇṇi Avaru of Mysore.

In the year 1894, a great calamity overtook the State of Mysore. The ruler, Chamarāja Wodeyar X, died suddenly of a serious illness, on the 28th of December, and his orphaned children were very young minors, the eldest of them being a boy of only ten years. It was at this critical juncture that Chāmarāja Wodeyar's queen Mahārāṇi Kempananjammaṇṇi Avaru showed promise of great administrative ability. During the period of the minority of the heir, she was the Regent, and with the assistance of her able Dewan, Sri K.Seshadri Ayyar, she ruled the state very ably for a period of eight years.

She was a ruler who had great intelligence and tact. It was during her regime that a number of useful measures were introduced. Mention may be made of the construction of the Mārikaṇive reservoir (Vāṇi Vilāsa Sāgara), the establishment of a college for women called The Maharani's College and the construction of excellent hostels for students, both at Bangalore and Mysore. Further, a liberal monetary grant and a large extent of land were given for the starting of the Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore. Another of her noteworthy achievements was the starting and the successful implementation of the Hydro-Electric Scheme at Śivasamudram, the first of its kind in South India.

To show how great a lady she was, we may quote the words of Lord Curzon when her regency came to an end: "I have pleasure in stating, that the smooth progress of events during the minority (of Krishṇarāja Wodeyar IV) has been largely due to the unfailing tact and discretion of her Highness......She has set an example of public and domestic virtue, which has been of equal value to her people and to her family, and which has earned for her the admiration and the respect of all.......In recognition of these services, I had submitted to His Majesty, the King Emperor, the request that he would allow her Highness, the salute of Nineteen guns to be continued to her for life........, His majesty has gladly consented to bestow upon her Highness, this exceptional mark of favour."

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Mm. P.V. Kane: *History of Sanskrit Poetics*

Dr. V. Raghavan: Sanskrit and Prakrit Poetesses *(Journal of the Mythic Society:* Vol. XXV. Pp. 49-74.)

Mm. R. Narasimhachar: *Lives of Kannaḍa Poets.* Vols. I, II and III

P.G. Halakatti: *Mahādēviyakkana Vacanagaḷu.*

N. Lakshminarayan Rao: Nāyakas of Keḷadi *(Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Volume.* Pp. 255-269)

M. Shama Rao: *Modern Mysore.*

REFERENCE

1. Some scholars hold that these three names refer to three different persons. But I follow Mm P.V.Kane in considering the three to be identical.

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HOYSALA KARNATAKAS ORIGIN AND GROWTH*

The Hoysala Karnatakas are a well known subsect of Smarta Brahmins, which has produced many eminent scholars, musicians, philosophers, generals and religious pontiffs, over the centuries. Of the two parts of the name of this sub-sect viz., Hoysala and Karnataka, the second part i.e., Karnataka is easily explained, as the mother tongue of this community is and has been Kannada, and as they have been the inhabitants of the Karnataka region. But what is the significance of the first part of the name viz., Hoysala? We know that the Hoysalas were a ruling dynasty of Karnataka for over three centuries from about 1010 A.D. The earliest mention of the name Hoysala occurs in an inscription of the middle of the tenth century, and the origin of the family name is given for the first time in an inscription of 1117 A.D. as follows: "In the lineage of Yadu there was born a certain Sala. In company with a Jaina ascetic, who was versed in all the science of incantation, he was worshipping the goddess Padmavati of Sasakapura with a view to bringing her into their power and so acquiring sovereignty for Sala. A tiger sprang out threatening to interrupt and spoil the efficacy of their rites. On the appeal of the ascetic who cried out 'Poy-Sala'-'slay, oh Sala', Sala slew the tiger. And from this exclamation and the slaughter of the tiger he and his descendants acquired the name of Poysala". But as in the case of the Chalukyas who were supposed to have been born out of a water pot *(chuluka)* of Hariti-Panchasikha (a mythical person descended from Manu), when he was pouring out a libation to the gods, the account of the origin of the name Hoysala appears to be later fictitious invention in order to give a respectability to the dynasty when the real origin of the family name had been forgotten. It has been noted above that the family was in existence for nearly two centuries before the first mention of this legendary account. We know, however, that the name, Ballala, was borne by many members of this family and it is very probable that this name Ballala is the Kannada equivalent of the Tamil Vellala. The Vellalars are referred to in ancient Tamil literature as the chief land owning gentry and they are divided into two classes: those who cultivated the land themselves, and those who got their lands cultivated by others. The latter, besides owning land, rose to very prominent positions like ministers, governors and generals. Of these the Hoysalas were only one family. Evidently the Hoysalas were a set of local land holders, who became prominent when conditions were favourable for their rise.

Now let us consider why the name Hoysala is associated with the Hoysala-Karnatakas. The Hoysalas rose to power as feudatories of the Chalukyas, and as their subordinates began to rule over a small tract of territory, with their capital first at Sosevur (now Angadi in Mudagere Taluk), then at Belur and finally at Dorasamudra (now Halebid). Soon they acquired control over the Talakad region. The Chalukya empire which was very extensive included in it Karnataka, Maharashtra and parts of Andhra-desha. and in the time of the greatest of the Chalukyas, Vikramaditya VI, it extended even upto Nagpur. On account of the liberal patronage of this monarch to learned men and others, many non-Kannada people and settled down in his dominions e.g. Bilhana, who wrote the biographical poem *Vikramanka Charita* about his patron was a Kashmiri Brahmin. The Hoysalas as their political successors (and the Vijayanagara Kings after them) continued this tradition of patronage to men of letters etc. On account of the liberality and broad mindedness of these rulers, the area comprised in the former Mysore State became the home of many non-Kannada Brahmins, such as the Velanadus, Mulakanadus, and the Aravelu Niyogis of the Andhra Country, the Karahadis, Konkanasthas and Desasthas of the Maharashtra Country and the Vadamas of the Tamil Country. Of course there were many sub-sect. among Kannada speaking Brahmins such as the Badaganadu Karnatakas, the Seeranadu Karnatakas, and Hoysala Karnatakas and on the West coast the Havyakas, the Kotas and the Sivalli. It will be readily seen that all these indicate the geographical divisions from which these people hailed. In order to maintain its own customs, rituals, language (dialectal peculiarities), traditions, and individuality each sub-sect called itself by a distinctive name, usually a town or geographical division of their origin. (This tendency which might not have been very pronounced in early times became marked and rigid after the Muslim invasion of the South.) Thus the Badaganadu Karnatakas came from the northern parts of former Mysore State, Bellary and Anantapur districts, round about Sira in Tumkur district. As noted above the sphere of authority of the Hoysalas when they rose to power was in the region round about Sosevur, which was also their birth place, Belur, Dorasamudra and Talakad i.e. the modern districts of Kadur, Hassan and Mysore. This tract of Karnataka was the home province of the Hoysalas and the Brahmins who were residing in this area were therefore called Hoysala Karnatakas, just as the Brahmins living around Sira were known as Seeranadu Karnatakas and those living in the northern parts were known as Badaganadu Karnatakas. (Even to-day this sub- sect is mostly concentrated in this area). It may be noted here that all the Brahmins before the advent of Ramanujacharya and Madhvacharya were Smartas.

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* Published in Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Hoysala Karnataka Sangha, Bangalore.

However, it may be observed, that there is practically no reference to the sub-sect by the name Hoysala-Karnataka either in literature or in inscriptions till we come to the seventeenth century. In fact the only reference that I know of is in an inscription of 1687 A.D. and I shall deal with it later on. So we must rely only on traditional accounts. And according to tradition the great Madhava-Vidyaranya who was the pontiff at Sringeri and who was instrumental in the founding of the great Vijayanagara Kingdom belonged to this subsect. This tradition is in a way borne out by a contemporary inscription, which says that Singambika (Singale) was the sister of Madhava and Sayana and her son was the Minister Lakshmidhara who is described as ಕನ್ನಡಿಗ ಕುಲಕ ರನ್ನದ ಕನ್ನಡಿ. Evidently therefore Madhavacharya, Sayanacharya and Bhoganatha, who were the brothers of Singambika were also ಕನ್ನಡಿಗ 's. As stated above, since the nomenclature, Hoysala Karnataka was not applied in literary or other records of this period to this sub-sect, the tradition that they were Hoysala Karnatakas gains support. It is well known that Madhava-Vidyaranya lived through the reigns of three successive monarchs, viz., Harihara I, Bukka I and Harihara II and guided them in not only administering their vast territory but also wrote a treatise on Law and procedure *Parasara-Madhaviya* for the benefit of these rulers. Besides this, his works on Advaita philosophy are too well known; and he was also the author of a work on music entitled *Sangitasara*.

His younger brother, the great vedic scholar, Sayanacharya, who is famous as the commentator of the vedas, was also a renowned author of many Sanskrit works such as the *Dhatuvritti.* He was not only a literary giant but also an able minister and a military general. He was the minister of King Sangama II, and during Sangama's minority, Sayana was virtually the regent of the kingdom and fought against and defeated Champanarendra, the chief of Tundiramandala (North Arcot district of Tamil Nadu).

The youngest of the brothers, Bhoganatha, who is usually known as Bhoganathakavi, was like his brothers a reputed author. He calls himself the born companion of Sangama II, who was the ward of Sangama II, who was the ward of his elder brother Sayanacharya.

On account of the influence which these brothers wielded with the early Vijayanagara rulers, the Hoysala Karnataka Community must have gained importance and prestige in the social, political and other spheres. Consequently they must have occupied prominent official positions of authority. My mother's maternal uncle used to tell me that according to a family tradition he was a descendant (on his mother's side) of Bhoganatha.

Now let us turn to the inscription (referred to already) which makes a specific mention of the Hoysana Kannadi sect. This inscription of A.D. 1687 states that Rama Sastri of Hoysana Kannadi Community received some gifts made by Mahadevendra Sarasvati, the disciple of Chandrasekhara Sarasvati, who occupied the pontifical throne of the Saradapitha of Kanchi. This Ramasastri has been identified with his namesake Ramasastri, the elder brother of Kuttikavi (Circa 1700). Both these brothers are known to be the sons of the daughter's daughter of the great Govinda Dikshita, the minister of the Nayaka chiefs of Tanjavur, thus proving beyond any doubt the Govinda Dikshita belonged to the Hoysala Karnataka Community. This Govinda Dikshita was a scholar, philosopher, statesman and musicologist. He was the minister of three successive Nayakas of Tanjavur. This Nayaka family owed its rise to the relationship of its first prominent members Sevvappanayaka by ties of marriage with the Vijayanagara emperor Achyutaraya (1530-1542). Sevvappa's wife Murtimamba was the younger sister of Thirumalamba, one of the Queens of Achyutaraya. Govinda Dikshita was called *Ayyan* by the Nayaka chieftains on account of their affection and regard for him; and he was given the *Ardhasana,* a signal mark of honour by these chiefs. On account of his able guidance the Tanjavur tract became very flourishing and culture. He is known to have written a treatise on music called *Sangita-Sudhanidhi* in addition to his other works. His son Yajnanarayana Dikshita in his famous work *Sahityaratnakara* has given many details regarding his illustrious father and his activities. Another son of his was the renowned Venkatamakhi, who wrote the work *Chaturdandiprakasika,* which is even to-day regarded as one of the most authoritative books on Carnatic music.

Reverting once again to Ramasastri mentioned above, we may note the sect to which he belonged viz., Hoysana Kannadi sect which enjoyed some patronage in the Kamakoti Pitha at Kanchi. This perhaps accounts for the choice of the *Mathadipatis* of this *Pitha* from among the Hoysala Karnataka Community for some generations. The present *jagadguru* who adorns the Kamakoti *Pitha,* His Holiness Sri Chandrasekarendra Sarasvati Swamigalu who is held in great esteem for his spiritual qualities, catholicity of outlook and simplicity of life by all the sections of the people in India, is the greatest living luminary of the Hoysala Karnataka Community.

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FOREWORD*

I consider it a great privilege to be asked to write a foreword to the monumental Reports on Archaeology in the Mysore State (vol. 1) by the late Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R.Narasimhachar, one of the greatest scholars of India. Sri Narasimhachar's erudition, profound knowledge of all the Dravidian languages which was unparalleled, - extraordinary proficiency in Sanskrit, critical acumen and independent judgement on matters dealt with in these Reports and elsewhere, won him the admiration of eminent scholars all over the world. These Reports contain a wealth of material on epigraphy, numismatics, art, architecture, excavation and manuscripts which is highly valuable for the reconstruction of the history of our country from the time of Chandragupta Maurya and Asoka down to Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan. They also throw a flood of light on the religious, social and cultural aspects of the former Mysore State.

Starting with epigraphy, I may say that the contribution that these Reports have made to the history of the various dynasties that held sway over this part of the land especially the Gangas of Talakad is immense. The late Dr. J.F. Fleet had pronounced all the copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganga dynasty as spurious. He went so far as to say that the rulers of this dynasty prior to those figuring in stone inscriptions (i.e., Sivamara I and his successors) never existed! He was so obsessed with the idea of the spuriousness of these copper-plates that he did not consider it even indecorous to write to Mr.Lewis Rice (Sri Narasimhachar's predecessor), "If you will only give up the Gangas, I will do anything you like for you." ! But after the discovery and masterly review by Sri Narasimhachar of many genuine copper-plate grants of this family, Dr. Fleet ultimately had to admit that even the rulers mentioned in the copper-plate records were real and not fictitious !

Another important elucidation of a great historical event concerning a chief of this family named Būtuga stands to the credit of Sri Narasimhachar. The charge of treacherously killing his opponent, the Chōla prince Rājāditya had been levelled against Būtuga by an incorrect understanding of a passage in a Kannada inscription. Sri Narasimhachar pointed out that the correct reading and interpretation of the passage would show that, "Būtuga undauntedly mounted the elephant on which Rājāditya was seated and by engaging him in hand to hand fight in the howdah itself stabbed him with a dagger and thus killed him."

In the field of numismatics, Sri Narasimhachar's discovery and decipherment of the coins of the chiefs of Chutukula, whose few inscriptions are found in North Kanara and Shimoga districts, add much to our knowledge of this little known dynasty.

Coming to art and architecture, Sri Narasimhachar's Reports are a rich mine of information on the magnificent temples in the old Mysore State like the ones at Somanathapur, Belur and

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* Foreword written to 'Report on Archaeology in the Mysore State (Vol. I)' published by the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Halebid. Fergusson had called this style of temple architecture the Chalukyan style. But it was Sri Narasimhachar who said that this style should be more correctly designated as the Hoysala style of architecture. The Reports contain an exhaustive description of the plan and structure of these numerous temples, as also a brilliant depiction of the beautiful and lifelike sculptures that adorn the walls of these temples, highlighting the consummate skill with which these were carved by the master craftsmen of the Hoysala period. Sri Narasimhachar has also given a masterly account of the iconographic features of the various idols found in these temples, thereby revealing his astounding knowledge of iconography. Besides his description of the Hoysala style of temple architecture, these Reports also carry a detailed account of the structures of the Dravidian style.

Regarding excavations, Sri Narasimhachar's foresight in starting the excavations at Chandravalli as early as 1909 was indeed remarkable. When the excavations were resumed by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1947 they yielded very valuable finds regarding typical megalithic and successive cultures, thus proving Sri Narasimhachar's acumen four decades earlier.

Lastly his discovery and study of several important manuscripts have been recorded in these Reports. It is well known that these are the source material for his unique work "The Lives of the Kannada Poets." But the most significant discovery from the point of view of history is the manuscript of the Jaina work called Loka Vibhaga, which has supplied a landmark in fixing the initial date of the reign of the early Pallava king Simhavarman, and affording a very important synchronism with Ayyavarman, the early Ganga King of Talkad, who was anointed by Pallava Simhavarman.

The present volume of the Reports now being issued by the Mythic Society bears ample evidence of all the aspects of Indological research mentioned above viz., the numerous epigraphs of the Gangas, Kadambas, Hoysalas and other dynasties; accounts of the art and architecture of Somanathapur and other temples; the description of the Chandravalli excavations and the coins of the Chutus found there; and the discovery of the ancient Jaina work Loka Vibhaga of Simhasuri (to mention only a few).

The Mythic Society must be congratulated on bringing out a handy edition of these rare and invaluable Reports, and thus making them easily available to research scholars. I may conclude this foreword by expressing my sense of gratitude to the present president of the Mythic Society, and my old friend Sri T.T. Sharman, who has thrust on me the honour of writing this foreword.

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PROFESSOR T.N.SREEKANTAIYA*

In the year 1938 I was staying as a guest in the house of the late Professor T.S.Venkannayya of hallowed memory, whom I regarded as an elder member of our family. It was in this sacred spot that Mr. Venkannayya introduced Prof. T.N.Sreekantaiya to me as a budding and brilliant Kannada scholar. Our acquaintance developed into friendship and I kept up close, though not frequent contacts with him, especially in connection with the preparation of the Kannada Dictionary. His versatility and depth of learning both in literature and linguistics impressed me very much, whether it was in casual conversation or the discussion of particular topics.

His burning love for Kannada and his ardent desire that the language should develop on sound lines, maintain high standards and occupy an honored place among all the languages not only of India but of the entire world were evident in each sentence that he spoke. When I met him last in the second week of June, 1966 at Mysore, I had least suspected that the cruel hand of death would snatch him away so soon! The news of his death over the radio came to me as a rude shock. It stunned me for a while. Need I say that the Kannada Country and the Kannada Language have indeed suffered an irreparable loss by his death?

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* ಕನ್ನಡನುಡಿ, ೨೯(೧೦), ೧೯೬೬, ಪು. ೫೮.

KANNADA ARTICLES

ಕನ್ನಡ ಲೇಖನಗಳು

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ಕನ್ನಡನಾಡಿನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು*

ಅತಿ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕವು ಬಹಳ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯ. ಮಹಾಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಈ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಹೆಸರು ''ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ''ವೆಂದು ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 6ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ವರಾಹಮಿಹಿರನ ''ಬೃಹತ್ ಸಂಹಿತೆ''ಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದೇಶವಾದ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು ಒಂದು ಪ್ರಮುಖವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯ. ಅಶೋಕಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯು ಬೌದ್ಧಮತ ಪ್ರಚಾರಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಥೇರ(ಬೌದ್ಧ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿ)ನನ್ನು ವನವಾಸಿ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಬೌದ್ಧ ಗ್ರಂಥವಾದ ''ಮಹಾವಂಶ''ದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ''ವನವಾಸಿ'' ದೇಶವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 3-4ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಬನವಾಸಿಯ (ಈಗಿನ ಉತ್ತರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಸಿರಸಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಬನವಾಸಿ) ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಈ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ದೇಶದ ವಿಸ್ತಾರವು ಕಾವೇರಿಯಿಂದ ಗೋದಾವರಿಯವರೆಗೆ ಇತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು 9ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ರಾಜನಾದ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷ ನೃಪತುಂಗನು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಈ ವಿಶಾಲವಾದ ದೇಶದ ಇತಿಹಾಸವನ್ನೂ, ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರಕ್ರಮವನ್ನೂ, ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಗಳನ್ನೂ, ಕಲೆಗಳ ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆಯನ್ನೂ, ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಜನಾಸೌಕರ್ಯಗಳನ್ನೂ, ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಇತರ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳೇ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಸಾಧನ. ಬಹುಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಇವುಗಳ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಇತಿಹಾಸವು ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕಲ್ಲಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೆತ್ತಿರುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳು (ಅಂದರೆ ಶಿಲಾ ಶಾಸನಗಳು) ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಮೂಲೆ ಮೂಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಹೊಲ ಗದ್ದೆ ತೋಟಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಕೆರೆ ಕಟ್ಟೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆಯೂ ದೊರೆಯುತ್ತವೆ. ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರೂಪಿಸಿದ ದಾನವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದವರ ಮನೆತನದಲ್ಲಿಯೋ, ಕಾರಣಾಂತರಗಳಿಂದ ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಹೂತಿಟ್ಟ ಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ಲಿಯೋ ದೊರೆಯುತ್ತವೆ.

ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ದಾನಪತ್ರಗಳು. ಆದರೂ ಈ ದಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ರಾಜರ ಅಥವಾ ಇತರ ಮಹಾಪುರುಷರ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನೂ ಅವರ ಶೌರ್ಯ, ಪರಾಕ್ರಮ, ರಾಜ್ಯ ವಿಸ್ತಾರ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳನ್ನೂ, ದಾನಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿ ಅಥವಾ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಯಾವ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ, ದಾನಮಾಡಿದ ವರ್ಷ, ತಿಂಗಳು, ದಿನ, ವಾರ, ಪರ್ವ ಇವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಬಹುದು.

ಸಾಧಾರಣವಾಗಿ ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ರಚನಾಕ್ರಮವು ಈ ರೀತಿ ಇರುತ್ತದೆ: ಶಿವನನ್ನೋ, ವಿಷ್ಣುವನ್ನೋ, ಜನನನ್ನೋ ಅಥವಾ ಇತರ ದೇವತೆಯನ್ನೋ ಕುರಿತ ಸ್ತುತಿಯಿಂದ ಶಾಸನವು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ,

''ನಮಸ್ತುಂಗ ಶಿರಶ್ಚುಂಬಿ ಚಂದ್ರಚಾಮರ ಚಾರವೇ ।
ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಗರಾರಂಭಮೂಲಸ್ತಂಭಾಯ ಶಂಭವೇ ॥''

- ಇದು ಶಿವನನ್ನು ಕುರಿತ ಪ್ರಾರ್ಥನೆ.

''ಜಯತ್ಯಾವಿಷ್ಕೃತಂ ವಿಷ್ಣೋರ್ವಾರಾಹಂ ಕ್ಷೋಭಿತಾರ್ಣವಂ ।
ದಕ್ಷಿಣೋನ್ನತದಂಷ್ಟ್ರಾಗ್ರ ವಿಶ್ರಾಂತ ಭುವನಂ ವಪುಃ ॥''

- ಇದು ವಿಷ್ಣುವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತ ಪ್ರಾರ್ಥನೆ.

ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ ಪರಮಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛನಂ ।
ಜೀಯಾತ್ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಶಾಸನಂ ಜನಶಾಸನಂ ॥

ಇದು ಜನಸ್ತುತಿ. ಆಮೇಲೆ ದಾನಕೊಟ್ಟ ರಾಜನ ಹೆಸರು, ವಂಶಾವಳಿ ಮತ್ತು ಬಿರುದುಗಳು ಇರುತ್ತವೆ. ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯಾದ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರ ಕೆಲವು ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಮೊದಲಿನ ಕೆಲವು ಪದ್ಯಗಳು

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* ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ, ಸಂ. ೪೭ (೨), ಪು. ೮೩-೯೦.

ಜಂಬೂದ್ವೀಪದ ವರ್ಣನೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿ ಅದರೊಳಗೆ ಭಾರತ ದೇಶ, ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಕುಂತಳಪ್ರಾಯವಾದ ಕುಂತಳದೇಶವಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸಿ, ಆ ಕುಂತಳದೇಶವನ್ನು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತಿ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ಅಹವಮಲ್ಲನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿ, ಅನಂತರ ಅವನ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತದೆ.

> ''ಆ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತಿ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ವಂಶಾವತಾರ
> ಮೆಂತೆಂದಡೆ'' .... ''ಧರೆನಿಚ್ಚಂ ಪೊಗಳ್ಗುಂ....ತೈಲನಂ ॥ ಧರಣೀಶಾಗ್ರಣಿ ತೈಲಪ
> ಪ್ರಿಯಸುತಂ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಂ ತನ್ಮಹೇಶ್ವರ ಪುತ್ರಂ ವಿಭುವಿಕ್ರಮಂ ತದನು
> ಜಂ ಸಂದಯ್ಯಣಂ ತನ್ನೃಪಾವರಜಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಜಯಸಿಂಹನಾತನಮಗಂ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯ
> ಮಲ್ಲಂ ಗುಣಾಕರನಪ್ಪಾವಹಮಲ್ಲದೇವನೆಸೆದಂ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಚಕ್ರೇಶ್ವರ ॥ ''

ಆ ರಾಜನ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮ, ದಂಡಯಾತ್ರೆ ಮೊದಲಾದವುಗಳನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದನಂತರ ಆ ರಾಜನ ಮಹಾಮಾತ್ಯನಾದ ದೇಮರಸನು ಪೊಸವಡಂಗಿಲೆ (ಈಗಿನ ಬಳ್ಳಾಗಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಹಿರೇಹಡಗಲಿ) ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ದೇಮೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವರನ್ನು ಶುಭ ಮುಹೂರ್ತದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠೆಮಾಡಿ ಆ ದೇವರ ಅಂಗಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಶಕವರ್ಷದ 978ನೆಯ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 1057) ಹೇಮಳಂಬಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ವೈಶಾಖದ ಪುಣ್ಣಿಮೆ ಆದಿತ್ಯವಾರ ಸೋಮಗ್ರಹಣದಂದು ಮಹಾಗ್ರಹಾರ ಪೊಸವಡಂಗಿಲೆ 120 ಮಹಾಜನರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದು ಅದನ್ನು ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರತಕ್ಕಂತಹ ರಾಜರುಗಳು ಪಾಲಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬೇಡುವ ಶ್ಲೋಕಗಳಿಂದ ಶಾಸನವು ಮುಗಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಒಂದು ಶ್ಲೋಕವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ:

> ''ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯೋಯಂ ಧರ್ಮಸೇತುರ್ನೃಪಾಣಾಂ ಕಾಲೇಕಾಲೇ ಪಾಲನೀಯೋ ಭವದ್ಭಿಃ ।
> ಸರ್ವಾನೇತಾನ್ ಭಾವಿನಃ ಪಾರ್ಥಿವೇಂದ್ರಾನ್ ಭೂಯೋ ಭೂಯೋ ಯಾಚತೇ ರಾಮಚಂದ್ರಃ ॥''

ಇನ್ನು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಬಹುದಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸೋಣ. ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ನಮ್ಮ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರಮಾಡಿದ ಅರಸು ಮನೆತನಗಳ ಇತಿಹಾಸ-ಅಂದರೆ ಅವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಯಾವುದು, ಅವರ ಮೂಲ ಪುರುಷರು ಯಾರು, ಅವರ ವಂಶಾವಳಿ ಏನು, ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ವಿಸ್ತಾರವೆಷ್ಟು, ಅವರು ಬಾಳಿದ ಕಾಲವಾವುದು, ಯಾವ ಯಾವ ರಾಜನು ಎಷ್ಟೆಷ್ಟು ವರ್ಷ ಆಳಿದನು ಮೊದಲಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳಿಗೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳೇ ಮೂಲಾಧಾರ. ಲೋಕವಿಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ಮೌರ್ಯವಂಶದ ಅಶೋಕ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತಿಯ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಚಿರ್ತದುರ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಸಿದ್ದಾಪುರ, ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಗಿರಿ, ಜಟಿಂಗ ರಾಮೇಶ್ವರದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ರಾಯಚೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕೊಪ್ಪಳ ಮತ್ತು ಮಾಸ್ಕಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ದೊರೆತಿವೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಅಶೋಕ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತಿಯ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಪಾಟಲೀಪುತ್ರ (ಈಗಿನ ಬಿಹಾರ್ ಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣವಾದ ''ಪಟ್ನಾ'')ದಿಂದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯವರೆಗೂ ಹಬ್ಬಿತ್ತೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈತನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರಾದ ಈಜಿಪ್ಟ್ ದೇಶದ ಟೋಲೆಮಿ ಫಿಲೆಡೆಲ್ಫಸ್ (Ptolemy Philadelphus), ಸಿರಿಯಾ ದೇಶದ ಆ್ಯಂಟಿಯೋಕಸ್ (Antiochus)ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜರುಗಳ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಯಭಾರಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಅಶೋಕ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯು ಕ್ರಿಸ್ತಪೂರ್ವ 3ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿದೆ. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಕದಂಬ ವಂಶದ ಅರಸನಾದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ತಾಳಗುಂದದ (ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ಶಾಸನವು ಕದಂಬರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆ ವಂಶದ ಮೂಲ ಪುರುಷನಾದ ಮಯೂರವರ್ಮನು ಹೇಗೆ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದನೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ, ಅವನ ತರುವಾಯ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿದ ಅರಸರ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯನ್ನೂ ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯು ವೇಂಗಿ ದೇಶದ ಆಧಿಪತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ನೇಮಿಸಿದ ಅವನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಕುಬ್ಜ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನ ಸಂತತಿಯವರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಆ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಅರಸನ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲಮಾನವನ್ನೂ ಕೊಡುತ್ತವೆ.

ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ :

> ''ಚಲುಕ್ಯಾನಾಂ ಕುಲಮಲಂಕರಿಷ್ಣೋಃ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯವಲ್ಲಭೇಂದ್ರಸ್ಯ
> ಭ್ರಾತಾ ಕುಬ್ಜ ವಿಷ್ಣುವಿರ್ಧನೋಽಷ್ಟಾದಶವರ್ಷಾಣಿ (೧೮ ವರ್ಷಗಳು)
> ವೇಂಗಿದೇಶಮಪಾಲಯತ್ । ತದಾತ್ಮಜೋ ಜಯಸಿಂಹಸ್ತ್ರಯಸ್ತ್ರಿಂಶ

ತಂ (೩೩) । ತದನುಜೇನ್ದ್ರ ರಾಜನನ್ದನೋ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನೋ ನವ(೯)
ತತ್ಸೂನುರ್ಮಂಗಿ ಯುವರಾಜಃ ಪಂಚವಿಂಶತಿಂ(೨೫)

ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ

ಇಂತಹ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗರು, ಮಾನ್ಯಖೇಡದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು, ದೋರಸಮುದ್ರದ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಅರಸು ಮನೆತನಗಳ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಗೆ ಗತ್ಯಂತರವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಪದ್ದತಿಯು ಯಾವರೀತಿ ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೇ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ರಾಜ್ಯವು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ, ಮಂಡಲ, ವಿಷಯ, ನಾಡು, ಮಾಗಣೆ, ಊರು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಭಾಗವಿಭಾಗಗಳಾಗಿ ವಿಂಗಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಭಾಗಗಳ ಆಡಳಿತವು ಮಹಾಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವರ, ಮಹಾಸಾಮಂತ, ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಪತಿ, ನಾಳ್ಗಾಮುಂಡ (ನಾಡಗೌಡ), ಊರ್ಗ್ಗಾಮುಂಡ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳಿಗೆ ವಹಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಿತು. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಮಹಾಮಾತ್ಯ, ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನ, ಕೋಶಾಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ, ತಂತ್ರಪಾಲ, ಸಂಧಿವಿಗ್ರಹಿ, ಅಚ್ಚುಪನ್ನಾಯದ ಅಧಿಷ್ಠಾಯಕ, ರಾಜಾಧ್ಯಕ್ಷ, ರಹಸ್ಯಾಧಿಕೃತ, ಶ್ರೀಕರಣಾಧಿಪತಿ, ಸೇನಬೋವ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳ ನಾಯಕತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಶಾಖೆಗಳು ಬಹು ದಕ್ಷತೆಯಿಂದ ಕಾರ್ಯ ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದವು.

ಇದಲ್ಲದೆ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಚಂಡ ದಂಡನಾಯಕ, ಕಟಕೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ, ಸೇನಾಪತಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸೈನ್ಯಾಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಚತುರಂಗಬಲದ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ನೋಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ಊರಿನ, ನಾಡಿನ, ವಿಷಯದ, ದೇಶದ ರಕ್ಷಣೆಗಾಗಿ ಶತ್ರುಗಳನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿ, ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಡಿಯಲು ಸದಾ ಸಿದ್ಧರಾಗಿರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಹಳ್ಳಿ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಾಣಬಹುದಾದ ವೀರಗಲ್ಲುಗಳೇ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನಿದರ್ಶನ. ಈ ವೀರಗಲ್ಲುಗಳು ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾಣತ್ಯಾಗಮಾಡಿದ ವೀರನ ವಂಶದವರಿಗೆ ''ಬಾಳ್ಗಚ್ಚು'' ಆಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂದಾನವನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆಯಲ್ಲದೆ ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಡಿಯುವುದು ಒಂದು ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠವಾದ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವೆಂದು ಯುವಕರನ್ನು ಹುರಿಗಟ್ಟುವ ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತವೆ:

''ಜಿತೇನ ಲಭ್ಯತೇ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀ ಮೃತೇನಾಪಿ ಸುರಾಂಗನಾ
ಕ್ಷಣವಿಧ್ವಂಸನಿ ಕಾಯೇ ಕಾ ಚಿಂತಾ ಮರಣೇರಣೇ॥ ''

ಇದನ್ನು ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಭಗವದ್ಗೀತೆಯ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ಶ್ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಲಿಸಬಹುದು:

ಹತೋ ವಾ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ಸ್ಯಸಿ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಮ್ ಜಿತ್ವಾ ವಾ ಭೋಕ್ಷ್ಯಸೇ ಮಹೀಮ್ ।
ತಸ್ಮಾದುತ್ತಿಷ್ಠ ಕೌಂತೇಯ ಯುದ್ಧಾಯ ಕೃತನಿಶ್ಚಯಃ॥

ಸ್ಥಾನಿಕಸಂಸ್ಥೆಗಳ ಆಡಳಿತವನ್ನೂ ಸಹ ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಊರಿನ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಮಹಾಜನರು ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ಊರೊಡೆಯನ ಮುಖಾಂತರ ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ರಾಜನು ಸಹಿತ ಆ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಇವರ ಅನುಮತಿ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ದಾನಮಾಡುವಂತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ವಾಣಿಜ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ವೃತ್ತಿ ಕಸುಬುಗಳಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ವ್ಯವಹಾರವು ಬಣಂಜು, ನಕರ, ಮುಮ್ಮುರಿ-ದಂಡ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸ್ಥಾನಿಕಕೂಟಗಳ (Guilds)ವಶದಲ್ಲಿರುತ್ತಿತ್ತು.

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅತಿ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾದವು ಅಶೋಕನ ನಿರೂಪಗಳು. ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಇಶಿಲ (ಈಗಿನ ಸಿದ್ದಾಪುರ)ದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಮಹಾಮಾತ್ರ (Viceroy)ನನ್ನು ಸಂಭೋದಿಸಿ ಅಶೋಕನ ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಚಾರವನ್ನು ಜನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವುಗಳ ಭಾಷೆ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ. ಇವುಗಳ ಲಿಪಿ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗೆ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀಲಿಪಿ, ಪ್ರಾಕೃತಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ನಮ್ಮ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಪ್ರಜೆಗಳಿಗೆ ರಾಜರು ತಮ್ಮ ಆಜ್ಞೆಯನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಯಪಡಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೋಸ್ಕರ ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಬರೆದವುಗಳಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಆಗ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯೂ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀಲಿಪಿಯೂ ನಮ್ಮ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿ (ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ಮತ್ತು ಬನವಾಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀಲಿಪಿ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಇವೆ. ಈ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀಲಿಪಿಯಿಂದಲೇ ಭಾರತ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಲಿಪಿಗಳೂ-ಅತಏವ ಕನ್ನಡಲಿಪಿಯೂ-ಬೆಳೆದು ಬಂದಿವೆ.

ಅಚ್ಚ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಶಾಸನವು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ್ದು. ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಿಂದ ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗಿನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಕನ್ನಡಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇವೆ. ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಿಂದ ಈಚೆಗೆ

ಲಿಪಿಯೂ, ಭಾಷೆಯೂ ಅನೇಕ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿರುವುದನ್ನೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಭಾಷಾಚರಿತ್ರೆಗೂ, ಲಿಪಿಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗಕ್ಕೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಅಧ್ಯಯನವು ಆವಶ್ಯಕ. ಇದೇ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಗೂ, ಕವಿ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಗೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಾಗುವ ಉಪಕಾರ ಬಹಳ. ಕೆಲವು ಶಾಸನಗಳಂತೂ ಸಣ್ಣ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳೇ ಆಗಿವೆ. ಕೆಲವು ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದವರ ಹೆಸರನ್ನೂ ಕೊಡುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲವನ್ನು ಆರಿಸಿ ''ಶಾಸನಪದ್ಯಮಂಜರಿ'' ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನೇ ಕೀರ್ತಿಶೇಷ ಆರ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ.1

ವಿದ್ಯಾಭ್ಯಾಸವು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬಹುದು. ಅನೇಕ ವಿದ್ಯಾಪೀಠಗಳು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದವು. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತರ್ಕ, ಮೀಮಾಂಸ, ಪುರಾಣ, ಅರ್ಥಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ, ವ್ಯಾಕರಣ, ರೂಪಾವತಾರ, ಆಯುರ್ವೇದ ಮೊದಲಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಬಳ್ಳಿಗಾಮೆಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾಪೀಠವೂ, ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಶಾಲಾವವಿಟ್ಟಗೆಯ (ಈಗಿನ ಸಾಲೋಟ್ಗಿ) ವಿದ್ಯಾಪೀಠವೂ ಬಹಳ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದವು. ಸಾಲೋಟ್ಗಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ವಿದ್ಯಾಪೀಠಕ್ಕೆ ಅನೇಕ ದೇಶಗಳಿಂದ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳು ಬರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ಅವರ ವಸತಿಗಾಗಿ ಛಾತ್ರಾಲಯಗಳು (Boarding houses) ಏರ್ಪಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದವೆಂದೂ, ಉಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರ ಜೀವಿತ(Salary)ಕ್ಕೂ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳ ಅಶನಾಚ್ಛಾದನಕ್ಕೂ ತಕ್ಕವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಗಳಿದ್ದವೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಾಸ್ತುವಿದ್ಯವೂ (Architecture) ಶಿಲ್ಪಕಲೆಯೂ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೇಲ್ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಮುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದವು. ಭಾರತ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನುಸರಿಸಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪದ ಮಾರ್ಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು, ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಹೊಯಿಸಳ ಶೈಲಿಗಳೆಂದು ಹೆಸರುವಾಸಿಯಾಗಿವೆ. ದೇವಾಲಯಗಳ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಅವುಗಳ ಶೈಲಿಯಿಂದ ಊಹಿಸಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ದೇವಾಲಯಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಮಾತ್ರ ಖಚಿತವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಬಾದಾಮಿಯ (ಬಿಜಾಪೂರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ವೈಷ್ಣವ ಗುಹಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಕ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ೫೦೦ರ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೭೮) ಶಾಸನವು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜನಾದ ಮಂಗಳೇಶನು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಎಲ್ಲೋರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅತಿ ಸುಂದರವಾದ ಕೈಲಾಸ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಅರಸನಾದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ರೀತಿಯ ಭವ್ಯವೂ, ಶ್ಲಾಘ್ಯವೂ, ಸುಂದರವೂ ಆದ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಅತಿ ಚತುರರೂ ಸಮರ್ಥರೂ ಆದ ಸ್ಥಪತಿಗಳ ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಕೆಲವು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರಕುತ್ತವೆ. ಅನಿವಾರಿತಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಗುಂಡನೆಂಬ ಸ್ಥಪತಿಗೆ ಪಟ್ಟದಕಲ್ಲಿನ (ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷ ದೇವಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮನೆತನದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೩೪-೭೪೭) ರಾಣಿಯಾದ ಲೋಕಮಹಾದೇವಿಯು ತ್ರಿಭುವನಾಚಾರ್ಯನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಳೆಂದು ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಸೋಗೆಯ (ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ಪದ್ಮೋಜನೆಂಬುವನು ನಾಗರ, ಕಳಿಂಗ, ವೇಸರ, ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ಶೈಲಿಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಚತುರನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ, ಅವನಿಗೆ ''ಕಲಿಯುಗ ವಿಶ್ವಕರ್ಮ'', ''ಚತುಷ್ಷಷ್ಟಿ ಪ್ರಾಸಾದ ವಿಶಾರದ''ನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದುಗಳು ಇದ್ದುವೆಂದೂ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಇದೇ ರೀತಿ ಶಿಲ್ಪಕಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಪುಣರಾದ ಶಿಲ್ಪಿಗಳ ಹೆಸರೂ, ಅವರ ಕಲಾಕೃತಿಗಳ ಪೀಠದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಈ ಶಿಲ್ಪಿಗಳು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದ ಪ್ರತಿಮೆಗಳ ಕಾಲವನ್ನೂ ಅನೇಕ ವೇಳೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಆಧಾರದಿಂದಲೇ ತಿಳಿಯಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಲೋಕಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತ ಶ್ರವಣಬೆಳ್ಗೊಳದ ಗೊಮ್ಮಟೇಶ್ವರ ವಿಗ್ರಹ. ಇದನ್ನು ಗಂಗಮನೆತನದ ರಾಚಮಲ್ಲನ ಪ್ರಧಾನಿ ಚಾಮುಂಡರಾಯನು (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೮೩) ಕೆತ್ತಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಗೊಮ್ಮಟೇಶ್ವರನ ಪಾದದ ಹತ್ತಿರ ವಿರುವ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ.

ನೃತ್ಯ ಗೀತ ವಾದ್ಯಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದಾನಗಳೆಷ್ಟೋ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತವೆ. ೮ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಿಂದ ಅಚಲನೆಂಬ ನಾಟ್ಯಾಚಾರ್ಯನು ನಾಟ್ಯದ ಒಂದು ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವನ್ನೇ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿತುತ್ತದೆ. ''ಸಮಸ್ತ ಗೀತವಾದ್ಯ ನೃತ್ಯಾನೇಕ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಸಾಧಕಂ, ಬತ್ತೀಸರಾಗಬಹುಕಳಾಬ್ರಹ್ಮಂ'' ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಬಿರುದುಗಳುಳ್ಳ ಮೊಕರಿ ಬಮ್ಮರ್ಯ್ಯನೆಂಬ ಸಂಗೀತ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರವಿಶಾರದನು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯಾದ ೬ನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಅಲಂಕಾರಪ್ರಾಯನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೭೯ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ.

ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯನ್ನು ಕುರಿತ ಅನೇಕ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಬೆಳಕಿಗೆ ತಂದಿವೆ. ಅಶೋಕ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಬೌದ್ಧಧರ್ಮವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೨-೧೩ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗೂ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಬಳಗಾಂವೆ (ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ), ಡಂಬಳ (ಧಾರವಾಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ), ಕೋಳಿವಾಡ (ಧಾರವಾಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ)ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ. ಮೌರ್ಯಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯಾದ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನು ಜೈನಾಚಾರ್ಯನಾದ ಭದ್ರಬಾಹುವಿನೊಡನೆ ಶ್ರವಣಬೆಳಗೊಳಕ್ಕೆ

ಬಂದು ಜೀವಾಂತ್ಯದವರೆಗೆ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದನೆಂಬ ಐತಿಹ್ಯವನ್ನು ಶ್ರವಣಬೆಳ್ಗೊಳದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಸ್ಥಿರಪಡಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಅರಸುಗಳನೇಕರು ವೈದಿಕಧರ್ಮಾವಲಂಬಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಅವರು ಬೌದ್ಧವಿಹಾರ, ಜೈನಮಂದಿರಗಳಿಗೂ ದಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ವಿಪುಲವಾಗಿವೆ. ಯಾವ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಉಪಾಸನೆಮಾಡಿದರೂ ದೇವರು ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ಎಂಬ ತತ್ವವನ್ನು ಜನಸಾಮಾನ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಬೋಧಿಸುವ ಈ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಬೇಲೂರು ಚೆನ್ನಕೇಶವಸ್ವಾಮಿ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿದೆ:

> ಯಂ ಶೈವಾಸ್ಸಮುಪಾಸತೇ ಶಿವ ಇತಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮೇತಿ ವೇದಾಂತಿನೋ ।
> ಬೌದ್ಧಾಬುದ್ಧ ಇತಿ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಪಟವಃ ಕರ್ತ್ತೇತಿ ನೈಯಾಯಿಕಾಃ॥
> ಅರ್ಹಂಶ್ಚೇತಿಹ ಜೈನಶಾಸನಮತಾಃ ಕರ್ಮ್ಮೇತಿ ಮೀಮಾಂಸಕಾಃ ।
> ಸೋಯಂ ವೋ ವಿದಧಾತು ವಾಂಛಿತಫಲಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಕೇಶವೇಶಸ್ಸದಾ॥

ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ಈ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲದೆ ತೆರಿಗೆ, ಕಂದಾಯ, ನಾಣ್ಯಪದ್ಧತಿ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಬಹುದಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳು ಅಷ್ಟಿಷ್ಟಲ್ಲ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯ ನಾನಾಮುಖವಾದ ಪ್ರಗತಿಯನ್ನು ಅರಿಯಬಹುದಾದ ಸಾಧನಸಾಮಗ್ರಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ರಸ್ಥಾನವು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಗೇ ಸಲ್ಲತಕ್ಕದ್ದಲ್ಲವೇ?

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ

1. ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗಿರುವ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಹೊಸ ಸಂಗ್ರಹವನ್ನೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಚಿಸಬಯಸುತ್ತೇನೆ: ''ಶಾಸನ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಸಂಚಯ'': ಸಂ. ಶ್ರೀ. ಎ.ಎಂ. ಅಣ್ಣಿಗೇರಿ, ಎಂ.ಎ. ಮತ್ತು ಶ್ರೀ. ಮೇವುಂಡಿ ಮಲ್ಲಾರಿ; ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಂಶೋಧನ ಸಂಸ್ಥೆ, ಧಾರವಾಡ, ೧೯೬೧.

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ಅಜಂಟಾದ ೧೬ನೆಯ ಗುಹೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಹರಿಷೇಣನ ಶಾಸನ*

ಜಗದ್ವಿಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ಅಜಂಟಾ ಬೌದ್ಧಗುಹೆಗಳ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕೇಳದವರು ವಿರಳ. ಈ ಗುಹೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬಣ್ಣದ ಚಿತ್ರಗಳೂ, ಶಿಲ್ಪಗಳೂ ಅವುಗಳ ಅದ್ಭುತ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯದಿಂದ ಅನೇಕ ಕಲಾವಿದರನ್ನು ಮುಗ್ಧರನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಹಿಂದೂ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿತ್ರ ಕಲೆಯು ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಷ್ಟು ಉನ್ನತ ಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಏರಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಪ್ರಪಂಚಕ್ಕೆಲ್ಲಾ ತೋರಿಸಿವೆ. ಈ ಗುಹೆಗಳು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ** ಔರಂಗಾಬಾದ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅಜಂಟಾ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಪರ್ವತ ಶ್ರೇಣಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ೨೯. ಇವೆಲ್ಲಾ ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ಮಿತವಾದುವಲ್ಲ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಪೂ. ೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಿಂದ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗೂ, ಅಂದರೆ ಬೌದ್ಧಮತವು ಪ್ರಬಲವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ, ಇವುಗಳ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣವಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಫರ್ಗ್ಯುಸನ್ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಗುಹೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವುಗಳ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಗೆ ಕಾರಣಕರ್ತರಾದ ವಾಕಾಟಕರಿಗೂ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ (ಕುಂತಲ)ಕ್ಕೂ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪-೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಕಟಸಂಬಂಧವಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂತಲ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಒಡೆಯರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕದಂಬ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜರ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯವರಾಗಿ ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಭಾಗ, ಬೀರಾರ್ ಮತ್ತು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿ ಈ ವಾಕಾಟಕರು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆನ್ನುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿವೆ. ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೦೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳಿದ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನನೆಂಬ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಅರಸನು ಕುಂತಲೇಂದ್ರನನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಕೆಳಗೆ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿರುವ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದೇ ವಂಶದ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು (ಪ್ರವರಪುರದ) ಶಾಖೆಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನಿಗೆ 'ಕುಂತಲಾಧೀಶ' ಅಥವಾ 'ಕುಂತಲೇಶ' ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.[1] ಭೋಜನು ತನ್ನ 'ಶೃಂಗಾರ ಪ್ರಕಾಶ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜಶೇಖರನ 'ಕಾವ್ಯಮೀಮಾಂಸೆ'ಯಿಂದ ಒಂದು ಶ್ಲೋಕವನ್ನು ಉದ್ಧರಿಸಿ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನನ್ನು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಕುಂತಲರಾಜನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕ್ಷೇಮೇಂದ್ರನು ತನ್ನ 'ಔಚಿತ್ಯ ವಿಚಾರಚರ್ಚೆ'ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನ 'ಕುಂತಲೇಶ್ವರ ದೌತ್ಯ' ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದ್ದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. 'ಭರತಚರಿತ'ದಲ್ಲಿ 'ಸೇತುಬಂಧ' ಕಾವ್ಯವು ಕುಂತಲೇಶನಿಂದ ರಚಿತವಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. 'ಸೇತುಬಂಧ'ವನ್ನು ಬರೆದ ಕವಿಯು ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನೆಂದು ಬಾಣನ 'ಹರ್ಷಚರಿತ'ದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದು ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಡೋದಾ ಓರಿಯಂಟಲ್ ಇನ್ಸ್ಟಿಟ್ಯೂಟಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದ ಒಂದು ಹಸ್ತಲಿಖಿತ ಪ್ರತಿಯು ಅದು ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನಿಂದ ರಚಿತವಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇನ್ನೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪನಾನುಸಾರ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನು ಅದನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಅಂಕಿತದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ.[2] ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನು ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಈ ಕಾವ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬರೆದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನು ಎರಡನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನ ಮಗಳ ಮಗನಾದ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನೆಂದು ಪಂಡಿತರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ಇವನ ಮಗನಾದ ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನ ಮಹಾರಾಜನು ಕುಂತಲರಾಜನ ಮಗಳಾದ ಅಜ್ಝಿತಭಟ್ಟಾರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಮದುವೆ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಬಾಲಾಘಾಟ್ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದಿದೆ.[3] ಈ ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನನ ತಾತನಾದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ರುದ್ರಸೇನನು ಗುಪ್ತವಂಶದ ೨ನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನ ಮಗಳಾದ ಪ್ರಭಾವತೀಗುಪ್ತೆಯನ್ನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೯೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮದುವೆಯಾದನೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಲು ಕಾರಣಗಳಿವೆಯಾದುದರಿಂದ ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನ ಅಜ್ಝಿತಭಟ್ಟಾರಿಕೆಯರ ವಿವಾಹವು ಸುಮಾರು ೪೪೫ ರಲ್ಲಿ ಜರುಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಕದಂಬ ಮಹಾರಾಜ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಹೆಣ್ಣುಮಕ್ಕಳನ್ನು ಗುಪ್ತ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಹೆಸರುವಾಸಿಯಾದ ವಂಶಗಳ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮದುವೆ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಶಿಕಾರಿಪುರ ತಾಲೂಕಿನ ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಪ್ರಣವೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕದಂಬ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನನ ರಾಣಿಯಾದ ಅಜ್ಝಿತಭಟ್ಟಾರಿಕೆಯು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಮಗಳೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನಾಳಿದ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ನೃಪನಾದ ಹರಿಷೇಣನೂ ಕುಂತಲವನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಕೆಳಗೆ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿರುವ ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಅನೇಕ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಚಿರಕಾಲ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದೊಡನೆ ಸಂಬಂಧವಿದ್ದ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಮನೆತನದ ಒಂದು ಶಾಖೆಯ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯ ಸಾಹಸ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮ ಮೊದಲಾದವುಗಳನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸುವ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಅಜಂಟಾದ ೧೬ನೆಯ

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* ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ, ೨೯ (೨), ೧೯೪೧, ಪು. ೧೯೧-೧೯೨.

** ಈಗ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದೆ. - ಸಂ.

ಗುಹೆಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ಈಚೆಗೆ ನಾಗಪುರದ ಮಾರಿಸ್ ಕಾಲೇಜಿನ ಪ್ರಿನ್ಸಿಪಾಲರಾದ ಮಹಾಮಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ವಿ.ವಿ. ಮಿರಾಶಿ ಬಹಳ ಶ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಪರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಿ ಪ್ರಚುರಗೊಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಪಂಡಿತರ ಪ್ರೌಢ ಪ್ರಬಂಧವನ್ನು ನೋಡುವ ಸೌಕರ್ಯವು ಅನೇಕರಿಗೆ ಇರಲಾರದಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಈ ಮಹತ್ವದ ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖವನ್ನು ಮಿರಾಷಿಯವರ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆಯ ಸಾರಾಂಶದೊಡನೆ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದೆ.

ಮೊತ್ತ ಮೊದಲು ಈ ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಯನ್ನು ಚಾರಿತ್ರಕರ ಗಮನಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದವರು ಡಾಕ್ಟರ್ ಭೌದಾಜಿಯವರು. ಇವರು *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* ಎಂಬ ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯ ೧೮೬೩ನೆಯ ಇಸ್ವಿಯ ೭ನೆಯ ಸಂಪುಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದರ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು. ತರುವಾಯ ೧೮೮೧ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಂಡಿತ ಭಗವಾನ್‌ಲಾಲ್ ಇಂದ್ರಾಜಿಯವರು *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India* ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದರ ಪಾಠವನ್ನು ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷ್ ಭಾಷಾಂತರದೊಡನೆ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದರು. ಇನ್ನೆರಡು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಕಳೆದ ಮೇಲೆ ಅಂದರೆ ೧೮೮೩ರಲ್ಲಿ ಡಾ॥ ಬೂಹ್ಲರ್ ಅವರು *Archaeological Survey of Western India* ವರದಿಯ ೪ನೆಯ ಸಂಪುಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಶಿಲಾ ಲೇಖವನ್ನು ಕೆಲವು ತಿದ್ದುಪಾಟುಗಳೊಡನೆ ಪುನಃ ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದರು. ವಾಕಾಟಕ ವಂಶದ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವೊಂದು[4] ಈಚೆಗೆ ಬಾಸಿಂ ಎಂಬ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರಕಿತು. ಇದರ ಯಾವ ಭಾಗವೂ ಕೆಡದೇ ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷವು ಸಂದೇಹಾಸ್ಪದವಾದುದಲ್ಲ. ಇದರ ಆಧಾರದಿಂದ ಬೂಹ್ಲರ್ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಅಜಂಟಾ ಶಾಸನದ ಪಾಠದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ನ್ಯೂನತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕಂಡು ಮಹಾಮಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಮಿರಾಷಿಯವರು ಪುನಃ ಇದನ್ನು ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಿಸಿ ಅನೇಕ ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿ ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಪ್ರಾಕ್ತನ ವಿಮರ್ಶನ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಗ್ರಂಥಮಾಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ (Hyderabad Archaeological Series) ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಮೇಲೆ ಒಂದು ಪ್ರಬಂಧವನ್ನು[5] ಬರೆದು ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಇತಿಹಾಸಕ್ಕೆ ಅನರ್ಘ್ಯವಾದ ಸೇವೆಯನ್ನು ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಈ ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖವು ೧೬ನೆಯ ಗುಹೆಯ ಪಡಸಾಲೆಯ (verandah) ಹೊರಗೆ ಎಡಗಡೆ ಗೋಡೆಯ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ೪ ಅಡಿ ಉದ್ದ ೩॥ ಅಡಿ ಅಗಲ ಅಳತೆಯುಳ್ಳ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ 'ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ತಲೆಯ' (box-headed) ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯ ೩೨ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಿವೆ. ಒಟ್ಟು ೨೭ ಪಂಕ್ತಿಗಳಿವೆ. ಪ್ರತಿ ಪದ್ಯದ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅದರ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ೨ನೆಯ ಪಂಕ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಉಪಧ್ಮಾನೀಯವೂ ೧೧ನೆಯ ಪಂಕ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಜಿಹ್ವಾಮೂಲೀಯವೂ ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾದುವು.

ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಹರಿಷೇಣ ರಾಜನ ಮಂತ್ರಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ವರಾಹದೇವನು ಈ ಗುಹಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಅದನ್ನು ನಾನಾ ವಿಧವಾದ ಚಿತ್ರಭಿತ್ತಿಗಳಿಂದಲೂ, ಶಿಲ್ಪಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಅಲಂಕರಿಸಿ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮರ್ಪಿಸಿದನೆಂಬುದೇ ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ವಿಷಯ. ಇದರ ಕಾಲವು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೂ ಹರಿಷೇಣನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೭೫ರಿಂದ ೫೦೦ರ ವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಗುಹಾಲಯವು ೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಅಂತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣವಾಗಿರಬಹುದು.

ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಭಾಗಗಳಿವೆ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದು ೨೦ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಕಾಟಕರ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನೂ ಆ ಮನೆತನದ ದೇವಸೇನ, ಹರಿಷೇಣ ಎಂಬ ರಾಜರಿಬ್ಬರ ಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದ ಹಸ್ತಿಭೋಜ, ವರಾಹದೇವರುಗಳ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಯನ್ನೂ ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಎರಡನೆಯದು ಗುಹಾಂತರದಲ್ಲಿನ ಚೈತ್ಯಮಂದಿರವನ್ನೂ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿನ ಮಂಡಪ ರತ್ನವನ್ನೂ ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ರಾಜಪರಂಪರೆಯ ವರ್ಣನೆಯ ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಭಾಗವಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಅದನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಮನೆತನದ ಮೂಲ ಪುರುಷನಾದ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನೆಂದೂ ಅನೇಕ ಯುದ್ಧಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯಶಸ್ಸನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈತನು ಪುರಾಣಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧನಾದ ಪುರುಷನು. ಇವನ ಮಗನಾದ (೧ನೆಯ) ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಪಾದಾರವಿಂದವನ್ನು ಅನೇಕ ಶತ್ರುರಾಜರು ಸೇವಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ವಂಶದ ಅರಸರ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯ ಆದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮ್ರಾಟನೆಂದೂ, ಅಗ್ನಿಷ್ಟೋಮ, ಆಪ್ತೋರ್ಯಾಮ, ಉಕ್ಥ್ಯ, ಷೋಡಶೀ, ಅತಿರಾತ್ರ, ವಾಜಪೇಯ, ಬೃಹಸ್ಪತಿಸವ, ಸಾದ್ಯಸ್ಕರ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅನೇಕ ಯಜ್ಞಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ವರ್ಣಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನೇ ಇವನು. ಪುರಾಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನ ಹೆಸರು ಪ್ರವೀರ ಎಂದು ಇದೆ.

ಇವನ ಮಗನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನೂ ಅವನ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮ ಸಾಹಸಾದಿಗಳನ್ನೂ ವರ್ಣಿಸುವ ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ೭ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಭಾಗವು ಬಹಳ ಕೆಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇವನ ಹೆಸರೇನೆಂದು ನಿಶ್ಚಿತವಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಭಗವಾನ್‌ಲಾಲರೂ, ಬೂಹ್ಲರರೂ ಇದನ್ನು ರುದ್ರಸೇನ ಎಂದು ಓದಿದ್ದರು. ಆದರೆ ಈ ರಾಜನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ರುದ್ರಸೇನ ಎಂದು ಓದುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಾಗಾದರೆ ಇವನ ಹೆಸರೇನು? ಬೀರಾರಿಗೆ

ಸೇರಿದ ಅಕೋಲಾ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬಾಸಿಮ್ ಎಂಬ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಒಂದು ತಾಮ್ರಪಟ್ಟಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ[6] ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಾದಿ ಯಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ನೆರವೇರಿಸಿದ ಸಮ್ರಾಟನಾದ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಮಗನು ಸರ್ವಸೇನನೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿಂದ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜನ ಹೆಸರಿರುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ವಸೇನ ಎಂಬ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳ ಗುರುತುಗಳಿವೆ. ಅವು ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತವಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಛಂದಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಭಂಗವುಂಟು ಮಾಡುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಪದ್ಯದ ಉತ್ತರಾರ್ಧವನ್ನು 'ಸರ್ವಸೇನಃ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನಸ್ಯ ಜಿತಸರ್ವಸೇನ ಸುತೋಭವತ್' ಎಂದು ಓದಬೇಕು. ಹೀಗೆ ಓದುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವ ಯಮಕವೂ ಈ ಪಾಠವು ಸರಿಯಾದುದೆಂದು ಸ್ಥಿರವಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕವಿಗೆ ಯಮಕಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿರುಚಿಯಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳಿಂದ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ:

ಸಾಲು ೨ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಶಕ್ತಿಃ .... ದಾನಶಕ್ತಿಃ .... ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಃ
೭ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ಪುತ್ರೋಽಭೂತ್ಪ್ರವರೋರ್ಜ್ಜಿತೋದಾರಶಾಸನಪ್ರವರಃ
೧೦-೧೧ ಹಸ್ತಿಭೋಜಃ .... ದಿಗ್ಗನ್ಧಹಸ್ತಿಪ್ರತಿಮೋ ಬಭೂವ
೧೪ ಹರಿಷೇಣೋ ಹರಿವಿಕ್ರಮ ಪ್ರತಾಪಃ

ಈ ರಾಜನ ವರ್ಣನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಗಿಸಿರುವ ಜಿತಸರ್ವಸೇನಃ ಎಂಬ ವಿಶೇಷಣವು ಅವನ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಕವಿಗೆ ಭಾಸವಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ಮುಂದಿನ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುವ ರಾಜನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಬೂಹ್ಲರರು ಪೃಥಿವೀಷೇಣ ಎಂದು ಓದಿ ಈತನು, ಅವರ ಪಾಠಾನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ಮೇಲಿನ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ, ರುದ್ರಸೇನನ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವ ಹೆಸರು ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಸರ್ವಸೇನ ಎಂದು ಈಗ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಪೃಥಿವೀಷೇಣ ಎಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದ್ದ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಮೂರು ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳನ್ನು 'ಶ್ರೀವಿಂಧ್ಯ' ಎಂದು ನಿಸ್ಸಂಶಯವಾಗಿ ಓದಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ರಾಜನ ಹೆಸರು ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನ ಎಂದಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಬಾಸಿಂ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಸರ್ವಸೇನನ ಮಗನ ಹೆಸರು ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. 'ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನ' ಎಂಬುದು 'ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ'ಯ ರೂಪಾಂತರವೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟ. ಈ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನನು ಕುಂತಲ ರಾಜನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವನೇ ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರದ ೩೭ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾಸಿಂ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಬರೆಯಿಸಿದ ರಾಜನು. ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಅವನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ವತ್ಸಗುಲ್ಮವು ಈಗಿನ ಬಾಸಿಂ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ದಾನಕೊಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಆಕಾಶಪದ್ಧಗ್ರಾಮವೂ ಅದರ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ತಾಕಾಲಕ್ಖೊಪ್ಪಖ, ನಾಂದೀಕಟ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳೂ ಈಗಿನ ಆಸುಂಡ್, ತಾಕಲಿ, ನಾಂದೇಡ್ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳೇ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನನ (ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯ) ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಬೀರಾರ್ ಮತ್ತು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಉತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೆಲವು ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ.

೯ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನು ಇವನ ಅಂದರೆ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನನ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನನ್ನು ಕೆಲವು ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದನೆಯ ಪೃಥಿವಿಶೇಷಣನ ಪೌತ್ರನೂ ರುದ್ರಸೇನನ ಪುತ್ರನೂ ಎಂದು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟನಾದ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನೆಂದು ಬೂಹ್ಲರರು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ತೋರಿಸಿರುವಂತೆ ಅಜಂಟಾ ಶಾಸನದ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ತಂದೆಯು ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನನಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಪೃಥಿವೀಷೇಣನು ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಅಜ್ಜನೇ ಹೊರತು ತಂದೆಯಲ್ಲದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಪ್ರವರಸೇನರೂ ಭಿನ್ನರಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ೧೦ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಮಗನ ಹೆಸರು ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಹೆಸರು ಇರುವ ಭಾಗವು ಒಡೆದುಹೋಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅದನ್ನು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ಓದುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವನ ೮ನೆಯ ವಯಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲೇ ಇವನು ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಹೆಸರು ತಿಳಿಯದ ರಾಜನ ಮಗನು ದೇವಸೇನನೆಂದು ೧೧ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಿಂದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಇವನು ವತ್ಸಗುಲ್ಮ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಭೂದಾನವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

೧೨-೧೬ನೆಯ ಶಾಸನ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು ದೇವಸೇನನ ಮಂತ್ರಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಹಸ್ತಿಭೋಜನ ಶೌರ್ಯ ಔದಾರ್ಯಾದಿ ಗುಣಗಳನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವುಗಳ ಕೆಲ ಭಾಗಗಳು ಭಿನ್ನವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಈತನು ಎಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರತಿಭಾವಂತನೂ, ಚತುರನೂ, ರಾಜ್ಯಸೂತ್ರಕುಶಲನೂ, ಜನಾನುರಾಗಿಯೂ, ಪ್ರಜಾವತ್ಸಲನೂ, ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಿಯೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಕಾದಷ್ಟು ಉಳಿದಿವೆ. ಇಂತಹ ದಕ್ಷನಾದ ಅಮಾತ್ಯನಿಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಿ ದೇವಸೇನನು ವಿಷಯಲೋಲುಪನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಈ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು.

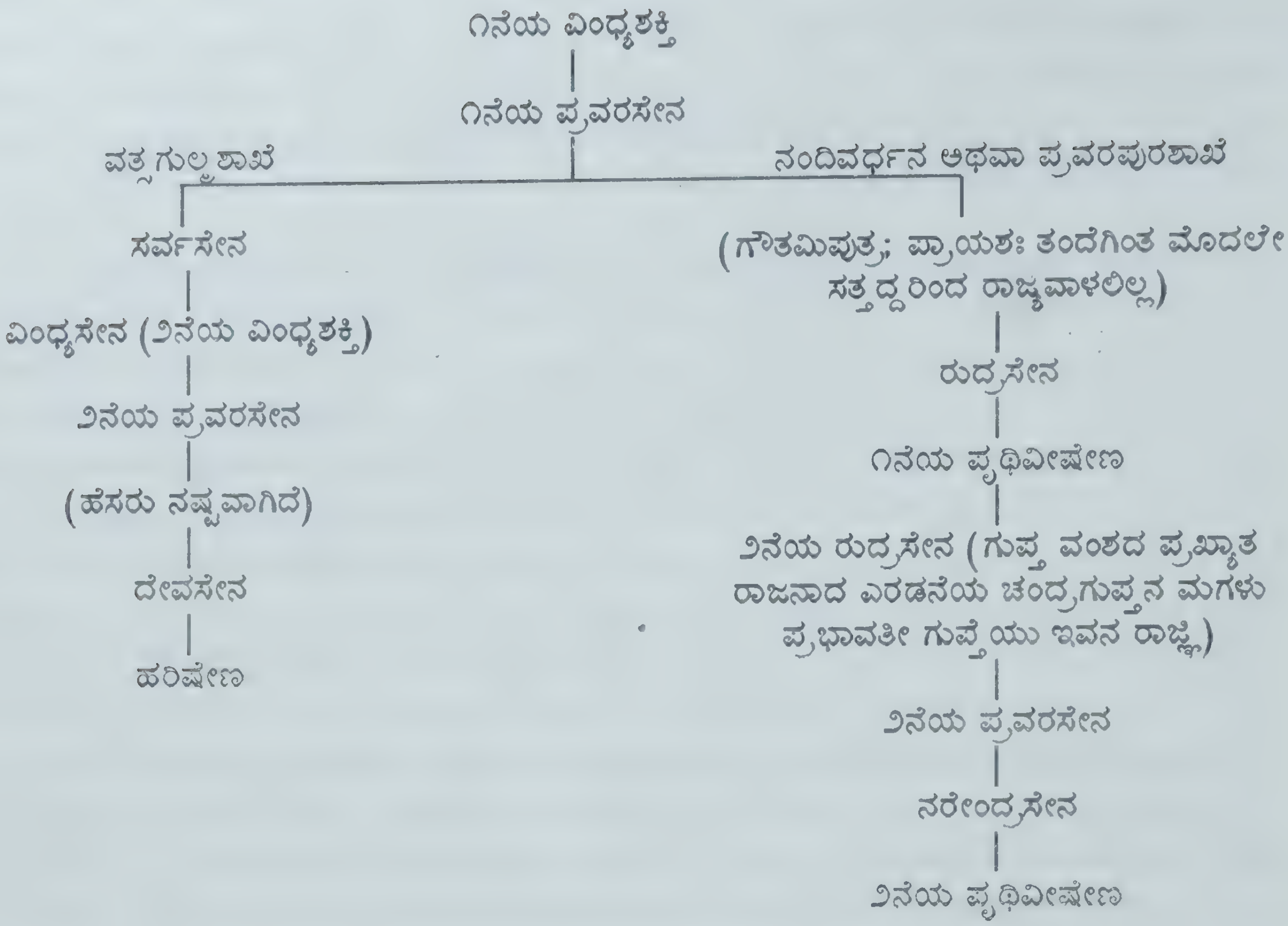
೧೭-೧೮ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೇವಸೇನನ ಮಗನಾದ ಹರಿಷೇಣನ ಕೀರ್ತಿ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕವಿಯು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಈ ರಾಜನು ಕುಂತಲ, ಅವಂತಿ, ಕಲಿಂಗ, ಕೋಸಲ, ತ್ರಿಕೂಟ, ಲಾಟ, ಆಂಧ್ರ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ದಂಡೆಯಾತ್ರೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಂಧ್ರದೇಶದ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದ ವಿಷ್ಣುಕುಂಡಿವಂಶದ ರಾಜರಿಗೂ ವಾಕಾಟಕರಿಗೂ ಬಾಂಧವ್ಯವಿತ್ತು. ವಿಷ್ಣುಕುಂಡಿ ೧ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವವರ್ಮನು ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರಿಯನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದನು. ಈಕೆಯು ಬಹುಶಃ ಹರಿಷೇಣನ ಮಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು.

ಮುಂದಿನ ಎರಡು ಪದ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ (೧೯-೨೦) ಹಸ್ತಿಭೋಜನ ಮಗನಾದ ವರಾಹದೇವನ (ಇವನ ಹೆಸರು ೩೦ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ) ಪ್ರಶಂಸೆಯಿದೆ. ಇವನು ಬಹಳ ಉದಾರಿ, ದಯಾಳು. ಪರಮ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕನಾದ ಇವನು ಧರ್ಮದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಡಳಿತವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ವಹಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದನು. ಲೋಕಗುರುವಾದ ಬುದ್ಧನ ಪರಮಭಕ್ತನಾಗಿ ಬಹಳ ಪುಣ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದ್ದ ಈತನು ಮನುಷ್ಯ ಜೀವಿತ, ಯೌವನ, ವಿತ್ತ, ಸುಖಗಳು ಚಂಚಲವಾದವುಗಳೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದು ಮಾತಾಪಿತೃಗಳ ಪುಣ್ಯ ಯಶೋಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗಾಗಿ ಈ ಗುಹಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ೨೧-೨೨ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಮುಂದಿನ ಏಳು ಪದ್ಯಗಳು (೨೩-೨೯) ಈ ಲಯನದ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯಾತಿಶಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿನ ಚಿತ್ರಮಂದಿರ ಮೊದಲಾದುವುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿನ ಚಿತ್ರಶಾಲೆ, ಚೈತ್ಯಮಂದಿರ ಮೊದಲಾದವುಗಳನ್ನೂ ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ೩೦ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ವರಾಹದೇವನು ಗುಹಾಮಂದಿರವನ್ನು ಭಿಕ್ಷು ಸಂಘದ ವಶಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಕೊನೆಯ ಎರಡು ಪದ್ಯಗಳು (೩೧-೩೨)[7] 'ರತ್ನತ್ರಯ'ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮರ್ಪಿಸಿದ ಅತಿ ಮನೋಹರವಾದ ಮಂಡಪದಿಂದ ಕೂಡಿದ ಈ ಗುಹೆಯು ಎಲ್ಲ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ಥಿರವಾಗಿರಲೆಂದೂ ಈ ಪ್ರಪಂಚವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಪಾಪಮುಕ್ತವಾಗಿಯೂ, ದುಃಖ ರಹಿತವಾಗಿಯೂ, ಆರೋಗ್ಯವಾಗಿಯೂ, ಶಾಂತವಾಗಿಯೂ, ಗಂಭೀರವಾಗಿಯೂ ಇರಲೆಂದೂ ಹಾರೈಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ತುತಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ ವತ್ಸಗುಲ್ಮಶಾಖೆಯೆಂದು ಕರೆಯಬಹುದಾದ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ವಂಶದ ಒಂದು ಶಾಖೆಯ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯು ಅಜಂತಾದ ೧೬-೧೭ನೆಯ ಗುಹೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯ ಬಾಸಿಂ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಿಂದಲೂ ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ. ಇವರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ದೊರೆತಿರುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳ, ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದಾನಕೊಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳು ಇರುವ ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲಿನಿಂದ ಈ ಶಾಖೆಯವರು ಬೀರಾರಿನ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಬಾಗವನ್ನೂ ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಉತ್ತರ ಭಾಗವನ್ನೂ ವತ್ಸಗುಲ್ಮರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಿಂದ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ಈ ವಂಶದ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಶಾಖೆಯಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಅಜಂತಾ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಸನಾದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯನಂತರ ಈ ಶಾಖೆಗಳೆರಡೂ ಬೇರೆಯಾದುವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನಿಗೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಮಂದಿ ಗಂಡುಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಪುರಾಣಗಳು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವನ ಮರಣಾನಂತರ ಇವರು ತಮ್ಮ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ವಿಭಾಗ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡರೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಮಗನಾದ ಗೌತಮಿಪುತ್ರನು ತಂದೆಗಿಂತ ಮೊದಲೇ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ಥನಾದನೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನ ಮಗ ಒಂದನೆಯ ರುದ್ರಸೇನನು ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದನು. ಇವನ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಚಾಂದಾ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯೊಳಗಿನ ದೇವಟೇಕ್ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತಿದೆ. ಈ ಊರಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೌನಿ ಎಂಬ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರಶಿವರ ಶಾಸನವೂ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವಿದರಿಂದ ಭಾರಶಿವರ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಪಿತ್ರಾರ್ಜಿತನಾಗಿ ಅವನ ಕೈಗೆ ಬಂದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ರುದ್ರಸೇನನ ಮೊಮ್ಮಗನಾದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖಗಳು ಅಮರಾವತಿ, ವರ್ಧಾ, ನಾಗಪುರ, ಬೇತುಲ, ಭಂಡಾರಾ, ಬಾಲಾಘಾಟ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತಿವೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಶಾಖೆಯವರ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಬೀರಾರಿನ ಉತ್ತರ ಭಾಗ ಮತ್ತು ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಮೊದಲು ನಂದಿವರ್ಧನವಾಗಿದ್ದು ಕೆಲ ಕಾಲಾನಂತರ ಪ್ರವರಪುರಕ್ಕೆ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ. ವಾಚಕರ ಸೌಕರ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಈ ಎರಡು ಶಾಖೆಗಳ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ:

ಅಜಂಟಾದ ಶಾಸನದ ಕೆಲವು ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಾಗಿ ಓದಿದ್ದ ಕಾರಣ ಈ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ವಂಶದ ಎರಡು ಶಾಖೆಗಳು ಪ್ರವರಪುರದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ತರುವಾಯ ವಿಭಕ್ತವಾದುವೆಂದು ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರು. ಆದರೆ ತಪ್ಪುಗಳನ್ನು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿರುವಂತೆ ತಿದ್ದಿದರೆ ಈ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವು ನಿರಾಧಾರವಾದುದೆಂಬುದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವತ್ಸಗುಲ್ಮ ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯೂ ಅವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನೂ ನಂದಿವರ್ಧನದ ಒಂದನೆಯ ಪೃಥಿವೀಷೇಣ ಎರಡನೆಯ ರುದ್ರಸೇನರಿಗೆ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ಮೇಲೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷದಿಂದ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟ. ಎರಡನೆಯ ರುದ್ರಸೇನನು ಗುಪ್ತವಂಶದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೮೦-೪೧೩) ಅಳಿಯನೆಂದು ಕೆಲವು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿದೆ.


೧ನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ
೧ನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನ
ವತ್ಸಗುಲ್ಮ ಶಾಖೆ
ನಂದಿವರ್ಧನ ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರವರಪುರಶಾಖೆ
ಸರ್ವಸೇನ
ವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನ (೨ನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ)
೨ನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನ
(ಹೆಸರು ನಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ)
ದೇವಸೇನ
ಹರಿಷೇಣ
(ಗೌತಮಿಪುತ್ರ; ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ತಂದೆಗಿಂತ ಮೊದಲೇ ಸತ್ತದ್ದರಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಲಿಲ್ಲ)
ರುದ್ರಸೇನ
೧ನೆಯ ಪೃಥಿವೀಷೇಣ
೨ನೆಯ ರುದ್ರಸೇನ (ಗುಪ್ತ ವಂಶದ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತ ರಾಜನಾದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನ ಮಗಳು ಪ್ರಭಾವತೀ ಗುಪ್ತೆಯು ಇವನ ರಾಜ್ಞಿ)
೨ನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನ
ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನ
೨ನೆಯ ಪೃಥಿವೀಷೇಣ

ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೦೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನವನ್ನೇರಿರಬೇಕು. ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯೂ ಬಹುಶಃ ಇದೇ ಕಾಲದವನು. ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯೂ ಅವನ ಮಗ ಒಂದನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನೂ ಬಹಳ ದೀರ್ಘಕಾಲ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡಿದರೆಂದು ಪುರಾಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ, ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯ ಬಾಸಿಂ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು ಅವನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ೩೭ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ್ದಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಒಂದನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ, ಒಂದನೆಯ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನ, ಸರ್ವಸೇನ, ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿ ಈ ನಾಲ್ವರೂ ಒಟ್ಟು ಸುಮಾರು ೧೫೦ ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನಾಳಿದರೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಬಹುದು. ಅಂದರೆ ವಂಶದ ಮೂಲಪುರುಷನಾದ ಒಂದನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯು ಬಹುಶಃ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೨೫೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿರಬೇಕು. ಎರಡನೆಯ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶಕ್ತಿಯ ತರುವಾಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡಿದ ನಾಲ್ವರು ರಾಜರ ಆಳಿಕೆ. ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ೧೦೦ ವರ್ಷಗಳೆಂದು ಪರಿಗಣಿಸಬಹುದು. ಅಂದರೆ, ಈ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಕೊನೆಯ ಅರಸನಾದ ಹರಿಷೇಣನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೭೫ರಿಂದ ೫೦೦ರವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿರಬೇಕು. ಇದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲೇ ಈ ಶಾಸನವಿರುವ ೧೬ನೆಯ ಗುಹೆಯು ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಫರ್ಗ್ಯುಸನ್ ಮತ್ತು ಬರ್ಜೆಸರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಇನ್ನು ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂತಲವು ಭೀಮಾ ವೇದಾವತೀ ನದಿಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯೆ ಇರುವ ಪ್ರಾಂತವೆಂದು ಅನೇಕರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ದೇಶವು ಇನ್ನೂ ಉತ್ತರಕ್ಕೆ ಬಹಳ ದೂರ ಹಬ್ಬಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಕೆಲವು ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ರಾಜಶೇಖರ ಕವಿಯು 'ಬಾಲರಾಮಾಯಣ'[8]ದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂತಲವೆಂದರೆ ಬೀರಾರನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. 'ಉದಯ ಸುಂದರೀ ಕಥೆ'ಯ ಕರ್ತನಾದ ಸೊಡ್ಡಳನು ಕುಂತಳದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾನ (ಈಗಿನ ಪೈಠಾಣ್) ಆಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾನೆ.[9] ಅವಂತಿಯು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಮಾಲ್ವಾ. ಇದರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಉಜ್ಜಯಿನಿ. ಕಳಿಂಗವು ಮಹಾನದಿ ಗೋದಾವರೀ ನದಿಗಳ ನಡುವಿನ ಸಮುದ್ರ ತೀರ ಪ್ರದೇಶ. ಕೋಸಲ (ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕೋಸಲ)ವು ಈಗಿನ ಛತ್ತೀಸ್‌ಗಢವನ್ನೂ ಪೂರ್ವಭಾಗದ ದೇಶೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಗಳನ್ನೂ ಒಳಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ದೇಶ. ತ್ರಿಕೂಟವು ಉತ್ತರಕೊಂಕಣದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಘಟ್ಟದ ಯಾವ ಭಾಗಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಹೆಸರಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿದಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಂಜನೇರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈಚೆಗೆ ದೊರೆತ ಒಂದು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರ್ವ ತ್ರಿಕೂಟ ದೇಶದ ಸುಂಕವನ್ನು ನಾಸಿಕ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಒಂದು ದೇವಾಲಯಕ್ಕೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ನಾಸಿಕದ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಕ್ಕಿರುವ ಪ್ರಾಂತವೇ ತ್ರಿಕೂಟವೆಂದು ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು.[10] ಮಹೀ ತಾಪ್ತೀ ನದಿಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯೆ ಇರುವ ಗುಜರಾತಿನ ಮಧ್ಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಲಾಟ ದೇಶವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ರೂಢಿಯಲ್ಲಿತ್ತು. ಆಂಧ್ರವು ಯಾವುದೆಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದೇ ಇದೆ.

ಶಾಸನದ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ

೧ ಉದೀರ್ಣ್ಣಲೋಕತ್ರಯದೋಷವಹ್ನಿನಿರ್ವ್ವಾಪ[ಣಂ]-UU-U--।U-U--U [ಯ*]
ತಿಂ ಪ್ರಣಮ್ಯ ಪೂರ್ವ್ವಾಂ ಪ್ರವಕ್ಷ್ಯೇ ಕ್ಷಿತಿಪಾನುಪೂರ್ವ್ವೀ[ಮ್[11] ।೧।।*]

೨ [ಮ]ಹಾವಿಮರ್ದ್ದೇಷ್ವಭಿವೃದ್ಧಶಕ್ತಿಃ ಕ್ರುದ್ಧಸ್ಸುರೈರಪ್ಯನಿವಾರ್ಯ್ಯ[ವೀರ್ಯ್ಯಃ।*]
U-U--ರಣದಾನ ಶಕ್ತಿಃ ದ್ವಿಜ Uಪ್ರಕಾಶೋ ಭುವಿ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಶ[ಕ್ತಿ]ಃ[।೨।।*]

೩ ಪುರನ್ದರೋಪೇನ್ದ್ರಸಮ ಪ್ರಭಾವಃ ಸ್ವಬಾಹುವೀರ್ಯ್ಯಾ[ರ್ಜ್ಜಿ]ತಸ [ರ್ವ್ವಲೋಕಃ।]
U-U--UU- ಟಕಾನಾಂ ಬಭೂವ ವಾಕಾಟಕ ವಙ್ಶ(ಂಶ)ಕೇತುಃ[।೩।।*]

೪ ರಣೇ[ಷು] ಹಯ್ಯ್ಯುದ್ಧತ ರೇಣುಜಾನಸಙ್ಛಾದಿತಾರ್ಕ್ಕಸ್ಸಚ[ಕರ್ಮ?]--[।*]
U-U--UU- ನರಾತೀನ್ ಕೃತ್ಸ್ನಾ[ಭಿವಾದ?]ಪ್ರವಣಾಂಶ್ಚಕಾರ [।೪।।*]

೫ [ವಿ]ನಿರ್ಜ್ಜಿತಾರಿ[ಸ್ಸುರರಾಜಕಾರ್ಯ್ಯೇ] ಚಕಾರ ಪುಣ್ಯೇಷು ಪರಂ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಂ [।*]
U-U--UU-U--, U-U--UU-U--[12] [।೫।। *] [ಅರಿ*]
ನರೇನ್ದ್ರಮೌಲಿವಿನ್ಯಸ್ತಮಣಿ ಕಿರಣಲೀಢ [ಕ್ರ]ಮಾಂಬುಜಃ[।*]

೬ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ಪುತ್ರೋಭೂದ್ವಿಕಸನ್ನವೇನ್ದೀ ವರೇಕ್ಷಣಃ[13][।೬।।*] ರವಿಮಯೂಖ
-U-UUU, UU-U--U-UU [।*] ಸರ್ವ್ವಸೇನಃ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನಸ್ಯ
ಜಿತ ಸರ್ವ್ವಸೇನ[ಸ್ಸು]ತೋ [ಭ] ವತ್ [।೭।।*]

೭ [ಸತ್ಪುತ್ರಃ] ಪಾರ್ತ್ಥಿವೇನ್ದ್ರಸ್ಯ ಪ್ರಶಶಾಸ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮೇಣ ಮೇದಿನೀ[ಮ್]
ಕುಂತಲೇನ್ದ್ರಂ ವಿ[ಜಿತ್ಯ*] -UUU ಶ್ರೀವಿಂಧ್ಯಸೇನU-UU [।೮।।*]
ಪ್ರವರಸೇನ[ಸ್ತ]ಸ್ಯ ಪುತ್ರೋಭೂತ್ಪವರೋರ್ಜ್ಜಿತೋದಾ[ರ ಶಾಸನ ಪ್ರ]ವರಃ[।*]

೮ UU U-U-U-UU U, UU-U--U-UU[।೯।।*] ತಸ್ಯಾತ್ಮಜಃ
-U U-U--, U-U--UU-U--[।*] U-U--U ಮವಾಪ್ಯ
ರಾಜ್ಯಮಷ್ಟಾಬ್ದಕೋಯUಪ್ರ[ಶಶಾಸ]ಸ[ಮ್ಯಕ್] [।೧೦।।*]

೯ [ತಸ್ಯಾ*]ತ್ಮಜೋಭೂನ್ನರ ದೇವ-- U-U-- ಭುವಿ ದೇವಸೇನಃ [।*]
ಯಸ್ಯೋಪಭೋಗೈರ್ಲ್ಲಲಿತೈರ್ವ್ವಿ -U-Uದೇವರಾಜಸ್ಯ U-U- ಭೂಃ
[।೧೧।।*] ಪುಣ್ಯಾನುಭಾವಾತ್ಕ್ಷಿತಿಪಸ್ಯ

೧೦ [ಸಮ್ಯ ಕ್] U-U--UU-U--[।*] U-U--Uಗುಣಾಧಿವಾಸಃ U-U
ಕೋಶೋ ಭುವಿ ಹಸ್ತಿಭೋಜಃ [।೧೨।।*] ಪ್ರ-U--U ಪೃಥುಪೀನ
ವಕ್ಷಾಸ್ಸರೋರುಹಾಕ್ಷxಕ್ಷಪಿ

೧೧ [ತಾ*] [ರಿಪಕ್ಷಃ।] U-U--UU-Uಬಾಹುರ್ದ್ದಿಗ್ಗನ್ಧ ಹಸ್ತಿಪ್ರತಿಮೋ ಬಭೂವ
[।೧೩।।*] ಹಿತೋ ವಿನೀತಃ [ಪ್ರಣಯಪ್ರಧಾನೋ] ಮನೋನುಕೂಲೋನು
ವಿಧಾನವರ್ತ್ತೀ[।*] ನಿರತ್ಯಯಂ
೧೨ -UU-U--, U-U--U--U ಕಶ್ಚ [।೧೪।।*]ತ[ಥೈ*]ವ ಲೋಕಸ್ಯ
ಹಿತಾಶಯತ್ವಾತ್ಸುಖೇನ ಸಮ್ಯ[ಕ್ಪ]ರಿಪಾಲನೇನ [।*] ಪಿತೇವ ಮಾತೇವ ಸಖೇವ
ನಿತ್ಯಂ ಪ್ರಿಯೋಭಿಗಮ್ಯಶ್ಚ ಬಭೂವ

೧೩ [ಸತ್ಯಂ*] [।೧೫।।*] U-U--UU-U--, U-U--UU--- [।*]
ಸ್ವಸ್ಥಸ್ಸಮಾವೇಶ್ಯ ಸ ತತ್ರ ರಾಜಾ ಸಸಙ್ಗ ಭೋಗೇಷು ಯಥೇಷ್ಟಚೇಷ್ಟಃ
[।೧೬।।*] ಅಥ ತಸ್ಯ ಸುತೋ ಬಭೂ

೧೪ ವ ರಾಜಾ ....[।*] ಹರಿರಾಮಹರಸ್ಮರೇನ್ದು ಕಾನ್ತಿರ್ಹರಿಷೇಣೋ ಹರಿವಿಕ್ರಮ
ಪ್ರತಾಪಃ [॥೧೭॥*] ಸ ಕುನ್ತಲಾವನ್ತಿಕಲಿಙ್ಗಕೋಸಲತ್ರಿಕೂಟಲಾಟಾನ್ಧ್ರ

೧೫ U-U ಜಾನಿಮಾನ್ [।*] U-U--UUಶೌರ್ಯವಿಶ್ರುತಾನಪಿ ಸ್ವನಿರ್ದೇಶ ಗುಣಾತಿ
-U-[14] [॥೧೮॥]* ಪ್ರಥಿತೋ ಭುವಿ ಹಸ್ತಿಭೋಜಸೂನುಸ್ಸಚಿವಸ್ತಸ್ಯ ಮಹೀ
ಪತೇ[ರ್ಬ್ಬಭೂವ] ಸಕಲಕ್ಷಿತಿ

೧೬ ....[15] [॥೧೯॥*] [ರಾಜ] ಪ್ರಜೇಷ್ಟಃ ಸ್ಥಿರಧೀರ
ಚೇತಸ್ತ್ಯಾಗಕ್ಷಮೌದಾರ್ಯ್ಯಗುಣೈರುಪೇತ ಃ[।*] ಧರ್ಮ್ಮೇಣ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮಪ್ರವಣಶ್ಶ
ಶಾಸ ದೇಶಂ ಯ [ಶಃ ಪುಣ್ಯ] ಗುಣಾಂಶು

೧೭ --[16][॥೨೦॥*] ವಿಶೇಷತಃ .... ಪ್ರತಿ ಪುಣ್ಯೋಪಚಯಂ ಪರಂ
ಚಕಾರ [।*] ಯತ ಊರ್ದ್ಧ್ವ [ಮಿಮಾಂ] ಸಹಾಯ ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ [ನಿರತೋ] ಲೋಕ
ಗುರೌಚಕಾರ ಕಾರಾಮ್[17] [॥೨೧॥*] ಆಯುರ್ವ [ಯೋವಿ]ತ್ತಸುಖಾಣ(ನಿ)

೧೮ --, U-U--UU [ಚಞ್ಚ]ಲಾನಿ [।*] ಉ [ದ್ದಿಶ್ಯ] ಮಾತಾಪಿತರಾವುದಾರಮ್
ನ್ಯವೀವಿಶದ್ವೇಶ್ಮ ಯತೀ[ನ್ದ್ರಸೇವ್ಯಮ್][18] [॥೨೨॥*] [ಸಜಲಾ]ಮ್ಬುದ[ವೃ]
ನ್ದಲಮ್ಬಿತಾಗ್ರೇಭುಜಗೇನ್ದ್ರಾಧ್ಯುಷಿತೇ ಮಹೀಧರೇನ್ದ್ರೇ [।*]

೧೯ .... [ವೀ?] ರಶ್ರೀಪತಿನಾ ಧರಾನಿಕುಞ್ಜೇ[19] [॥೨೩॥*]
ಗವಾಕ್ಷನಿರ್ಯ್ಯೂಹಸುವೀಥಿವೇದಿಕಾ [ಸುರೇ]ನ್ದ್ರಕನ್ಯಾಪ್ರತಿಮಾದ್ಯ
ಲಙ್ಕೃತಮ್ [।*] ಮನೋಹರಸ್ತಮ್ಭವಿಭಙ್ಗ

೨೦ -U-[20]ನಿವೇಶಿತಾಭ್ಯನ್ತರಚೈತ್ಯಮನ್ದಿರಮ್[21] [॥೨೪॥*] U-U-- ತಲ
ಸಂನಿವಿಷ್ಟಂ [ವಿತಾನ]--U ಮನೋಭಿರಾಮಂ [।*] U- ಪ್ರಕಾಮಾಮ್ಬು
ಮಹಾನಿಧಾನಂ ನಗೇನ್ದ್ರವೇಶ್ಮಾದಿಭಿರ

೨೧ U-U-[22][॥೨೫॥] --- [ರ್ಮ್ಮ]ಹ[ತಿ]ಸಮೀರಣೇ ಸಮನ್ತಾತ್ --- ವಿವಿಧ
ವಿಲಾಸ-U-- [।*] ಗ್ರೀಷ್ಮಾ[ರ್ಕ್ಕಸ್ಯಚ] ಕಿರಣೋಪತಾಪತಪ್ತಂ ಸರ್ವರ್ತು
ಪ್ರಥಿತಗುಣೋಪಭೋಗಯೋಗ್ಯ[ಮ್][23] [॥೨೬॥*]

೨೨ ....ಸುರೇನ್ದ್ರಮನ್ದಿರಾಣಾಂ ರುಚಿಮನ್ಮನ್ದರಕನ್ದ [ರಾನುರೂಪಮ್ ।]
.... ಜನೈರ್ಯಥೇಪ್ಸಿತಮ್[24] [॥೨೭॥*] ಅಸಮಸ್ಯ
ವಿರೋಚನೇ ಗಿರೇರ್ವಿಕ

೨೩ .... ಶ್ರಮನ್ತಕತಯಾ ನಿವಹೇನ ....[25] [॥೨೮॥*]
-- ವಿಶಾಲಮಿತಿ ಯಸ್ಯ ಜನೇನ ನಾಮ ಪ್ರೀತಿಪ್ರಸಾದವಿಕಚಪ್ರಣಯೇನ
ಚಕ್ರೇ [।*] ಏತಸ್ಯ

೨೪ -UUU- ರ್ಲಯನಂ ಸುರೇನ್ದ್ರಮೌಲಿಪ್ರಭೋಪಚಿತಮಙ್ಗಲ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಾಯ[26]
[॥೨೯॥*] ನಿವೇದ್ಯ ಸಙ್ಘಾಯ U-U[27] ಭಕ್ತ್ಯಾ ಸಬನ್ಧುವರ್ಗಸ್ಸ ವರಾಹದೇವಃ
[।*] ನೃದೇವಸೌಖ್ಯಾನ್ಯನುಭೂಯ--[28]

೨೫ [29]--ಣ ಶಾಸ್ತಾ ಸುಗತಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಃ[30] [॥೩೦॥*] ಸಾನ್ದ್ರಾಮ್ಭೋದಭುಜಙ್ಗ ಭೋಗ
UU-[31]ರ್ಯ್ಯಾವತ್ U--U-, --ನೂತ್ನಮನಃಶಿಲಾಲ ಕಲಿಪ್ಯೈರ್ಯ್ಯಾವತ್ಕರೈ
ರ್ಭಾ[ಸ್ಕರಃ] ತಾವಚ್ಛೇ

೨೬ UU-U-UUU---U- ಸೇವ್ಯತಾಮನ್ತರ್ಮ್ಮಣ್ಡಪರತ್ನಮೇತದಮಲಂ
ರತ್ನತ್ರ[ಯೋ*]ದ್ಭಾವಿ[ತಂ][32] [।।೩೧।।*] ವಿವಿಧಲಯನಸಾನುಸ್ಸೇವ್ಯಮಾ
ನೋಮಹದ್ಭಿಗ್ಗಿರಿರಯ

೨೭ UU---U--U-ದ್ಧಃ [।*] ಜಗದಪಿಚಸಮಸ್ತಂ ವಯಸ್ತದೋಷ ಪ್ರಹಾಣಾ
[ದ್ವಿಶತು][33] ಪದಮಶೋಕಂ ನಿರ್ಜ್ಜರಂ ಶಾನ್ತಮಾರ್ಯ್ಯಮ್[34][।।೩೨।।]*

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ

1. *Sir Asutosh Memorial Volume,* pp. 151ff; *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol. IX, pp. 200ff.
2. *Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference,* pp. 100-101.
3. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IX, p. 271.
4. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 137ff.
5. *Ibid.,* No. 14.
6. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 137ff.
7. ಬುದ್ಧ, ಸಂಘ, ಧರ್ಮ ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಬೌದ್ಧರು 'ರತ್ನತ್ರಯ'ವೆನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ.
8. ಅಂಕ ೩, ೫೦-೫೨ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು; ಅಂಕ ೧೦, ೨೪-೨೫ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು.
9. ಉದಯ ಸುಂದರೀ ಕಥಾ (Gaekwad's Oriental Series), ೨೧, ೮೩ನೆಯ ಪುಟಗಳು.
10. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXV, p. 232.
11. ೧-೪ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು ಉಪಜಾತಿವೃತ್ತದಲ್ಲಿವೆ.
12. ಈ ಪದ್ಯದ ವೃತ್ತವು ಉಪೇಂದ್ರವಜ್ರಾ ಅಥವಾ ಉಪಜಾತಿ.
13. ೬-೯ ಪದ್ಯಗಳ ಛಂದಸ್ಸು ಒಂದು ರೀತಿಯ ಮಾತ್ರಾಸಮಕ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಮತ್ತು ಮೂರನೆಯ ಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೧೫ ಮಾತ್ರೆಗಳೂ (ಕೆಲವು ವೇಳೆ ೧೬-೧೭ ಮಾತ್ರೆಗಳು), ಎರಡು ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ೧೫ ಮಾತ್ರೆಗಳೂ ಇರುತ್ತವೆ. ೯ನೆ. ಪದ್ಯದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಪಾದದಲ್ಲಿ ೧೬ ಮಾತ್ರೆಗಳೂ ಎರಡನೆಯದರಲ್ಲಿ ೧೯ ಮಾತ್ರೆಗಳೂ ಇವೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಗಮನಿಸತಕ್ಕುದು.
14. ವಂಶಸ್ಥವೃತ್ತ.
15. ಔಪಚ್ಛನ್ದಸಿಕವೃತ್ತ.
16. ಶುಭ್ರಃ ಎಂದು ಓದಬೇಕು. ಇನ್ದ್ರವಜ್ರಾವೃತ್ತ
17. ಔಪಚ್ಛನ್ದಸಿಕವೃತ್ತ
18. ಉಪಜಾತಿವೃತ್ತ.
19. ಔಪಚ್ಛನ್ದಸಿಕವೃತ್ತ.
20. ಭೂಷಿತ ಎಂದು ಓದಬಹುದು.
21. ವಂಶಸ್ಥವೃತ್ತ.
22. ಪ್ಯಲಂಕೃತಂ ಎಂದು ಓದಬಹುದು. ಉಪಜಾತಿವೃತ್ತ.

23. ಪ್ರಹರ್ಷಿಣೀವೃತ್ತ.

24. ಔಪಚ್ಛನ್ದಸಿಕವೃತ್ತ.

25. ಔಪಚ್ಚನ್ದಸಿಕವೃತ್ತ.

26. ವಸನ್ತತಿಲಕಾವೃತ್ತ.

27. ಸುವೇಶ್ಮ ಎಂದು ಓದಬೇಕು.

28. ಸಮ್ಯಗ್ ಎಂದು ಓದಬಹುದು.

29. ಧರ್ಮ್ಮೇಣ ಎಂದು ಓದಬಹುದು.

30. ಉಪಜಾತಿವೃತ್ತ.

31. ನಿಕರೈ ಎಂದು ಓದಬಹುದು.

32. ಶಾರ್ದೂಲವಿಕ್ರೀಡಿತವೃತ್ತ.

33. ಪ್ರಹಾಣಂ ವಿಶತು ಎಂದು ತಿದ್ದಬೇಕು.

34. ಮಾಲಿನೀವೃತ್ತ.

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ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಅರಸುಮನೆತನಗಳು-ಕದಂಬರು*

ಅವತರಣಿಕೆ

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಮಾಡಿದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ರಾಜಮನೆತನದವರು ಕದಂಬರೇ. ಇವರು ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಕೆಲ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಪಲ್ಲವರಿಂದ ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರವಾಗಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದರು. ಇವರ ರಾಜ್ಯವಿಸ್ತಾರವು ಎಷ್ಟಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ಇವರು ಬರುವ ಮೊದಲು ಕರ್ನಾಟಕವು ಯಾವ ಯಾವ ರಾಜರ ಆಧಿಪತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಪಟ್ಟಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ ಇವರ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯ ಅರಸರು ಯಾರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಆವಶ್ಯಕ.

ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಕಲ್ಪದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಕೆಲಭಾಗವು ಮೌರ್ಯರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಬೌದ್ಧಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮನಾದ ಅಶೋಕ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ನಿಜಾಂ ಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ** ರಾಯಚೂರಿಗೆ ಸುಮಾರು ನಲವತ್ತಾರು ಮೈಲುಗಳ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಾಸ್ಕಿ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಮೈಸೂರು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸಿದ್ದಾಪುರದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಗುತ್ತಿ (ಅನಂತಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ)ಯ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಎರ್ರಗುಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಈ ರಾಜನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿವೆ. ಸಿದ್ದಾಪುರದ ಲಿಪಿಗಳಿಂದ ಈ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಅಶೋಕನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕಿದ್ದ ಸುವರ್ಣಗಿರಿ ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ಆಗ್ಗೆ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಇಸಿಲಾ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದೂ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಸುವರ್ಣಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅರಸುಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಯು ಇದ್ದುಕೊಂಡು ಈ ಭಾಗದ ಆಡಳಿತವನ್ನು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದನು. ಮಾಸ್ಕಿಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕೂ ಹಂಪೆಯ ಉತ್ತರಕ್ಕೂ ಇರುವ ಕನಕಗಿರಿಯೇ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ಸುವರ್ಣಗಿರಿ ಎಂದು ಹುಲ್ಷರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[1] ಮೌರ್ಯ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಭಾಗದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯೇ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಉತ್ತರ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಈ ಭಾಗವು ಮೌರ್ಯರ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಶಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದೇ ವಿಷಯವು ಅಶೋಕ ಮಹಾರಾಜನು ಬನವಾಸಿಗೆ[2] ಧರ್ಮೋಪದೇಶಕರನ್ನು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂಬ ಮಹಾವಂಸದ ವಚನದಿಂದ ದೃಢವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಮೌರ್ಯರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪಕನೂ ಅಶೋಕನ ಪಿತಾಮಹನೂ ಆದ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನು ಭದ್ರಬಾಹುಮುನಿಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯನಾಗಿ ಆತನೊಡನೆ ಶ್ರವಣಬೆಳ್ಗೊಳಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಗುರುಶುಶ್ರೂಷೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾ ನಿಂತು ಕೆಲಕಾಲಾನಂತರ ಮೃತನಾದನೆಂದು ಕೆಲಪಂಡಿತರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಡುತ್ತಾರೆ.[3]

ಮೌರ್ಯರ ತರುವಾಯ ಸಾತವಾಹನರು ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಆದವಾನಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿಗೆ*** ಸೇರಿದ ಮ್ಯಾಕದೋಣಿಯೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಬಂಡೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಾತವಾಹನ ರಾಜನಾದ ಸಿರಿವುಳುಮಾವಿಯ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ಪುಳುಮಾವಿಯು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೩೫ರಿಂದ ಸುಮಾರು ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೆಂಟು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರಮಾಡಿದ ೨ನೆಯ ವಾಸಿಠೀಪುತ ಪುಳುಮಾವಿಯೆಂದು ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದ ಡಾ॥ ಸುಕ್ಥಂಕರರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[4]

ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರ ಸಾಮಂತರಾದ ಚುಟುಕುಲದ ಸಾತಕಣ್ಣಿಗಳು ಬನವಾಸಿ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಯ[5] ಹಾರೀತಿಪುತ ವಿಣ್ಹುಕಡ್ಡ ಚುಟುಕುಲಾನಂದ ಸಾತಕಣ್ಣಿ ಎಂಬ ರಾಜನ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯ ಎರಡನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಯಿಂದ ರಾಜನು ಕೌಂಡಿನ್ಯಗೋತ್ರದ ಕೊಂಡಮಾನನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಭೂದಾನ ಮಾಡುವಂತೆ ಮಹಾವಲಭನೆಂಬ ತನ್ನ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗೆ ಅಪ್ಪಣೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜನು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯ ಅರಸನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಬನವಾಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಇದೇ ರಾಜನ ಹನ್ನೆರಡನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜನ ಮಗಳು ಸಾತಸಿವಖದ ನಾಗಸಿರಿ (ಸಿವಸ್ಕಂದನಾಗಶ್ರೀ)[6] ಎಂಬ ತನ್ನ ಮಗನೊಂದಿಗೆ ನಾಗವನ್ನೂ ಕೆರೆಯನ್ನೂ ಒಂದು ವಿಹಾರವನ್ನೂ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಳೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ತಾಳಗುಂದದ

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* ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ, ೨೦ (೧, ೨), ಪು. ೧೧೯-೧೩೪ ಮತ್ತು ೧೧೧-೧೨೪. (ರಾ.ಸ್ವಾ. ಪಂಚಮುಖಿಯವರೊಡನೆ).

** ಈಗ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದೆ. - ಸಂ.

*** ಈಗ ಆಂಧ್ರಪ್ರದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದೆ - ಸಂ.

ಪ್ರಣವೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕದಂಬ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ದೇವಾಲಯದ ಈಶ್ವರನನ್ನು ಹಿಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾತಕರ್ಣಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅರಸರು ಪೂಜಿಸಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಮ್ಯಾಕದೋನಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹಾಸೇನಾಪತಿ ಖಂದನಾಕ(ಸ್ಕಂದನಾಗ)ನ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ‘ಸಾತವಹನಿಹಾರ’ ಜನಪದದಲ್ಲಿಯ ವೇಪುರಕಗ್ರಾಮದ ಗೃಹಪತಿಯೊಬ್ಬನು ಒಂದು ಕೆರೆಯನ್ನು ಅಗೆಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಪಲ್ಲವ ಸಿವಸ್ಕಂದವರ್ಮ ರಾಜನ ಕಾಲದ ಇದೇ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಹಿರೇಹಡಗಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ತಾಮ್ರಪತ್ರಗಳಿಂದ[7] ಆ ಭಾಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾತಾಹನಿರಟ್ಠ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಸಾತವಹನಿಹಾರ ಅಥವಾ ಸಾತಾಹನಿರಟ್ಠ (ಸಾತವಾಹನರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ)ದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಬಹುಭಾಗವು ಸೇರಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಮೈಸೂರು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗದ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಚಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಈ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜನ ನಾಣ್ಯಗಳಿಂದಲೂ[8] ಆ ಪ್ರಾಂತವು ಸಾತವಾಹನರ ಅಧೀನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು. ಅಂತು ಸಾತವಾಹನರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರಾಗಲಿ ಅಲ್ಲದಿರಲಿ, ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕವು ಇವರ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಗೆ ಒಳಪಟ್ಟಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಹಿರೇಹಡಗಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಸಾತವಾಹನರ ಬಳಿಕ ಸಾತವಾಹನರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವು ಪಲ್ಲವರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಿತು. ಅಂದರೆ ಸಾತವಾಹನರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಭಾಗವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಇವರ ಕೈ ಸೇರಿತು. ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಪ್ರಣವೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಾಲಯದ ಎದುರಿಗಿರುವ ಕಂಬದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊರೆದಿರುವ ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬವಂಶದ ಮೂಲಪುರುಷನಾದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಸಮುದ್ರಕ್ಕೂ ಪ್ರೇಹಾರಕ್ಕೂ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶವನ್ನು ಪಲ್ಲವರಿಂದ ಪಡೆದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಸಾತವಾಹನರ ತರುವಾಯ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಕೈವಶವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಕದಂಬರು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವರು ಹೀಗೆ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರವಾಗಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸುವಾಗ್ಗೆ ಬೃಹದ್ಬಾಣರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ಅವರಿಂದ ಕರವನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡರೆಂದು ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಬೃಹದ್ಬಾಣರು ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಸಾಮಂತರಾಗಿ ದತ್ತಮಂಡಲ (ceded districts)ದ ಕೆಲಭಾಗ (ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಮಗ್ಗುಲಿನ ಭಾಗ)ಗಳನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.[9]

ಇನ್ನು ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂದರೆ ಸುಮಾರು ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯ ರಾಜರಾಗಿ ಉತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಕಾಟಕರೂ ಶಾಲಂಕಾಯನರೂ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಗಂಗರೂ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ವಾಕಾಟಕರು ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅಜಂತಾ, ಗಂಜ, ಗುಲ್ವಾರಾಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರ ಲಿಪಿಗಳು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿವೆ. ಅಜಂತೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಗುಹಾಂತರದೇವಾಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ಇವರಿಂದಲೇ ಕೊರೆಯಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟವು. ಹದಿನಾರನೆಯ ಗುಹೆಯ ಹೊರಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನವು[10] ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜರ ಕೈಕೆಳಗಿದ್ದ ಮಂತ್ರಿಯೊಬ್ಬನ ಮಗನು ಈ ವಿಹಾರವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಉತ್ತರ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಗುಪ್ತವಂಶದ ಅರಸರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಇವರು ಶರೀರಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಿದ್ದರು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಇವರು ಎಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಬಲರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಗಂಗರು ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಮತ್ತು ಪೂರ್ವಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ಕಾಲದ ಇವರ ಇತಿಹಾಸವು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿರುವ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಅಂತು ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ[11] ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಮಾಡುವಾಗ ಪಲ್ಲವರಲ್ಲದೆ ಒಂದೆಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೋಲಾರದ ಗಂಗರೂ ಮತ್ತೊಂದೆಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಕಾಟಕರೂ ಶಾಲಂಕಾಯನರೂ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳನ್ನಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.

ಈ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಕಂಡುಹಿಡಿಯಲು ಸಾಕಾದಷ್ಟು ಸಾಧನಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೇ ಶಕ್ಯವಾದ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಯ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾತಕರ್ಣಿಯು ಕೌಂಡಿನ್ಯಗೋತ್ರದ ಕೊಂಡಮಾನನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಭೂದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ತಿಳಿಸಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಇದೇ ರಾಜನ ಬನವಾಸಿ ಲಿಪಿಯಿಂದ ಅವನ ಮಗಳು ಒಂದು ಬೌದ್ಧ ವಿಹಾರವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟಂತೆ ತಿಳಿದಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಕದಂಬರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯ ಕಾಲದವಲ್ಲವಾದರೂ ಈ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಅರ್ಧ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಮೊದಲು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಆಗಿನ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಅಲ್ಪಾವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರೆ ತಪ್ಪಾಗಲಾರದು.[12] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈದಿಕಧರ್ಮ ಬೌದ್ಧಧರ್ಮಗಳೆರಡೂ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಹಿರೇಹಡಗಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರಾಜನಾದ ಶಿವಸ್ಕಂದವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಮಹಾರಾಜ ಬಪ್ಪಸಾಮಿಯು ಹಿಂದೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ದತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಿರೀಕರಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಮಧ್ಯಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರ ನೆರೆರಾಜರಾಗಿದ್ದ ವಾಕಾಟಕರು ಬೌದ್ಧ ವಿಹಾರಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದರೆಂದು ಮೊದಲೇ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ವಿದ್ಯಾಪೀಠಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕಂಚಿಯೂ ಒಂದಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಕದಂಬರಾಜರ ಮೂಲಪುರುಷನಾದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದು ಈ ಪೀಠದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ

ಪ್ರಾಕೃತಗಳೆರಡೂ ಆಸ್ಥಾನ ಮತ್ತು ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಶಾಸನಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಇವೆರಡೇ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕಾರಣ ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ಭಾಷೆಗಳು ಇನ್ನೂ ವಾಙ್ಮಯಕ್ಕೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಲಿಪಿಗಳು ಪ್ರಾಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಆಗ್ಗೆ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಜನರಿಗೂ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತವು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು.

ಬನವಾಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಿಣ್ಹುಕಡಚುಟುಕುಲಾನಂದ ಸಾತಕಣ್ಣಿಯ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಹು ಸುಂದರವಾದ ನಾಗವೊಂದು ಕೆತ್ತಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿಲ್ಪಕಲೆಯು ಊರ್ಜಿತಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ರಾಜನ ಮಗಳು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದ ನಾಗವು ಇದೇ ಆಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಇದನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದವನು ಆಚಾರ್ಯ ಇದಮೋರಕ (ಇಂದ್ರಮಯೂರಕ)ನ ಶಿಷ್ಯನಾದ ನಟಕನು. ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬಹುದಾದ ಈ ಕಾಲದ ಕಟ್ಟಡಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪುರಾತನವಾದುದು ನಿಜಾಂ ಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ನಲದುರ್ಗಾ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ತೇರ್ (ತಗರ) ನಗರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಿಕ್ರಮ ದೇವಾಲಯವು. ಇದು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ್ದೆಂದೂ ಮೊದಲು ಇದು ಬೌದ್ಧ ವಿಹಾರವಾಗಿದ್ದು ಆಮೇಲೆ ಹಿಂದೂದೇವಾಲಯವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಡಾ॥ ಕುಮಾರಸ್ವಾಮಿಯವರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದು ಆಕಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಜಂತ, ಕಾರ್ಲೆಮೊದಲಾದ ಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯಗಳನ್ನು ಹೋಲುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಅವುಗಳಂತೆ ಇದು ಬಂಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊರೆದು ಮಾಡಿದುದಲ್ಲ; ಇಟ್ಟಿಗೆಯಿಂದ ಕಟ್ಟಿದುದು.[13]

ಕದಂಬರು

ಕದಂಬರು ಮೈಸೂರು ಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ತಾಳಗುಂದ (ತಾಣಗುಂದೂರ ಅಥವಾ ಸ್ಥಾಣಕುಂದೂರ)ದ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳು. ಇವರು ಹಾರೀತಿಪುತ್ರರೂ ಮಾನವ್ಯಸಗೋತ್ರರೂ ಆದ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು. ವಿವಿಧ ಯಜ್ಞಯಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿ ಪುಣ್ಯವಿಶೇಷವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದನೆಮಾಡಿದವರು; ಷಟ್ಕರ್ಮನಿರತರು. ಇವರು ತಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಯ ಹತ್ತಿರ ಒಂದು ಕದಂಬ ವೃಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಿದ್ದರು. ಆದರಿಂದಲೇ ಇವರ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಕದಂಬ ವಂಶವೆಂದು ಹೆಸರು ಬಂದಿತು. ಈ ವಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನೇ ಕದಂಬರಾಜ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪಕನು.[14] ಇವನ ಹಿಂದೆ ಜಯಂತ (ಇವನಿಗೆ ತ್ರಿಲೋಚನ ಅಥವಾ ತ್ರಿನೇತ್ರಕದಂಬ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರೂ ಉಂಟು), ಮಧುಕೇಶ್ವರ, ಮಲ್ಲಿನಾಥ, ಚಂದ್ರವರ್ಮ ಎಂಬ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರು ಆಳಿದರೆಂದೂ ಕಡೆಯವನಾದ ಚಂದ್ರವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ೨ನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರವರ್ಮ, ಪುರಂದರ ಎಂಬ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ಈ ೨ನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನೇ ಮಯೂರವರ್ಮ (ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮ)ನೆಂದೂ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಲಿಪಿಗಳು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ.[15] ಈ ಅರಸರ ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪನಾನಂತರ ಆರು-ಏಳು ಶತಮಾನಗಳವರೆಗೆ ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಾಣಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಥ್ಯಾಂಶವು ಎಷ್ಟಿದೆಯೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಕದಂಬರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ''ಪ್ರತಿಕೃತ ಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಚರ್ಚಾಪಾರಾಣಾಂ'' ಎಂದು ಇವರ ವರ್ಣನೆಯಿದೆ. ''ಪ್ರತಿಕೃತಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಚರ್ಚಾಪಾರ'' ಎಂದರೆ ಶ್ರುತಿಗಳ ಅಧ್ಯಯನವನ್ನು ಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಮಾಡುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಿಣತರೆಂದರ್ಥ (ಪ್ರತಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕಂ ಕೃತಾ ಅನುಷ್ಠಿತಾ ಯಾ ಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯಸ್ಯ ಚರ್ಚಾ ಉಕ್ತ್ಯನಂತರಂ ಉಕ್ತಿಃ ತಾಂ ಪಾರಯಂತಿ ಇತಿ).[16] ಇದರಿಂದಲೂ ಇವರು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರೆಂದೇ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.[17] ಐದನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರು ತಾಣಗುಂದೂರ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇವರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ದೇಶದವರೇ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವ ಈ ವಂಶದ ಅರಸರ ಲಿಪಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ (ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದಿರುವ ಚಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಿ,* ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು) ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇರುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವು ಇವರ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಈ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಕೊಡುತ್ತವೆ-''ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಮಹಾಸೇನ ಮಾತೃಗಣಾನುಧ್ಯಾತಾಭಿಷಿಕ್ತಾನಾಂ ಮಾನವ್ಯಸಗೋತ್ರಾಣಾಂ ಹಾರೀತಿಪುತ್ರಾಣಾಂ ಆಂಗಿರಸಾಂ ಪ್ರತಿಕೃತ ಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಚರ್ಚಾಪಾರಾಣಾಂ ಸದ್ಧರ್ಮಸದಂಬಾನಾಂ ಕದಂಬಾನಾಂ''(ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಮಹಾಸೇನ ಮತ್ತು ಮಾತೃಗಳನ್ನು ಧ್ಯಾನಮಾಡಿ ಅಭಿಷಿಕ್ತರಾದವರೂ ಮಾನವ್ಯಸಗೋತ್ರರೂ ಹಾರಿತೀ ಪುತ್ರರೂ ಶ್ರುತಿಗಳ ಅಧ್ಯಯನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರತರೂ ಸದ್ಧರ್ಮಾಚರಣೆಗೆ ತವರುಮನೆಯಂತೆ ಇದ್ದವರೂ ಆದ ಕದಂಬರು). ಇವರ ತಾಮ್ರಪಟ್ಟಿಕೆಗಳ ಮೊಹರುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಿಂಹಲಾಂಛನವಿರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಪಲ್ಲವರಿಂದ ಕದಂಬರು ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದರೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಹಲಸಿ ಮತ್ತು ದೇವಗಿರಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ[18] ಸಂವತ್ಸರಗಳು ಪೌಷ ಸಂವತ್ಸರವೆಂದೂ ವೈಶಾಖ ಸಂವತ್ಸರವೆಂದೂ ಚಾಂದ್ರಮಾನ ತಿಂಗಳುಗಳ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ, ಮತ್ತು ತಿಂಗಳ ಪಕ್ಷಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳದೆ ವರ್ಷಋತು ಎಂಟನೆಯ ಪಕ್ಷ ಎಂದು ಮೊದಲಾಗಿ ಋತುಪಕ್ಷಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ರೀತಿ ಕಾಲಗಣನೆಮಾಡುವ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಮೊದಲಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಬರ್ಜೆಸ್, ಸುಯೆಲ್ ಮೊದಲಾದ

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* ಇದೂ ಸಹ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶಾಸನವೆಂದು ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿದೆ. - ಸಂ.

ಪಂಡಿತರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಡುತ್ತಾರೆ.[19] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನೂ ಅವನ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಅರಸರೂ ೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನ ಮತ್ತು ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಂದೆ ಇದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕದಂಬರ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಶಾಸನವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಗಳುಂಟು. ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗಿನ ಶಾಸನಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇವೆ. ಮ್ಯಾಕದೋನಿ, ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಗಳ ಸಾತವಾಹನರ ಲಿಪಿಗಳೂ, ಮೈದುವೋಲು, ಹಿರೇಹಡಗಲಿಗಳ ಪಲ್ಲವಶಾಸನಗಳೂ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯವು. ಇವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನ ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೊಸಕೋಟೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳು ಸಿದ್ಧಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಹಿರೇಹಡಗಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನದ ಶಿವಸ್ಕಂದವರ್ಮನು ಸುಮಾರು ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಆದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅವರು ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[20] ಈ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಸಾತಾಹನಿರಟ್ಠವು ಅಂದರೆ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾಗವು ಇವನ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಸಮುದ್ರದ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದವರೆಗಿದ್ದ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಪಲ್ಲವರಿಂದ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡಾಗ ಆ ಭಾಗವು ಅವನ ಹಸ್ತಗತವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಅಂದರೆ ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಭಾಗವು ಅಲ್ಲಿಂದಾಚೆಗೆ ಕೆಲವು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರ ಕೈವಶವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೫೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರು ಪಲ್ಲವರಿಂದ ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಕೆಲಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಕಿತ್ತುಕೊಂಡಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಈ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[21] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯ ಕಾಲವು ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ ಅಥವಾ ಮಧ್ಯವೆಂದಂತಾಯಿತು. ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನವು ಅವನ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಯ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಆಶ್ವಿನಮಾಸ ಅಮಾವಾಸ್ಯೆ ವಿಷುಪದ ದಿನ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದುದು. ಕದಂಬರ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರ ಕೈಸೇರಿದುದರಿಂದ ಆ ಮನೆತನದ ಕಡೆಯ ಅರಸನಾದ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದನೆನ್ನಬೇಕು. ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ಕಾಲಾಂಗಗಳು ಈ ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ೫೦೭, ೫೨೬, ೫೪೫ ಈ ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲೆತಿದ್ದವು. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾದ ೫೦೭ನೆಯ ಇಸವಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಇದ್ದಿರಲಾರನಾದುದರಿಂದ ಉಳಿದ ಎರಡು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೫೨೬ನೆಯ ಇಸವಿ ಸೆಪ್ಟೆಂಬರ್ ೧೧ ಮತ್ತು ೫೪೫ನೆಯ ಇಸವಿ ಸೆಪ್ಟೆಂಬರ್ ೨೧ ಈ ದಿವಸಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಈ ಅಂಗಗಳು ಕೂಡಿದ್ದವು. ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಜಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಅಂದರೆ ಕದಂಬ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತಂಗಿಯನ್ನು ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗಮನೆತನದ ೩ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವನು ಮದುವೆಯಾದುದರಿಂದ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೮೦ರಿಂದ ೪೯೫ರವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿದ[22] ಈ ಮಾಧವನೂ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೂ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಂದಾಚೆಗೆ ಮೂರನೆಯ ತಲೆಯವನು. ಒಂದು ತಲೆಗೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅವಧಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟರೆ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೀಳುವುದು. ಅಂದರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಮೂರು ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೫ ಅವನ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಸಮಂಜಸ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೩೮ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿರಬೇಕು. ಹರಿವರ್ಮನಿಂದ ಹಿಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಾಸರಿ ತಲೆಗೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳಂತೆ ಲೆಕ್ಕಹಾಕಿದರೆ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೨೨-೪೪೭ ಎಂದು ನಿರ್ಣಯವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ[23]. ಈ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನು ಯುವರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗ 'ಸ್ವವೈಜಯಿಕ' ಎಂಬತ್ತನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಲಸಿಯ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಬರೆಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಈ ಎಂಬತ್ತನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವು ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಂದಿನಿಂದ ಲೆಕ್ಕಮಾಡಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಫ್ಲೀಟರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ.[24] ಇದರಿಂದಲೂ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ೨ನೆಯ ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಯ ಐಹೊಳೆ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು 'ಕದಂಬಕದಂಬಕ' (ಕದಂಬರ ಸಮೂಹ)ವನ್ನು ಚದರಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಕದಂಬರ ಎರಡು ಮೂರು ಮನೆತನಗಳು ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಕದಂಬರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಇದೇ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವು ದೃಢಪಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಯುವರಾಜ ದೇವವರ್ಮನ ದೇವಗಿರಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.[25] ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮ, ಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮ, ರವಿವರ್ಮ ಹರಿವರ್ಮರಾಜರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಗಳು ವೈಜಯಂತೀ (ಬನವಾಸಿ), ಪಲಾಸಿಕಾ (ಹಲಸಿಗೆ), ಉಚ್ಚಶೃಂಗಿ (ಉಚ್ಚಂಗಿ ದುರ್ಗ)ಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದವು.[26] ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯ ಅರಸರು ತಮ್ಮ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯ ರಾಜರ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.[27] ಇದೇ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯವರ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಪಿತೃಪಿತಾಮಹಾದಿಗಳ ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿವೆ.[28] ಬೆಣ್ಣೂರು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬರ ಐದನೆಯ ಅರಸನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಂದ ಎಣಿಸಿದರೆ ಈ ಸಂತತಿಯ ಅರಸರಲ್ಲಿ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಐದನೆಯವನಾಗುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯ ರಾಜರನ್ನು ಗಣನೆಗೆ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.[29] ಈ ಮೇಲಿನ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ನಂತರ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮರು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರರಾಗಿ ಆಳತೊಡಗಿದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆಯ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಉಚ್ಛ್ರಂಗಿ(ಉಚ್ಚಂಗಿ ದುರ್ಗ)ಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಆತ್ರೇಯ ಗೋತ್ರದ ತ್ರಿಯಂಬಕಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಎಂಬ

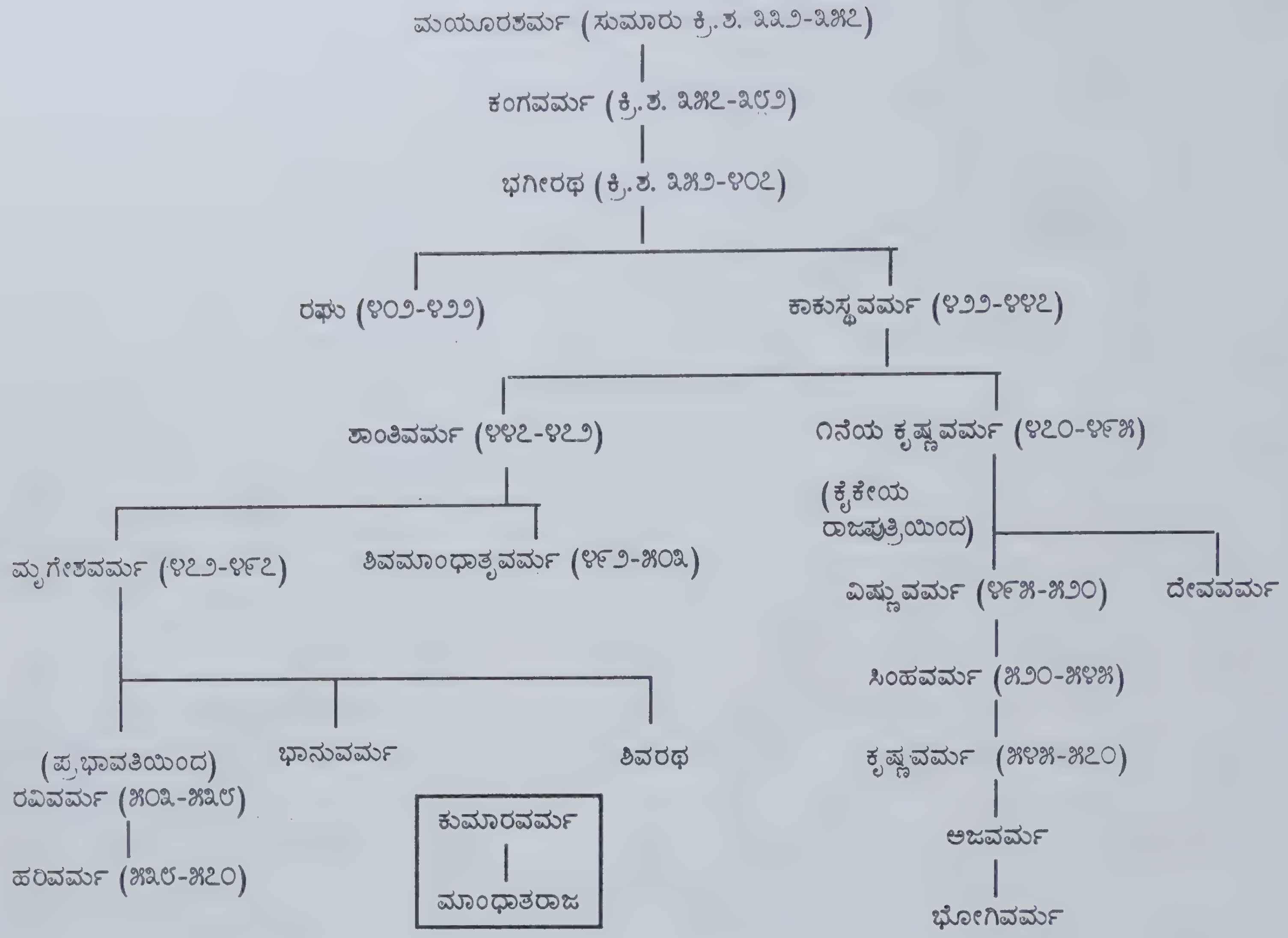
ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಕೊಗ್ಗಿ, ಪಾಲ್ಗಳಿನಿ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ.[30] ಮೇಲಿನ ಎರಡು ಕದಂಬ ಸಂತತಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮನಿಗೂ ಯಾವ ವಿಧವಾದ ಸಂಬಂಧವಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನು ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನಾದ ವಿಜಯ ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮನಿಂದ ಭಿನ್ನವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಕೀಲ್ಹಾರ್ನರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[31] ಇದೊಂದು ಬೇರೆ ಸಂತತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಕದಂಬರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಶಾಖೆಗಳಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.[32]

ಕದಂಬ ಅರಸರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾರು ಯಾರು ಎಷ್ಟು ಕಾಲ ಆಳಿದರೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಧಾರವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶಕ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಗಳ ನಿರ್ದೇಶವಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಡಳತೆಯ ವರ್ಷಗಳು ನಿರೂಪಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಕಾಲವನ್ನೂ ಆಧಾರವಾಗಿಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡು ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ಣಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೩೮ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾರೂಢನಾದನೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಇವನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಿರಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು ಅವನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಮೂವತ್ತೈದನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ್ದು.[33] ಇದೇ ಅವನ ಕೊನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೦೩ರಿಂದ ೫೩೮ರವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿರಬೇಕು. ಇವನ ಚಿಕ್ಕಪ್ಪನಾದ[34] ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನ ಎರಡನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಶಾಸನವು ದೊರೆತಿದೆ. ಇವನು ತನ್ನ ಅಣ್ಣನಾದ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ನಂತರ ಆಳಿದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯು ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಕಾಲ ಎಂದರೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಐದು ಆರು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ನಡೆಯಿತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು. ನಿರ್ಣಾಯಕ ಅಂಶಗಳಿಲ್ಲದಿರುವಾಗ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಒಂದು ಆಳಿಕೆಗೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯವುಂಟು. ಅದರಂತೆ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನು ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದರೆ ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೯೭ರಿಂದ ೫೦೩ರ ವರೆಗೂ, ಮೃಗೇಶನು ೪೭೨ರಿಂದ ೪೯೭ರವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಗಣನೆಯಂತೆ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲವು ೪೪೭-೪೭೨ ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿಷ್ಣುಗೋಪನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮಾಧವನಿಗೆ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತಂಗಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಮದುವೆಮಾಡಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಗಂಗರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಮಾಧವನ ದೊಡ್ಡಪ್ಪನಾದ ಪೆನುಗೊಂಡೆಯ ಶಾಸನದ ಆಯ್ಯವಮ್ಮನ ಮಗ ಮಾಧವನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೬0-೪೭೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿದೆ.[35] ವಿಷ್ಣುಗೋಪನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯು ಐದೇ ವರ್ಷಗಳೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದು ಅವನ ಮಗನೂ ಕದಂಬ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ[36] ಬಾವಮೈದುನನೂ ಆದ ಮಾಧವನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೮೦ರಿಂದ ೪೯೫ರವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿದನೆನ್ನುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿರುತ್ತವೆ.[37] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೭೦-೪೯೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಹೀಗೆ ಗಣನೆಮಾಡಿದರೂ ಕೂಡ ಇವನ ಅಣ್ಣನಾದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ನಾವು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಕಾಲವು ಸರಿಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಹಿಂದೆ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮ, ರಘು, ಭಗೀರಥ, ಕಂಗವರ್ಮ, ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮರಾಜರು ಆಳಿದರು. ಅಣ್ಣತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಾದ ರಘು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡಿದುದರಿಂದ ಅವರಲ್ಲೊಬ್ಬರಿಗೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳಿಗಿಂತ ಕಡಿಮೆ ಅಂದರೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಹದಿನೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಆಳಿಕೆಯನ್ನೂ ಉಳಿದವರೆಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ವಾಡಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳನ್ನೂ ಕೊಡಬಹುದು. ಈ ಲೆಕ್ಕದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪಕನಾದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಕೊನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೫೭ ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ. ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲವು ಸುಮಾರು ೪೭೦-೪೯೫ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇವನ ಸಂತತಿಯವರ ಕಾಲಗಣನೆಯನ್ನು ಇದೇ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಅಂದರೆ ತಲೆಗೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿದರೆ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೫ ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದನೆಂದೂ ಇವನು ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಗಂಗ ೩ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾದುದರಿಂದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನೂ ಇವನೂ ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕವಾಗಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹಿಂದೆಯೇ ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಹರಿವರ್ಮ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮರ ನಡುವೆಯೂ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮರ ನಡುವೆಯೂ ಮೂರು ತಲೆಗಳ ಅಂತರವಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮರು ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿದ ಕದಂಬರಾಜ ಮನೆತನಗಳು ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರವೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಕದಂಬರಾಜರ ಪೌರ್ವಾಪರ್ಯ (Order of Sucession) ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲಗಳನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುವ ವಂಶ ವೃಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ವಾಚಕರ ಸೌಕರ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ-

ಕದಂಬರ ಮೂಲಪುರುಷನಾದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನವು ಒಂದೇ ಒಂದು ಈಚೆಗೆ ಮೈಸೂರು ಪ್ರಾಕ್ತನ ವಿಮರ್ಶನ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳಾದ ಡಾ॥ ಎಂ.ಎಚ್. ಕೃಷ್ಣರವರಿಂದ ಕಂಡುಹಿಡಿಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಮೈಸೂರು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಚಿತ್ರಕಲ್ ದುರ್ಗದ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಕ್ಕೆ ಹುಲೆಗೊಂದಿಯೆಂಬ ಕಂದಕವುಂಟು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಚಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಿಯೆಂಬ ಪಟ್ಟಣವಿತ್ತೆಂದು ದಂತಕತೆಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಬಂಡೆಗಲ್ಲಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಈ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ಶಾಸನವು ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ''ತ್ರೈಕೂಟ, ಆಭೀರ, ಪಲ್ಲವ, ಪಾರಿಯಾತ್ರಕ, ಸಕಸ್ಥಾನ, ಸಯಿಂದಕ, ಪುನ್ನಾಟ, ಮೊಕರಿ ರಾಜರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿದ(?) ಕದಂಬವಂಶದ

ಕದಂಬ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷ


ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೩೨-೩೫೭)
ಕಂಗವರ್ಮ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೫೭-೩೮೨)
ಭಗೀರಥ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೫೨-೪೦೭)
ರಘು (೪೦೭-೪೨೨)
ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮ (೪೨೨-೪೪೭)
ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ (೪೪೭-೪೭೨)
೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ (೪೭೦-೪೯೫)
(ಕೈಕೇಯ
ರಾಜಪುತ್ರಿಯಿಂದ)
ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮ (೪೭೨-೪೯೭)
ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮ (೪೯೭-೫೦೩)
ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮ (೪೯೫-೫೨೦)
ದೇವವರ್ಮ
ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮ (೫೨೦-೫೪೫)
(ಪ್ರಭಾವತಿಯಿಂದ)
ರವಿವರ್ಮ (೫೦೩-೫೩೮)
ಭಾನುವರ್ಮ
ಶಿವರಥ
ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ (೫೪೫-೫೭೦)
ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮ
ಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜ
ಹರಿವರ್ಮ (೫೩೮-೫೭೦)
ಅಜವರ್ಮ
ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮ

ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು (ಈ) ತಡಾಗವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ.[38] ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಭಾಷೆಯು ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ;* ಲಿಪಿಯು ೩-೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ್ದು. ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕದಂಬ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಶಾಸನವೂ ಇವನದೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಡುಬ್ರಾಯಿಲರು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ 'ಉಕ್ತಂ ಖಿಂಧೋ' ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ತದನಂತರ 'ಕದಂಬರ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದರೆಂಬ' ಅರ್ಥದ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಮೊದಲೇ ಕದಂಬರು ಬಹಳವಾಗಿ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪಕನಾದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ವಂಶಜರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಒಬ್ಬ ರಾಜನು ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಬರೆಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜಯಂತೀಪತಿಯೂ ಪ್ರತಿಕೃತಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಚರ್ಚಾಪರನೂ ಆದ ಒಬ್ಬ ಕದಂಬರಾಜನು ದಾನವಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಶಿವಸ್ಕಂದವರ್ಮನು ಹಿಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಮಳಪಳಿ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ಸಹಲಾಟವೀ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಹದಿಮೂರು ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳ ದಾನವು ಅಂತರಿಸಿರಲು ಕದಂಬರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಕೌಂಡಿನ್ಯ ಗೋತ್ರದ ಕೊಂಡಮಾನ ಕುಲತಿಲಕನಾದ ಶ್ರೀನಾಗದತ್ತನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಆ ದತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಪುನರುಜ್ಜೀವನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದೇ ಶಾಸನದ ಮೇಲ್ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಿಣ್ಹುಕಡ್ಡ ಚುಟುಕುಲಾನನ್ದ ಸಾತಕಣ್ಣಿರಾಜನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನು ಸಲಹಾಟವಿಯನ್ನು ಕೌಂಡಿನ್ಯ ಗೋತ್ರದ ಕೊಂಡಮಾನನಿಗೆ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇವನ ತರುವಾಯ ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ಪತಿಯಾದ ಶಿವಸ್ಕಂದವರ್ಮನು ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಬೇರೆ ಹನ್ನೆರಡು ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ದತ್ತಿಯು ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂತರಿತವಾಗಿಲು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜನು ಅದೇ ಕೊಂಡಮಾನ ವಂಶಜರಿಗೆ ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ತಿರುಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು.

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* ಭಾಷೆಯು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತವೆಂದು ಇತ್ತೀಚಿನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವಾಗಿದೆ. - ಸಂ.

ಇವೆರಡು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಲಿಪಿಗಳಿಂದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಹೇಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಮಾಡಿದನೆಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[39] ಈ ವಿಷಯವು ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾಗಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಗುರುವಾದ ವೀರಶರ್ಮನೊಂದಿಗೆ, ಪಲ್ಲವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕಾಂಚೀ ಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಘಟಿಕಾಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಧ್ಯಯನಮಾಡಲಿಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋದನು. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಸಂಗ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವಾಗ ಒಂದು ದಿನ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಗದ ಸಂಬಂಧವಾಗಿ ತೀವ್ರವಾದ ಕಲಹವುಂಟಾಗಲು ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ರೋಷಗೊಂಡವನಾಗಿ ''ಅಯ್ಯೋ ! ಈ ಕಲಿಯುಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ಷಾತ್ರತೇಜಸ್ಸಿನ ಮುಂದೆ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ್ಯವು ಕಳೆಗುಂದಿತಲ್ಲ! ಗುರು ಕುಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತಿ ಪ್ರಯಾಸದಿಂದ ಗುರುಶುಶ್ರೂಷೆಮಾಡಿ ವೇದಾಧ್ಯಯನ ಮಾಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಯು ನೃಪಾಧೀನವಾಗಿದೆಯಲ್ಲ! ಅಯ್ಯೋ! ಎಂತಹ ಕಷ್ಟಕಾಲವೊದಗಿತು'' ಎಂದು ಉದ್ಗಾರಮಾಡಿ ಕುಶಸಮಿಧಾದಿ ಯಜ್ಞೋಪಕರಣಗಳನ್ನು ಹಿಡಿಯುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ನುರಿತ ತನ್ನ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಕಲ ಭೂಮಂಡಲವನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸುವ ಇಚ್ಛೆಯಿಂದ ಪ್ರಜ್ವಲಿಸುವ ಶಸ್ತ್ರವೊಂದನ್ನು ಝಳಪಿಸಿದನು. ಶೀಘ್ರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಅಂತಪಾಲರನ್ನು ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಗೆದ್ದು ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತದವರೆಗಿನ ಘೋರಾರಣ್ಯವನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿ ಬೃಹದ್ಬಾಣ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕರಿಂದ ಕರವನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡನು. ಇದನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರು ಕ್ರೋಧದಿಂದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ಮೇಲೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಸೇನೆಯನ್ನು ಕಳುಹಿಸಲು ಅವನು ಖಡ್ಗೈಕ ಸಹಾಯದಿಂದ ಕ್ಷಣಮಾತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಅದನ್ನು ಹೊಡೆದಟ್ಟಿದನು. ಈ ಬಲಶಾಲಿಯೊಂದಿಗೆ ದ್ವೇಷ ಬೆಳೆಯಿಸುವುದು ತಮಗೂ ತಮ್ಮ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೂ ಅಪಾಯಕರವೆಂದು ಬಗೆದು ಪಲ್ಲವರು ಅವನಿಗೆ ಸೇನಾಪತಿ ಪದವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅವನ ಸಖ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದರು. ಆಮೇಲೆ ಸೈನ್ಯಾಧಿಪತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನು ತೋರಿಸಿದ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಕ್ಕೆ ಮೆಚ್ಚಿ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮುದ್ರದವರೆಗೂ ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರೇಹರ(?)ದ ವರೆಗೂ ಇದ್ದ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅವನಿಗೆ ಸಾಮಂತಪಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿದರು. ಹೀಗೆ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಸ್ವಬಾಹುಬಲದಿಂದ ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಿಂದ ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೩೨ರಿಂದ ೩೫೭ರವರೆಗೆ ಆಳಿದರು. ಉತ್ತರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬನವಾಸಿಯೇ ಆಗ ವೈಜಯಂತಿ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಬನವಾಸಿಯು ಬಹು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಹೆಸರುವಾಸಿಯಾದ ಪಟ್ಟಣವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಪಟ್ಟಣಕ್ಕೇ ಅಶೋಕ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ರಕ್ಷಿತನೆಂಬ ಬೌದ್ಧಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಚಾರಕನು ಹೋಗಿದ್ದುದು. ಲೋಕಪ್ರವಾಸಿಕನಾದ ಟಾಲೆಮಿ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನ)ಯ ಭೂವಿವರಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಬನವಾಸಿಯು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ.[40] ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಹಿಂದೆ ಇದ್ದ ಸಾತಕರ್ಣಿಗಳ ಈ ಭಾಗದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯೂ ಬನವಾಸಿ(ವೈಜಯಂತಿ)ಯೇ ಆಗಿತ್ತು. ವನವಾಸಕ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ರಾಣಿಯೂ ಇಖಾಕು ವಂಶದ ವಿರಪುರಿಸದತನ ಮಗಳೂ ಆದ ಕೊದಬಲಿಸಿರಿ ಎಂಬಾಕೆಯು ಚೈತ್ಯ, ವಿಹಾರಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ್ದಳೆಂದು ಗುಂಟೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ನಾಗಾರ್ಜುನಕೊಂಡದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.[41] ಇದರಿಂದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಬನವಾಸಿಯ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ರಾಜರು ಕೂಡ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಿಹೊಂದಿದ್ದ ಬನವಾಸಿಯು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಿಂದ ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗೂ ಕದಂಬರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲದ ಶಾಸನಗಳು:

ಚಂದ್ರವಳ್ಳಿ ಶಾಸನ: ಇದರ ಲಿಪಿ ೩-೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮೀಲಿಪಿ. ಭಾಷೆ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ. ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಸಾರಾಂಶವನ್ನು ಹಿಂದೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೇವೆ.[42]

ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ತರುವಾಯ ಅವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಕಂಗವರ್ಮನು ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದನು. ಇವನ ಲಿಪಿಗಳಾವುವೂ ದೊರೆತಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಬೇರೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ಇವನು ಬಹು ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಶಾಲಿಯೂ ಸಾಮಂತರಾಜಪೂಜಿತನೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವನ ಮಗನು ಭಗೀರಥರಾಜನು. ಇವನ ಕಾಲವು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೮೨-೪೦೭. ಇವನ ಕಾಲದ ಶಾಸನಗಳೂ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವನ ನಂತರ ಆಳಿದ ರಾಜರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಇವನ ವಿಷಯವೇನೂ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆ ಮೇಲೆ ಇವನ ಮಗನಾದ ರಘುರಾಜನು ಸಿಂಹಾಸನವನ್ನೇರಿದನು. ಈತನು ಅನೇಕ ಸಮರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶತ್ರುಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಹರಿಸಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ನಿಷ್ಕಂಟಕವಾಗಿ ಪಾಲಿಸಿದನು; ಶ್ರುತಿಪಥ ನಿಪುಣನೂ ಕವಿಯೂ ದಾನಶೂರನೂ ಕಲಾಕುಶಲನೂ ಪ್ರಜಾಪ್ರಿಯನೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನು.[43]

ರಘುರಾಜನನಂತರ ಅವನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ವಹಿಸಿದನು. ಇವನು ಪ್ರಜಾಪಾಲನ ದಕ್ಷನೂ ದೇವದ್ವಿಜಗುರು ಪೂಜಾನಿರತನೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನು. ಇವನ ಪ್ರತಾಪವು ಸ್ವದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಪರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹಬ್ಬಿತ್ತು. ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧರಾದ ಗುಪ್ತರೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜರು ಇವನ ಸಹಾಯಾಪೇಕ್ಷಿಗಳಾಗಿ ಇವನೊಡನೆ ಬಾಂಧವ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬಯಸಿ ಶರೀರ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಿದರು. ಆಗಿನ ಕಾಲದ ರಾಜಮನೆತನಗಳ ಶಾಸನಗಳ[44] ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಯಿಂದ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಜನ ಹೆಣ್ಣು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗಳನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾದ ಕುಮಾರಗುಪ್ತನ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೧೫-೪೫೩) ಮಗ ಸ್ಕಂದಗುಪ್ತನಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು.[45] ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನಿಗಿಂತ ಮೊದಲೇ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಕುಮಾರಗುಪ್ತನು ತನ್ನ

ಸಮವಯಸ್ಕನೋ ಹಿರಿಯನೋ ಆಗಿದ್ದಿರಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದ ಅವನಿಗೆ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗಲಾರದು.[46]

ವಾಕಾಟಕ ಅರಸನಾದ ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನನು ಕುಂತಲ ರಾಜನ ಮಗಳಾದ ಅಜ್ಜಿತಭಟ್ಟಾರಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಬಾಲಾಘಾಟ್ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ.[47] ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನನ ಅಜ್ಜನಾದ ೨ನೆಯ ರುದ್ರಸೇನನು ೨ನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನ ಮಗಳಾದ ಪ್ರಭಾವತಿ ಗುಪ್ತೆಯನ್ನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೩೯೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವಾಹಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡನೆಂದು ವಿನ್ಸೆಂಟ್‌ಸ್ಮಿತರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[48] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ನರೇಂದ್ರ ಸೇನನ ಮದುವೆಯು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೪೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದು.[49] ಈ ಅಜ್ಜಿತ ಭಟ್ಟಾರಿಕೆಯು ಕದಂಬ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಮಗಳೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂತಲ ದೇಶವನ್ನಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಅರಸರು ಕದಂಬರಲ್ಲದೆ ಬೇರೆ ಯಾರೂ ಅಲ್ಲ. ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಪ್ರಣವೇಶ್ವರ ಗುಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಒಂದು ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ[50] ಭಟಾರಿ ವಂಶದ ಪಶುಪತಿ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥನು ಕದಂಬ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರಿಯ ಮಗನೆಂದೂ ಅವನು ಹತ್ತು ಜನ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕರ ನಾಯಕನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಕದಂಬ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರಿಯು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಮಗಳಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಆಕೆಯು ತನ್ನ ಮಗನಿಗೆ ತಂದೆಯ ಹೆಸರನ್ನಿಟ್ಟುದು ಸ್ವಾಭಾವಿಕವಾಗಿ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಗಂಗರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ವಿಷ್ಣುಗೋಪನ ಮಗನಾದ ೩ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವನು 'ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಜಿ'ಯಾದ ಕದಂಬ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಭಗಿನಿಯನ್ನು ವಿವಾಹವಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ.[51] ಡುಬ್ರಾಯಿಲರು ಇವನು ಕದಂಬ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[52] ಆದರೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅವಿನೀತನು ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಜಿಯಾದ ಕದಂಬ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಸೋದರಳಿಯನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ 'ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಜಿ'ಯೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣನಿಗಲ್ಲದೆ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಇದ್ದಿಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಅವಿನೀತನ ಸೋದರಮಾವನು ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಇದಲ್ಲದೆ ೩ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೪೦-೪೯೫ರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ[53] ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೫-೫೭೦ರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ[54] ಆಳಿದರೆಂದು ಅನೇಕ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಗಳಿಂದ ನಿರ್ಧಾರಿತವಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅವರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರಾಗುವುದು ಸಂಭಾವ್ಯವಲ್ಲ. ಈ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತಂಗಿಯೇ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಕಡೆಯ ಮಗಳಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥನ ಔರಸಪುತ್ರನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದರಿಂದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಅವನ ಮಲತಮ್ಮನಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಅವಿನೀತನ ತಾಯಿಯೂ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೂ ಒಡಹುಟ್ಟಿದವರಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.

ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಹೇಳುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಎರಡು ಮಾತ್ರ ದೊರೆತಿವೆ.[55] ಅವನು ಯುವರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗ್[6] ಅಂದರೆ ಅವನ ಅಣ್ಣನಾದ ರಘುರಾಜನು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರವನ್ನುವಹಿಸಿದ್ದಾಗ ಬರೆದ ಹಲಸಿಯ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನನ್ನು (ಯಾವುದೋ ಒಂದು ವಿಪತ್ತಿನಿಂದ) ಪಾರುಮಾಡಿದ ಸೇನಾಪತಿ ಶ್ರುತಕೀರ್ತಿಗೆ ಖೇಟಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಇವನು ಸ್ಥಾನಕುಂದೂರ(ತಾಳಗುಂದ)ದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿವಾಲಯದ ಹತ್ತಿರದ ಒಂದು ಕೆರೆಯನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ಈ ಶಿವಾಲಯದ ಈಶ್ವರನನ್ನು ಸಾತಕರ್ಣ್ಣಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜರು ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜಿಸಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಔರಸಪುತ್ರನಾದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ ನೃಪತಿಯ ಅಪ್ಪಣೆಯ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಕುಬ್ಜನೆಂಬ ಕವಿಯು ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಬರೆದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ.

ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ, ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮರೆಂಬ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಗಂಡು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರು.[57] ಅವರು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರವಾಗಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹಿಂದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಮೊದಲು ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯ ರಾಜರ ವೃತ್ತವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಆ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಮತ್ತು ಅವನ ವಂಶಜರ ಇತಿಹಾಸವನ್ನು ಬರೆಯುತ್ತೇವೆ. ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ''ಪಟ್ಟತ್ರಯಾರ್ಪಣವಿರಾಜಿತ ಚಾರುಮೂರ್ತ್ತೇಃ (ಮೂರು ಪಟ್ಟಗಳನ್ನು ಧರಿಸಿದ್ದವನು) ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ.[58] ಈ ಮೂರು ಪಟ್ಟಗಳಾವುವೆಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ಹಲಸಿಯ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ದುಷ್ಟವನಿತೆಯಂತೆ ಶತ್ರುಗೃಹದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಡಗಿದ್ದ ರಾಜ್ಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಯನ್ನು ಸೆಳೆದುತಂದನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಇವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮೃಗೇಶನು ತುಂಗ ಗಂಗರನ್ನೂ ಪಲ್ಲವರನ್ನೂ ಸೋಲಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಅದೇ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳುವುದರಿಂದ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯ ರಾಜರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಪಲ್ಲವರೂ ಗಂಗರೂ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಅಪಹರಿಸಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು (ಬನವಾಸಿ) ಇವನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತು.[59] ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆಯೂ ಕದಂಬರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.[60]

ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಬಳಿಕ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಅವನ ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನು ಅನೇಕ ಘೋರವಾದ ಯುದ್ಧಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಶತ್ರುಗಳನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹುಣಸೂರು ಹಲಸಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.[61] ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ

ಮೃಗೇಶನು 'ತುಂಗಗಂಗಕುಲೋತ್ಸಾದಿ'[62] ಎಂದೂ 'ಪಲ್ಲವ ಪ್ರಲಯಾನಲ'ನೆಂದೂ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಘೋರ ಯುದ್ಧಗಳು ಗಂಗ ಪಲ್ಲವರೊಡನೆ ನಡೆದುವುಗಳೇ ಇರಬಹುದು. ಹುಣಸೂರಿನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನು ''ಮಹತಿ ಸಮರಸಂಕಟೇ ಸ್ವಭುಜಲಪರಾಕ್ರಮಾವಾಪ್ತ ವಿಶಾಲವಿಭವೈಶ್ವರ್ಯಃ'' (ಭೀಕರವಾದ ಯುದ್ಧಪ್ರಸಂಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನು ಸ್ವಭುಜಬಲಪರಾಕ್ರಮಗಳಿಂದ ವಿಪುಲವಾದ ಐಶ್ವರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿದವನು) ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿತನಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಆ ಶತ್ರುಗಳನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ತನ್ನ ಮನೆತನದ ವೈಭವವನ್ನು ಉಳಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು. ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ಕಾಂಚೀಶನಾದ ಚಂಡದಂಡನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಂತು ಸುಖರಾಜ್ಯಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಅವನದೊಂದು ಶಾಸನವು[63] ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಪಲ್ಲವರು ಕದಂಬರ ರಾಜ್ಯವೈಭವವನ್ನು ಸಹಿಸಲಾರದೆ ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ಅವರೊಡನೆ ಕಾಳಗಗಳನ್ನು ಹೂಡಿ ಕೊನೆಗೆ ಪರಾಜಿತರಾದರೆಂದೂ ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು.

ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನು 'ದ್ವಿಜಸಾಮಂತ'ರಿಂದ ಪೂಜಿತನಾಗಿದ್ದನು.[64] ಈ ಸಾಮಂತರ ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ರವಿವರ್ಮರಾಜನ ತಾಯಿಯಾದ ಕೈಕೇಯ ಕುಲದ ಪ್ರಭಾವತಿಯು ಇವನ ರಾಣಿ.[65] ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ 'ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠ'ತನಯನೆಂದು ಇವನು ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದ[66] ಮೃಗೇಶನಿಗೆ ತಮ್ಮನು ಅಥವಾ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಕೂಡಗೇರಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದ ವಿಜಯಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮನು ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಒಬ್ಬ ತಮ್ಮನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.[67] ಮೃಗೇಶನಿಗೆ ರವಿವರ್ಮ, ಭಾನುವರ್ಮ, ಶಿವರಥ ಎಂಬ ಮೂವರು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರು.[68]

ಮೃಗೇಶನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು:

೧. ದೇವಗಿರಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:[69] - ರಾಜನು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಮೂರನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಪೌಷ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ, ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಬಹುಳ ದಶಮೀ ದಿನ ಉತ್ತರಾ ಭಾದ್ರಪದ ನಕ್ಷತ್ರದ ಪುಣ್ಯಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಅರ್ಹಂತರಿಗೆ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯದ ಸಂಮಾರ್ಜನೋಪಲೇಪನ ಭಗ್ನಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಗಳಿಗೋಸ್ಕರವಾಗಿ ಬೃಹತ್‌ಪರಲೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ನಲವತ್ತು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಎರೆಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನು.

೨. ದೇವಗಿರಿ ಶಾಸನವು:[70] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ಪಕ್ಷದ ಪೂರ್ಣಮಾ ತಿಥಿಯಂದು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಕಾಲವಂಗಾ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂರು ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿ, ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಅರ್ಹಂತರಿಗೆ ಮತ್ತು ಜಿತೇಂದ್ರ ದೇವರಿಗೆ, ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಶ್ವೇತಪಟ ಮಹಾಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ, ಉಳಿದುದನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಗ್ರಂಥ ಮಹಾಶ್ರಮಣ ಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಸೇನಾಪತಿ ನರವರನು ಬರೆದನು.

೩. ಹುಣಸೂರು ಶಾಸನವು:[71] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಏಳನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಮಾರ್ಗಶಿರಮಾಸ ಶುಕ್ಲಪಕ್ಷ ದಶಮೀ ದಿನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಥರ್ವವೇದದ ಔಪಗಹನಿಸಗೋತ್ರದ ಒಬ್ಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಕಿರುನೀರಲ್ಲಿ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯವಾಗಿಬಿಟ್ಟನು. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಿಂದ ಹೊರಟಿದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ಕೀರ್ತಿವರನು ಬರೆದನು. ಶಾಸನದ ಆದಿಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ''ಸುರಾಸುರಮುಕುಟ ಪ್ರಣಿಹಿತಮಣಿಕಿರಣಖಚಿತಚರಣಯುಗಃ ದಂಡಕಮಂಡಲುಹಸ್ತಃ ಪದ್ಮಪ್ರವರಾಸನೋ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಾ'' ಎಂದು ದಂಡಕಮಂಡಲುಹಸ್ತನೂ ಪದ್ಮಾಸನನೂ ಆದ ಚತುರ್ಮುಖಬ್ರಹ್ಮನ ಸ್ತೋತ್ರವಿದೆ.

೪. ಹಿರೇಶಕುನ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನವು:[72] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ವೈಶಾಖ ಪೌರ್ಣಮಿಯ ದಿನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಮಶರ್ಮಾರ್ಯನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಕಡಳಕಳನಿಯೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನೂ ವಾಸ್ತುಕ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವನ್ನೂ ಕೊಟ್ಟನು.

೫. ಹಲಸಿಯ ಶಾಸನವು:[73] ಮೃಗೇಶನು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವಾದ ವೈಶಾಖ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಪೂರ್ಣಿಮೆಯಂದು ತನ್ನ ತಂದೆಯ ಮೇಲಿನ ಭಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಜಿನಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ಯಾಪನೀಯ ನಿರ್ಗ್ರಂಥ ಕೂರ್ಚಕರ ಪೋಷಣೆಗಾಗಿ ಮಾತೃಸರಿತದಿಂದ ಇಂಗಿಣೀಸಂಗಮದವರೆಗಿನ ಮೂವತ್ತುಮೂರು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಅರ್ಹಂತರಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನು. ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಆಜ್ಞಪ್ತಿಯು ದಾಮಕೀರ್ತಿ ಭೋಜಕನು. ಆಯುಕ್ತಕನು ಸರ್ವಾಧಿಕಾರಿ ಜಿಯಂತನು.

೬. ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ:[74] ಇದು ಪ್ರಣವೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಾಲಯದ ಗರ್ಭಗೃಹದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಕಲ್ಲಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ರವಿವರ್ಮಧರ್ಮಮಹಾರಾಜನ ತಾಯಿಯಾದ ಪ್ರಭಾವತಿಯು ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ 'ಪ್ರಿಯ ಭಾರ್ಯೆ'ಯೆಂದೂ ಅವಳು 'ಕೈಕೇಯ ಮಹಾಕುಲ ಪ್ರಸೂತಿ'ಯೆಂದೂ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಶಾಸನವು ಅಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ

ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಮರಣಾನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಭಾವತೀ ದೇವಿಯು ಪತಿಭಕ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದಾಯವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅದನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಲಮೇಲೆ ಕೆತ್ತಿಸುವಾಗ ಏತಕ್ಕೋ ಅಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಉಳಿಸಿದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಬಳಿಕ ಅವನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತನು ಕದಂಬ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನವನ್ನೇರಿದನು. ಇವನ ಎರಡನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಕೂಡಗೇರಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಗುರುವಾದ (ದತ್ತಾನುಯೋಗ) ಕೌಂಡಿನ್ಯ ಗೋತ್ರದ ತೈತ್ತಿರೀಯ ಚರಣದ ದೇವಶರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಕೋಳಾಲ[75] ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ರಹಸ್ಯಾಧಿಕೃತ (Private Secretary) ದಾಮೋದರದತ್ತನು ಬರೆದನು. ಇದರ ಲಿಪಿಯು ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಹಲಸಿ ದೇವಗಿರಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳನ್ನು ಹೋಲುತ್ತದೆ.[76]

ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತನಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಮೃಗೇಶನ ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ರಾಜನಾದನು. ಇವನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜರನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಕಾಂಚೀಪತಿಯಾದ ಚಂಡದಂಡನನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮೂಲ ನಾಶಮಾಡಿ ಪಲಾಶಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸುಖದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದನು. ಈ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು[77] ಮತ್ತು ಚಂಡದಂಡನು ಯಾರೆಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ರವಿವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಭಾನುವರ್ಮ ಶಿವರಥರೆಂಬ ಇಬ್ಬರು ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಿದ್ದರು.[78] ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೋಜಕ ಪಂಡರನು ಭಾನುವರ್ಮರಾಜನ ಪ್ರಸಾದದಿಂದ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ರವಿವರ್ಮ ಭಾನುವರ್ಮರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಏಕೀಭವಿಸಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು. ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಚಿಕ್ಕಪ್ಪನಾದ ಶಿವರಥನ ಉಪದೇಶದಿಂದ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಅವನ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನವು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಶಿವರಥನು ಮೃಗೇಶನ ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲದ ಶಾಸನಗಳು:

೧. ನಿಲಂಬೂರು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:[79] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಐದನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಕಾರ್ತ್ತಿಕ ಪೂರ್ಣಿಮೆಯ ದಿವಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಜುರ್ವೇದಾಧ್ಯಾಯಿಯಾದ ಕಾಶ್ಯಪ ಗೋತ್ರದ ಗೋವಿಂದಸ್ವಾಮಿಯೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಮೊಗಲೂರ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕಿರುವಾಸಾನಿ ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಪೂರ್ವದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮುಳ್ತಗಿ, ಮಳ್ಕಾವು ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನು.

೨. ಹಲಸಿಯ ಶಾಸನವು:[80] ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಹನ್ನೊಂದನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಹೇಮಂತದ ಆರನೆಯ ಪಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ದಶಮೀ ತಿಥಿಯಂದು ರಾಜನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಭಾನುವರ್ಮಭೂಪನು ಪ್ರತಿಪೂರ್ಣಿಮೆಯ ದಿವಸವೂ ಶಾಶ್ವತವಾಗಿ ಜಿನಾಭಿಷೇಕ ನಡೆಯುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದೂ ಈ ಭಾನುವರ್ಮನ ಆಜ್ಞೆಯಿಂದ ಭೋಜಕ ಪಂಡರನು ಹಲಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹದಿನೈದು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದೂ ಬರೆದಿದೆ.

೩. ಸಿರಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನವು:[81] ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಮೂವತ್ತೈದನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾರ್ತ್ತಿಕಮಾಸ ಶುಕ್ಲಪಕ್ಷ ಪಂಚಮೀ ತಿಥಿಯಂದು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಿಯ ವೈದ್ಯನಾದ ನೀಲಕಂಠ ದೇಶಾಮಾತ್ಯನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಮಹಾದೇವಾಯತನಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾತೇಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಲ್ಕು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ.

೪. ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:[82] ದಾಮಕೀರ್ತಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಜಯಕೀರ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತೀಹಾರನು ತನ್ನ ಪಿತೃಗಳಿಗೆ ಪುಣ್ಯವಾಗಲೆಂದು ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಜಿನೇಂದ್ರನ ಪೂಜಾದಿಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಯಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೋಸ್ಕರ ಪುರುಖೇಟ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ದೇಶವಿಲ್ಲ.

೫. ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:[83] ರಾಜನು ದಾಮಕೀರ್ತಿಯ ಮಾತೆಯ ಪ್ರಸಾದದಿಂದ ಜಿನೇಂದ್ರಪೂಜೆಗಾಗಿ ನಾಲ್ಕು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನ ಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಇದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜರನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಸಮಸ್ತ ಪೃಥ್ವಿಯನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸಿ ಕಾಂಚೀಶನಾದ ಚಂಡದಂಡನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸವಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಾಲ ನಿರ್ದೇಶವಿಲ್ಲ.

೬. ಕವಡಿ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನವು:[84] ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ದೇಶವಿಲ್ಲ. ರವಿವರ್ಮನೂ ಅವನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯೂ ಸತ್ತರೆಂದು ಇದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ.

ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ನಂತರ ಅವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಸಿಂಹಾಸನವನ್ನೇರಿದನು. ಭಾನುಶಕ್ತಿಯೆಂಬ ಸೇಂದ್ರಕರಾಜನು ಇವನ ಸಾಮಂತನಾಗಿದ್ದನು.[85]

ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು:

೧ ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:[86] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಫಾಲ್ಗುಣ ಶುಕ್ಲ ತ್ರಯೋದಶೀ ತಿಥಿಯಂದು ಉಚ್ಚಶೃಂಗಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಭಾರದ್ವಾಜ ಗೋತ್ರದ ಸಿಂಹಸೇನಾಪತಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಮೃಗೇಶನು ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಅರ್ಹದಾಯತನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜಾದಿಗಳು ನಡೆಯುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಚಂದ್ರಕ್ಷಾಂತಪ್ರಮುಖ ವಾರಿಷೇಣಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಪಂಥದ ಕೂರ್ಚಕ ಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ ಸುದ್ದಿಕುಂದೂರು ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯ ವಸಂತವಾಟಕ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ಚಿಕ್ಕಪ್ಪನಾದ ಶಿವರಥನ ಉಪದೇಶದ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನು.

೨. ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಶಾಸನವು:[87] ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ಭಾನುಶಕ್ತಿಯ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪನೆಯ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಸಾಧುಜನರ ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕಾಗಿಯೂ ಅಹರಿಷ್ಟಿ ಎಂಬ ಶ್ರಮಣ ಸಂಘದ ಜಿನಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜಾದಿಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಯಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿಯೂ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಐದನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಮರದೇ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ದಾನ ಮಾಡಿದನು. ಧರ್ಮನಂದ್ಯಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಈ ಶ್ರಮಣ ಸಂಘದ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದರು.

೩. ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:[88] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಶ್ವಯುಜಾಮಾವಾಸ್ಯ ವಿಷುವದಂದು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಆಥರ್ವವೇದದ ನಾನಾ ಗೋತ್ರಗಳ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತಮೂರು ಜನ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ತೇದಾವ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನು. ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕಾಲಾಂಗಗಳು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೫ ಸೆಪ್ಟೆಂಬರ್ ೨೧ ಗುರುವಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿರುತ್ತವೆಂದು ಇದನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಸಿದ ರಾವ್ ಬಹದ್ದೂರ್ ಕೆ.ಎನ್. ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರವರು ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನೇ ಕದಂಬರ ಕಡೆಯ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಅವನಿಗೆ ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಇನ್ನು ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದಲ್ಲಿ[89] ಆಳಿದ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನಾದ ಯುವರಾಜ ದೇವವರ್ಮನ ದೇವಗಿರಿತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[90] ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಸಾಮಂತರಾಜ ವಿಶೇಷರತ್ನ ನಾಗವಂಶಜರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ನಾಗರು ಸಾತವಾಹನರ ಸಾಮಂತರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಡುಬ್ರಾಯಿಲರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ.[91] ಹೀಗಿದ್ದ ಪಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾತವಾಹನರ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಕೈಸೇರಿದಾಗ ಈ ನಾಗರು ಅವರ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕರಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಮುಂದೆ ಕದಂಬರು ಪಲ್ಲವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಕೆಲಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದಾಗ ಅವರು ಕದಂಬರ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು. ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಗರು ಕದಂಬರ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ದಂಗೆಯೆಬ್ಬಿಸಿದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆಗ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಅವರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕಸಿದುಕೊಂಡನೆಂದು ಮೇಲಿನ ಲಿಪಿಯಿಂದ ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು. ಸುಮಾರು ೫ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ ಒಂದು ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ[92] ನಣಕ್ಕಾಸ(?) ಪಲ್ಲವನಿಗೂ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ ರಾಜನಿಗೂ ತುಮುಲ ಯುದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಸೈನ್ಯವು ಭಗ್ನವಾಯಿತೆಂದೂ ಆ ಪ್ರಸಂಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವದೇಶ ಕ್ಷಯವಾಗಲು ಕೈಕಯ ವಂಶಜನಾದ ಶಿವನಂದವರ್ಮನು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಪರಾಭವದಿಂದ ನೊಂದು ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಪೂರ್ವ ವೈಭವವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿಯೇ ತೀರುವೆನೆಂದು ನಿಶ್ಚಯಿಸಿ ಉಗ್ರವಾದ ತಪಸ್ಸನ್ನಾಚರಿಸತೊಡಗಿದನೆಂದೂ ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಅವನ ಪರಾಜಯದಿಂದ ಸಂತಪ್ತನಾದ ಶಿವನಂದವರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬರಾಜನ ಬಂಧುವಾಗಿದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಕದಂಬ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಕೈಕೇಯ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರಿಯನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಕೈಕೇಯ ವಂಶದ ಈ ಶಿವನಂದವರ್ಮನು ಅವನ ಬಂಧುವಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಅಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ ಮತ್ತು ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಪ್ರತಿಕಕ್ಷಿಯಾಗಿ ಹೋರಾಡಿದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಆ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಕದಂಬರಾಜನೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಜಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ದೇವಗಿರಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ಹೆಬ್ಬಟ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ.[93] ಇವನು ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಮೇಲಿನ ತನ್ನ ವೈರವನ್ನು ತೀರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಮೇಲೆ ಈ ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಗವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿರಬಹುದು. ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನು 'ಪಲ್ಲವ ಪ್ರಲಯಾನಲ'ನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಪಲ್ಲವ ಪರಾಜಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವನು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಬೆಂಬಲವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು. ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯು ಕೈಕೇಯ ಕುಲದವಳೇ ಆಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಅವನು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ

ಪಿತೇಚ್ಛುವಾಗಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಎಂಟನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದುದರಿಂದ ಪಲ್ಲವರೊಡನೆ ಆದ ಯುದ್ಧವು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೮೦ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮುಂಚೆ ನಡೆದಿರಬೇಕು.

ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮ ದೇವವರ್ಮರೆಂಬ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಮಕ್ಕಳಿದ್ದರು. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ಕೈಕೇಯ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರಿಯ ಮಗನು.[94] ಬೀರೂರು ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[95] ಇವನು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ದೇವವರ್ಮನು ಯುವರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ದೇವಗಿರಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಯೌವರಾಜ್ಯ ಪದವಿಯು ಚಿಕ್ಕವನಾದ ದೇವವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಹೇಗೆ ಬಂದಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೇಳಲಿಕ್ಕಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತರುವಾಯು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನೂ ಅವನಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮನೂ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದರು. ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನಾದ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಬಹು ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತನಾದ ರಾಜನು. ಇವನು ಸ್ವಬಾಹುಬಲದಿಂದ ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿದನು. ಇವನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಏಳನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಅಂದರೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೫೨ರಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಬನ್ನಹಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[96] ಇವನು ಬಳ್ಳಾವಿ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕೋಳಾಲನಲ್ಲೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ವಿಷ್ಣುಶರ್ಮನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಬಳ್ಳಾವಿ ವಿಷಯವು ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ವಿಷಯದ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದ ಕದಂಬರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೫೨ಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆಯೇ ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ವಿಷಯದವರೆಗೂ ತಮ್ಮ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಹಬ್ಬಿಸಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಸಂತತಿಯ ರಾಜರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂತರ್ಗತವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಹತ್ತೊಂಬತ್ತನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಸಿರಸಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು ಇವನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ.[97] ಬೆಣ್ಣೂರು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು[98] ಕೃಷವರ್ಮನು ''ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯಯಾತ್ರಾಮಭಿಪ್ರಸ್ಥಿತಃ'' (ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯಯಾತ್ರೆಗಾಗಿ ಹೊರಟನು) ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದರಿಂದ ಅವನು ಹರಿವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಈ ಪ್ರಸಂಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕೈವಶಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರಬಹುದು. ಆದುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದಂತೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಲು ಶಕ್ಯವಾಯಿತು. ಬನ್ನಹಳ್ಳಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುವ ''ಸ್ವವೀರ್ಯ ಬಲಪರಾಕ್ರಮೋಪಾರ್ಜಿತರಾಜ್ಯಶ್ರಿಯಾ'' ಎಂಬ ವಿಶೇಷಣದಿಂದ ಅವನು ಸ್ವಬಾಹುಬಲದಿಂದ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು. ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಸಂಗೊಳ್ಳಿ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯವು[99] ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೫-ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ.೫೫೨ರ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸಿರಬೇಕು. ಬೆಣ್ಣೂರು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲಾಂಗಗಳು ಅಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿವೆ. ಅವು ಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಈ ಸಂಗತಿ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿದ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ನಿಃಸಂದೇಹವಾಗಿ ನಿಶ್ಚಯಿಸಬಹುದಾಗಿತ್ತು. ವೈಜಯಂತೀಪುರವು ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಕೈಸೇರಿದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ಪಾಡೇನಾಯಿತೆಂಬುದು ಗೊತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು:

೧. **ಬನ್ನಹಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು:**[100] ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಏಳನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಶುಕ್ಲಪಂಚಮಿಾ ಜೇಷ್ಠಾ ನಕ್ಷತ್ರದಂದು ತುರಿಯಲ್ಲ ಗೋತ್ರ ಪ್ರವರಗಳುಳ್ಳ ಹರಿದತ್ತ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠಿಯ ಉಪದೇಶದ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಕೌಶಿಕ ಗೋತ್ರದ ವಿಷ್ಣುಶರ್ಮನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ವಳ್ಳಾವಿ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಕೋಳಾಲನಲ್ಲೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನು.

೨. ಸಿರಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು: ರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಹತ್ತೊಂಬತ್ತನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಶುದ್ಧ ಪೌರ್ಣಮಿಯ ದಿನದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಸೋಮಯಾಜಿಯೂ ಋಗ್ವೇದ ಪಾರಗನೂ ಆದ ವಾರಾಹೀ ಗೋತ್ರದ ಸೋಮಸ್ವಾಮಿಯೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಕರವನ್ನಾಡ್ಗ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಗಿರಿಗಡ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಮುಕಪಲ್ಲಿಯನ್ನು ಸರ್ವಪರಿಹಾರವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನು.

೩. ಬೆಣ್ಣೂರು ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನವು: ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲವು ಪೌಷ ಶುಕ್ಲ ಪ್ರತಿಪದೆಯೆಂದು ಮಾತ್ರ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ದೋಷರಾಶಿವರ್ಮನೆಂದೂ ಇವನ ಅಜ್ಜನಾದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ವಿಷ್ಣುದಾಸನೆಂದೂ ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ರಾಜನು ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಮಡಿ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿಯ ರಾಜಭಾಗದ ದಶಬಂಧವನ್ನೂ ಹತ್ತು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನೂ ಭವಸ್ವಾಮಿಯೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯ ಯಾತ್ರೆಗೆ ಹೊರಟನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ[101] ದತ್ತಿಯು ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ಮೇಲೆ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಹಾಗಿದ್ದ ಪಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದರ ಕಾಲವು ರಾಜನ ಏಳನೆಯ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಹಿಂದೆ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು.[102]

ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತರುವಾಯ ಅವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಅಜವರ್ಮನೂ ಅವನಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಅವನ ಮಗ ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮನೂ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದರು. ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಮಗ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪನೆಯ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ತಗರೇ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ತಗರೇ ಮಹಾಗ್ರಾಮಾಂತರ್ಗತವಾದ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತನಾಲ್ಕು ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಿರುಕೂಡಲೂರನ್ನು ಕಶ್ಯಪ ಗೋತ್ರದ ಭೂತಶರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ತಗರೇ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.[103]

ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[104] ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನು ಉಚ್ಚಂಗಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಐದನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕಮಾಸ ಶುಕ್ಲಪಕ್ಷ ದ್ವಾದಶಿಯಂದು ಆತ್ರೇಯ ಗೋತ್ರದ ತ್ರಯಂಬಕಸ್ವಾಮಿಯೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಪಾಲ್ಗಳಿನಿ ಕಗ್ಗಿ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಕದಂಬವಂಶಾವಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರ ಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧಾರಮಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಕಾದಷ್ಟು ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ.[105] ಉಚ್ಚಶೃಂಗಿಯು ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹಲಸಿಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದಿದ್ದೇವೆ.

ಗೇರುಸೊಪ್ಪೆಯ ಜಲಪಾತದ ಹತ್ತಿರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಡೆಗಲ್ಲಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೊರೆದಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ[106] ಕದಂಬಕುಲದ ದಾಮೋದರನೃಪನ ನಿರ್ದೇಶನವಿದೆ. ಅವನು ಪಿತೃ ಭಕ್ತನೂ ಸತ್ಯೋತ್ಸಾಹಸಂಪನ್ನನೂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಶಾಲಿಯೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಲಿಪಿಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಇವನು ಕದಂಬರ ಕಡೆಯ ಕಾಲದವನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರ ೧ನೆಯ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯು ವಾತಾಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಐಹೊಳೆಯ ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇವನು ಕದಂಬರ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾಗಿದ್ದು ಅವರು ನಿರ್ಬಲರಾದ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನದೊಂದು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು.[107] ಇವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬ ಕದಂಬಕವನ್ನು ಚದುರಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅವನು ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಕೆಲಭಾಗವನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿರಬೇಕು. ಉಳಿದ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂದರೆ ಕೇವಲ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕಿದ್ದ ತಗರೇ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬ ಅಜವರ್ಮ ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮರು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮನ ತಗರೇ ಶಾಸನ[108]ದಿಂದ ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು. ೭ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಆದಿಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಂಗಲೇಶನ ಮರಣಾನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಂಟಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅರಾಜಕತೆಯ ಸಮಯವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಕದಂಬ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕರು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯ ಪತಾಕೆಯನ್ನು ನಟ್ಟಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಪ್ರಬಲನಾದ ೨ನೆಯ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯು ವರದಾನದಿಯ ದಡದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ವನವಾಸಿಯನ್ನೂ ಅನೇಕ ದುರ್ಗಗಳನ್ನೂ ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಉದ್ಧಟರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕದಂಬರಾಜರ ಹೆಮ್ಮೆಯನ್ನು ಮುರಿದನು. ಇಲ್ಲಿಂದಾಚೆಗೆ ಕದಂಬರು ಸಾಮಂತರಾಗಿಯೇ ಉಳಿದರು.

ಕದಂಬರ ರಾಜ್ಯವಿಸ್ತಾರ

ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮುದ್ರ, ಪೂರ್ವ ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರೇಹರ(?) ಇವುಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪಲ್ಲವರಿಂದ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡನೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಪ್ರೇಹರವು ಯಾವುದೆಂಬುದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ತಾಳಗುಂದವು ಕದಂಬರ ಮೂಲಸ್ಥಾನವಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರದೊಂದು ಪ್ರಾಕೃತ ಶಾಸನವು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಹಲಸಿ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಗಳು ಮೊದಲಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಅವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ, ಉತ್ತರ ಕನ್ನಡ, ಧಾರವಾಡ, ಬೆಳಗಾವಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳು ಕದಂಬರ ಆಧಿಪತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತದವರೆಗಿನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಪಲ್ಲವರು ಅವನಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತವನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು. ಉಚ್ಚಂಗಿದುರ್ಗವು[109] ಹರಿವರ್ಮ ಮಾಂಧಾತರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಅದು ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಈಶಾನ್ಯ ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಮಧ್ಯವರ್ತಿಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಬಾದಾಮಿಯು ಕದಂಬರ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯು ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾಗಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಹಿಂದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕೆಲಭಾಗವು ಕದಂಬರ ಆಳಿಕೆಗೊಳಪಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ಕೃತಕ ಬೀರೂರು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಸಿಂಧುಥಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಣ್ಣೇಸಕ ನದಿಯು ಇತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಸಿಂಧುಥಯರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವು ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ಕರ್ಣ್ಣೇಸಕ ನದಿಯು ಕೃಷ್ಣಾನದಿಯಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ರೈಸರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[110] ಬೀರೂರು ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ನಂಬುವುದಾದರೆ, ಉತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಂಧುಥಯರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವನ್ನು (ಇದು ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಸಿಂದಗಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಭಾಗವನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡಿರಬಹುದು) ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿಸಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

ವಿಜಯ ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮನು ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕೋಳಾಲ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಇದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಗಂಗ ಅವಿನೀತನ ಪಟ್ಟ ಮಹಿಷಿಯು ಮರುಕರ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಳ್ಳಳ್ಳಿ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಳೆಂದು ಅವನ ಶೃಂಗೇರಿ

ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.[111] ಈ ಮರುಕರ ವಿಷಯವು (ಮರುಗರ ನಾಡು) ತುಮಕೂರು ತಾಲೂಕಿನ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹಿರೇಗುಂಡಿಗಲ್ಲಿನ ವೀರಗಲ್ಲು ಆಧಾರದಿಂದ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಭಾಗವು ಕದಂಬರ ಸ್ವಾಧೀನದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು. ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಮೊಮ್ಮಗನಾದ ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮನು ತಗರೇ ಮಹಾಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಕೂಡಲೂರನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ತಗರೆಯು ಹಾಸನ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಬೇಲೂರು ತಾಲೂಕಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದೆ. ಆದಕಾರಣ ಹಾಸನದ ಉತ್ತರ ಭಾಗವು ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಮೇರೆಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಹೀಗೆ ಉತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಜಾಪುರಜಿಲ್ಲೆ, ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲ, ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಸನ, ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ ಮತ್ತು ಸಮುದ್ರ - ಇವುಗಳ ಮೇರೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರದೇಶವನ್ನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪-೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಡಳಿತೆಯ ಸೌಕರ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಅನೇಕ ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳಾಗಿ ವಿಂಗಡಿಸಿದ್ದರು. ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು 'ವಿಷಯ' ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಸುದ್ದಿಕುಂದೂರು ವಿಷಯ, ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ವಿಷಯ, ವಳ್ಳಾವಿ ವಿಷಯ, ಕರವನ್ನಾಡ್ಗ ವಿಷಯ, ತಗರೇ ವಿಷಯ, ಮೊಗಲೂರು ವಿಷಯಗಳೆಂಬ ಆರು ಭಾಗಗಳು ಅವರ ಲಿಪಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿವೆ. ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಅರ್ಹದಾಲಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸುದ್ದಿಕುಂದೂರು ವಿಷಯದೊಳಗಿನ ವಸಂತವಾಟಕ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಹರಿವರ್ಮನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಪಲಾಸಿಕೆಯು ಸುದ್ದಿಕುಂದೂರು ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿರಬಹುದು. ಕರವನ್ನಾಡ್ಗ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಗಿರಿಗಡ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಮಕಪಲ್ಲಿಯು ಸೇರಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಈ ವಿಷಯವು ಉತ್ತರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೇ ಸೇರಿದ ಸಿರಸಿ ತಾಲೂಕಿನ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ತಾಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕರವನ್ನಾಡ್ಗವು ಕರೂರು ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಗಿರಿಗಡವು ಗಿರಿಗಡ್ಡೆ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಈಗಲೂ ಇರುತ್ತವೆ. ಸೇಂದ್ರಕವಿಷಯವು ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ಉತ್ತರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ವಳ್ಳಾವಿ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೋಳನಲ್ಲೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮವಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ. ಈ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗೆ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಚನ್ನಗಿರಿಯ ಹತ್ತಿರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಲ್ಲೂರೆಂದು ರೈಸರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[112] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಚನ್ನಗಿರಿಯ ಸುತ್ತಣ ಪ್ರದೇಶವು ವಳ್ಳಾವಿ ವಿಷಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿರಬೇಕು. ಹಾಸನ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಬೇಲೂರು ತಾಲೂಕಿನ ತಗರೇಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತನಾಲ್ಕು ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನೊಳಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ತಗರೇ ಮಹಾಗ್ರಾಮವು ತಗರೇ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ತಗರೇ ವಿಷಯವು ಬೇಲೂರು ತಾಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಮುಳ್ತಗಿ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಮೊಗಲೂರು ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ನಿಲಂಬೂರು ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಹರಪನ ಹಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮುತ್ತಗಿ ಎಂಬ ಹಳ್ಳಿ ಇದೆ. ಇದು ಮುಳ್ತಗಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬಹುದು. ಗೋಪೀನಾಥರಾಯರು ಇದು ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕೆ ಐದು ಮೈಲುಗಳ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬದನಸೊಪ್ಪೆಯ ಪಕ್ಕದ ಮುತ್ತಗಿಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿಲ್ದಾರೆ.[113] ಆದರೆ ಈ ಪ್ರದೇಶವು ಗಂಗರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿತ್ತು.

ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಗಳು

ಕ್ರಿಸ್ತಶಕದ ೪ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈದಿಕ ಬೌದ್ಧಧರ್ಮಗಳೆರಡೂ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದುವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಕದಂಬರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಧರ್ಮದ ಪ್ರಚಾರವು ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆಗಿನ ರಾಜರು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬೌದ್ಧ ದತ್ತಿಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಗೋಚರವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಜೈನಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಜಾಶ್ರಯವಿದ್ದಿತು. ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜರು ಜೈನ ಸಂಘಗಳಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದಾನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಗಂಗರು ಜೈನರಾಗಿದ್ದು ತಮ್ಮ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹದಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ವಿಷಯವು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಕದಂಬರ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ದತ್ತಿಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಗಂಗರು ಮಾಡಿದ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯ ದಾನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ವೈದಿಕ ಧರ್ಮಕ್ಕೂ ಉತ್ತೇಜನವಿತ್ತೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಗವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದುದು ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿ. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಜೈನರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾಪನೀಯ, ನಿರ್ಗ್ರಂಥ, ಕೂರ್ಚಕ, ಶ್ವೇತಪಟ, ಅಹರಿಷ್ಟಿ ಸಂಘಗಳೆಂಬ ಪಂಗಡಗಳಿದ್ದವು. ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯೇ ಇವರ ಕೇಂದ್ರವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನಿಂದ ಖೇಟ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದ ಶ್ರುತಕೀರ್ತಿ ಸೇನಾಪತಿ, ದಾಮಕೀರ್ತಿ ಭೋಜಕ, ಅವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಜಯಕೀರ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತೀಹಾರ, ಶ್ರೀಕೀರ್ತಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಜೈನ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮ ರವಿವರ್ಮರ ಲಿಪಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಒಂದು ಅಥವಾ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ನಿರಾಬಾಧ ಸ್ವಾಮ್ಯವುಳ್ಳವರೇ ಭೋಜಕರು.[114] ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ದಾಮಕೀರ್ತಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಭೋಜಕರ ವಂಶಸ್ಥಾಪಕರು 'ನಿಮಿತ್ತಜ್ಞಾನಪಾರಗ'ರಾದ ಬಂಧುಷೇಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರು.[115] ಜಯಕೀರ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತೀಹಾರನು ಹಲಸಿಯ ಜಿನೇಂದ್ರನ ಉತ್ಸವಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಪುರುಖೇಟಕಗ್ರಾಮದ ಧನಾದಾಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಕಾರ್ತಿಕ ಮಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಣ್ಣಿಮೆಯವರೆಗೆ ಎಂಟು ದಿನಗಳ ಉತ್ಸವವನ್ನು ನಡೆಯಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಮಳೆಗಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಲ್ಕು ತಿಂಗಳು ಕಾಲ ಯಾಪನೀಯ ಸಂಘದ ತಪೋಧನರು ಉಪಭೋಗಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಮಾಡಿದನು. ಕುಮಾರದತ್ತ ಪ್ರಮುಖರಾದ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಗಣವು ಈ ವ್ಯವಸ್ಥೆಯನ್ನು ಪಾಲಿಸತಕ್ಕುದೆಂದು ಆಜ್ಞೆಮಾಡಿದನು. ಹಲಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಅರ್ಹದಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿ ವರ್ಷ ಎಂಟು ದಿವಸಗಳವರೆಗೆ ಮಹಾಮಹೋತ್ಸವವನ್ನು ನಡೆಯಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೂ ಸಂಘದ ಆಹಾರ ದಾನಕ್ಕೂ

ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ವಸಂತವಾಟಕ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಗಿರಿವರ್ಮನು ವಾರಿಷೇಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರಿಂದ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತವಾದ ಕೂರ್ಚಕ ಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಮುಖರಾದ ಚಂದ್ರಕ್ಷಾಂತಾಚಾರ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನು. ಇದೇ ರಾಜನು ಅಹರಿಷ್ಟಿ ಶ್ರಮಣ ಸಂಘದ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂಜಾ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಾದಿಗಳಿಗಾಗಿಯೂ ಸಾಧುಜನೋಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕಾಗಿಯೂ ಮರದೇ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಧರ್ಮನಂದ್ಯಾಚಾರ್ಯರ ವಶಕ್ಕೆ ಒಪ್ಪಿಸಿದನು. ದೇವವರ್ಮನು ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅರ್ಹದಾಲಯದ ಭಗ್ನ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಸಿದ್ಧಕೇದಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಹನ್ನೆರಡು ನಿವರ್ತನಗಳ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಯಾಪನೀಯಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟನು. ಅಂತು ಜೈನರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾಪನೀಯ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸಂಘಗಳಿದ್ದುವೆಂದೂ ಬಂದುಷೇಣ, ಧರ್ಮನಂದಿ, ಕುಮಾರದತ್ತ, ಚಂದ್ರಕ್ಷಾಂತ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಕಾಲಜ್ಞಾನಿಗಳೂ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಪಾರಗರೂ ಆದ ಅನೇಕ ಆಚಾರ್ಯರಿಗೆ ರಾಜಾಶ್ರಯವಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದು ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಕೊಂಡಕುಂದಾನ್ವಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪಕರಾದ ಕೊಂಡಕುಂದಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಶಿವಕುಮಾರ ಮಾಹಾರಾಜನ ಗುರುಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಬಾಲಚಂದ್ರನು ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಭೃತಸಾರದ ಪೀಠಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ.[116] ಈ ಶಿವಕುಮಾರ ಮಹಾರಾಜನು ಕದಂಬ ಮಾಂಧಾತ ರಾಜನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮನಾಗಿರಬಹುದು.

ಒಬ್ಬ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜನು ಕೊಂಡಮಾನ ವಂಶದ ಶಿವನಾಗದತ್ತನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನಿಗೆ ಹದಿಮೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹಿಂದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನು ಸ್ಥಾನಕುಂದೂರಿನ ಪ್ರಣವೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಾಲಯದ ಹತ್ತಿರ ಒಂದು ಕೆರೆಯನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನು. ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮ, ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮ, ರವಿವರ್ಮ, ಹರಿವರ್ಮ, ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರಾಜರು ಅನೇಕ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮದೇಯಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತೃವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ದೇವಶರ್ಮನೆಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣನು ಗುರುವಾಗಿದ್ದನು.

ಹೀಗೆ ಕದಂಬರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಜೈನ ವೈದಿಕ ಧರ್ಮಗಳೆರಡೂ ರಾಜಾಶ್ರಯದಿಂದ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದುತ್ತಲಿದ್ದುವು. ಕದಂಬರು ವೈದಿಕ ಧರ್ಮಾವಲಂಬಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದಲೂ ''ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಾವಭೃತಾಭಿಷಿಕ್ತಾನಾಂ'' ಎಂಬ ಅವರ ವರ್ಣನೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಪ್ರಜೆಗಳ ಧರ್ಮವನ್ನು ಪಾಲಿಸುವುದು ರಾಜರ ಕರ್ತವ್ಯವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಕದಂಬರು ಅನ್ಯಧರ್ಮಿಯರಿಗೂ ಸಮದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಪ್ರೋತ್ಸಾಹವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.

ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಶ್ರುತಕೀರ್ತಿ ಸೇನಾಪತಿ, ಸಿಂಹ ಸೇನಾಪತಿ, ರಹಸ್ಯಾಧಿಕೃತ ದಾಮೋದರದತ್ತ, ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ವೈದ್ಯನಾದ ನೀಲಕಂಠ ದೇಶಾಮಾತ್ಯ, ಆಯುಕ್ತಕ ಜಯಂತ, ಆಜ್ಞಪ್ತಿ ದಾಮಕೀರ್ತಿ ಭೋಜಕ, ಜಯಕೀರ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತೀಹಾರರೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇವರ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ನಮಗೆ ಇನ್ನೇನೂ ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕದಂಬರ ಕಾಲದ ವಾಸ್ತುಶಿಲ್ಪದ ಪರಿಚಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧನಗಳು ಕಡಮೆ. ಐಹೊಳೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಲಾಡಖಾನ್ ಗುಡಿಯು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸುಮಾರು ೪೫೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಎ.ಕೆ.ಕುಮಾರಸ್ವಾಮಿಯವರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಪ್ರದೇಶವು ಕದಂಬರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತು. ಆದರೆ ಈ ದೇವಾಲಯವನ್ನು ರಾಜಮನೆತನದವರು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದರೋ ಇಲ್ಲವೋ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಗುಡಿಗೆ ಶಿಖರವಿಲ್ಲ. ಮಾಳಿಗೆಯು ಬೌದ್ಧ ಚೈತ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಬರುವ ಕಮಾನುಗಳನ್ನುಳ್ಳದ್ದಾಗಿದೆ. ದೇವಾಲಯದ ಮುಂಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕಂಬಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ನದೀ ದೇವಿಯ ವಿಗ್ರಹಗಳು ಕೆತ್ತಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಮಾಳಿಗೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಸೂರ್ಯ ದೇವರಿಗೋಸ್ಕರ ಒಂದು ಸಣ್ಣ ಗುಡಿಯುಂಟು. ಗೋಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬೊಂಬೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೆತ್ತಿದ ಗೂಡುಗಳಿವೆ. ಇದೇ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ದುರ್ಗಾ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನವೂ ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ್ದೆಂದು ಈ ಪಂಡಿತರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವು.[117] ಇದೂ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯಗಳ ಮಾದರಿಯನ್ನು ಅನುಸರಿಸಿ ಕಟ್ಟಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಶಿಖರವಿದ್ದರೂ ಅದು ಗುಡಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಬಹಳ ಕಾಲಾನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ರಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅವರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇದರಂತೆಯೇ ಶಿಖರವಿಲ್ಲದ ಕೊಂತಗುಡಿ, ಹುಚ್ಚಿಮಲ್ಲಿಗುಡಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಇನ್ನೂ ಕೆಲವು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನಗಳು ಐಹೊಳೆಯಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಆದರೆ ಅವು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ಮಿತವಾದವುಗಳೋ ಅಲ್ಲವೋ ನಿಶ್ಚಯವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಗಳು

(೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನ)

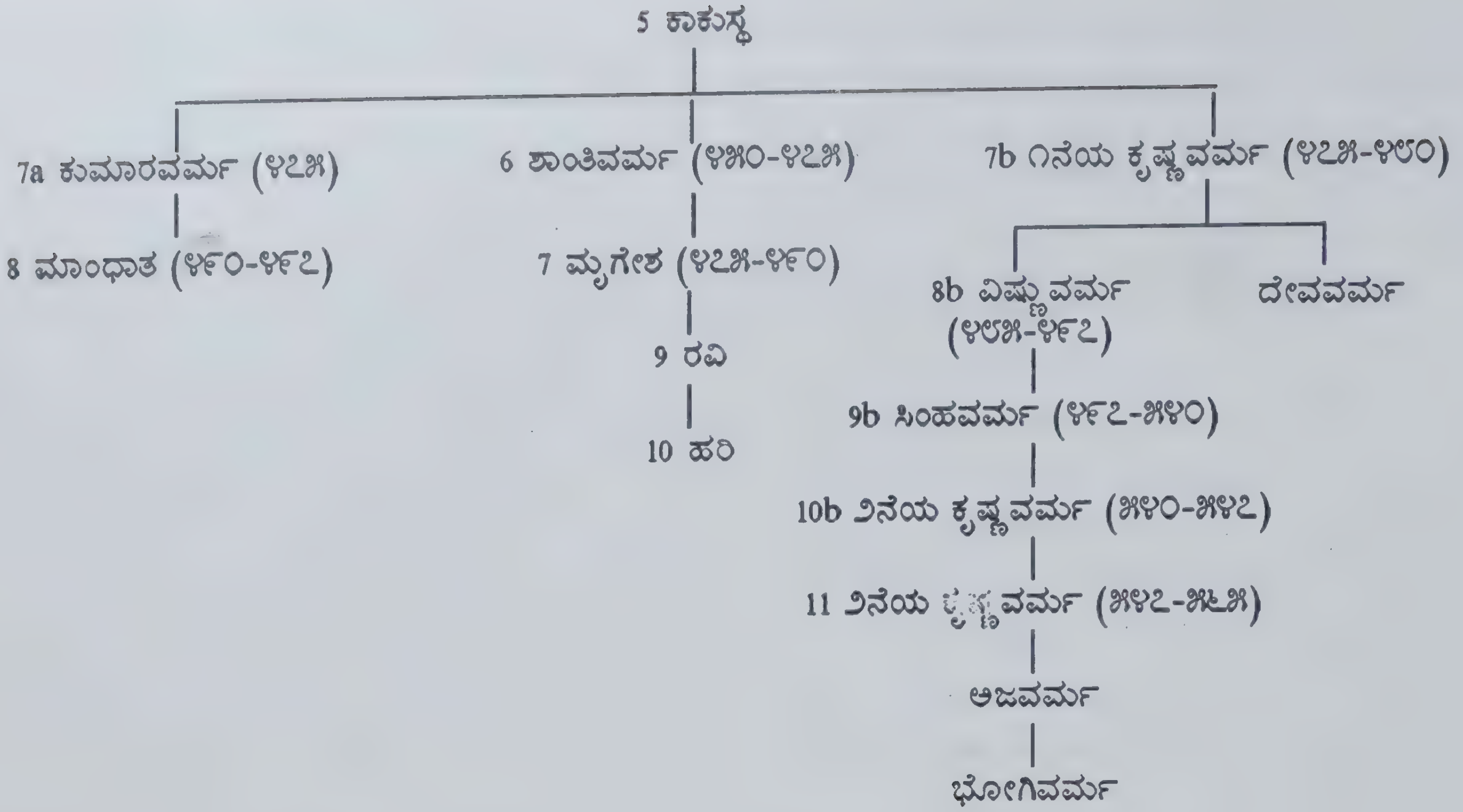
ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಕದಂಬರು ೬ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಲಹೀನರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಈ ಸಮಯವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಮನೆತನದ ೧ನೆಯ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯು ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಯಕಟ್ಟಿನ ಮೆಟ್ಟಾದ ವಾತಾಪಿ ಪಟ್ಟಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರನಾದನು. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಅರಸುಮನೆತನವೆಂದರೆ ಗಂಗರದು. ಇವರು ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಮತ್ತು ಪೂರ್ವಕ್ಕಿರುವ

ಮೈಸೂರು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಭಾಗವನ್ನೂ ಅನಂತಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕೆಲ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನೂ ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಕಡೂರು, ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗ ಮತ್ತು ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಕನ್ನಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುವರು ಶಿವಮೊಗ್ಗ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಪೊಂಬುಚ್ಚ (ಹುಂಚ)ವನ್ನು ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಪಿಠಾಪುರದಿಂದ ದೆಂದಲೂರು ಅಥವಾ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾನದಿಯವರೆಗಿರುವ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ವಿಷ್ಣುಕುಂಡಿ ರಾಜರು ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಉತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾನದಿ, ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾವೇರೀ ನದಿ, ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಮುದ್ರ, ಪಶ್ಚಿಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬ ಗಂಗರಾಜ್ಯಗಳೇ ಮೇರೆಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರಿದ್ದರು. ಇವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಕಾಂಚೀ ಪಟ್ಟಣವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಇದರ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕೆ ಚೋಳರು ಉರಗಪುರದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯರು ಮಧುರೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಇವರ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಕ್ಕೆ ಮಲೆಯಾಳ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇರಳರು ರಾಜರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಎಲಿಮಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮೂಷಕರು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಇನ್ನು ಉತ್ತರಕ್ಕೆ ಅಂದರೆ ಸಮುದ್ರದ ತೀರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಪುರಿ(ಪೋರ್ ಬಂದರ್)ಯೇ ಮುಖ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಣವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕೊಂಕಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೌರ್ಯರೂ ಲಾಟ(ಗುಜರಾತ, ಮಾಳವದೇಶದ ಭಾಗಗಳು)ದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟಚ್ಚುರಿ(ಕಲತ್ಸುರಿ)ಗಳೂ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ನಳರು ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜನಾದ ಭವದತ್ತವರ್ಮನ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಇವನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ನಂದಿವರ್ಧನವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ನಂದಿವರ್ಧನವು ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿದೆಯೆಂದು ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದ ಗುಪ್ತೆಯವರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[118] ಇವರ ಶಿಲಾಲಿಪಿಗಳು ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಅಧಿಪತ್ಯದ ಜಯಪುರ ಏಜನ್ಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪೊಡಾಗಡ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿವೆ.[119] ಪೂರ್ವ ಸಮುದ್ರದ ಹತ್ತಿರ ಪಿಠಾಪುರದ ಮೇಲ್ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಳಿಂಗರೂ ಅವರ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ದಿಕ್ಕಿನ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯವರಾಗಿ ಕೋಸಲರೂ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ರಾಜರು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರು ವಾತಾಪಿ ನಗರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದರು.

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳು

1. Hultzsch, *Inscription of Aśōka*, p. xxxviii, ಕೊಪ್ಪಳದ ಹತ್ತಿರ ಪಾಲ್ಕಿಗುಂಡು ಗವಿಮಠಗಳ ಬಂಡೆಗಲ್ಲುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಅಶೋಕನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಇರುತ್ತವೆಂದು ಇತ್ತೀಚೆಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯಬಂದಿದೆ. ಇವು *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿವೆ.
2. ಅಶೋಕನು ಮಹಿಷಮಂಡಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಚಾರಕರನ್ನು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಬೌದ್ಧ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಮಹಿಷಮಂಡಲವು ಮೈಸೂರೆಂದು ಕೆಲವರು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಇದು ವಿಂಧ್ಯಪರ್ವತದ ಸಾಲಿನ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕೆ ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ನಿಮೂರ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಖಾಂಡ್ವಾ ತಹಸೀಲಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈಗಿನ ಮಾಂಧಾತವೆಂದೂ ಪತಂಜಲಿ ಮಹಾಭಾಷ್ಯ, ಮಹಾಭಾರತ, ಸುತ್ತನಿಪಾತ, ರಘುವಂಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ಮಾಹಿಷ್ಮತಿಯೇ ಈ ಮಹಿಷಮಂಡಲವೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 425ff, 1911, p. 816 and 1912, p. 246.
3. *Śravaṇa Beḷagoḷa Inscriptions*, Second Edition, pp. 36-42. ಆದರೆ ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಈ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 22, *JRAS.*, 1909, p. 23 and *Ibid.*, 1911, p. 816.
4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 152ff.
5. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1195.
6. *Ibid.*, No. 1186. ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊರೆದಿರುವ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆತನ ಹೆಸರು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿಲ್ಲ. ಒಂದು ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾನವ್ಯಗೋತ್ರನೂ ಹಾರೀತಿಪುತ್ರನೂ ಆದ ಸಿವಖದವಮ್ಮ (ಸಿವಸ್ಕಂದವರ್ಮ)ನು ವೈಜಯಂತೀಪತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇವನು ಸಾತಸಿವಖದ ನಾಗಸಿರಿಯೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಪಂಡಿತರ ಊಹೆ. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVI, pp. 154-155).
7. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 2.
8. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1909, pp. 29 and 30.
9. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 231.
10. *Arch. Survey of Western India*, Vol. IV, pp. 124ff.
11. ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

12. ಮಳವಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕದಂಬ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ಸಿವಖದವಮ್ಮನು ಬನವಾಸಿ ಲಿಪಿಯ ಸಾತಸಿವಖದನೇ ಆಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಇವೆರಡರ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೂ ಇದ್ದ ಅಂತರವು ತೀರ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ.
13. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,*, p. 77.
14. ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಾಸನ; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 24ff.
15. ಇದೇ ಕಾಲದ ಗೋವೆಯ ಕದಂಬರ ಮೂಲಪುರುಷನಾದ ತ್ರಿಲೋಚನ ಕದಂಬ (ಜಯಂತ)ನು ತ್ರಿಪುರಾಸುರ ಸಂಹಾರಾನಂತರ ಶಿವನ ಹಣೆಯಿಂದ ಕದಂಬ ಮರವೊಂದರ ಬುಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿದ್ದ ಬೆವರಿನಿಂದ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಹಾನಗಲ್ಲು ಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಮುಕ್ಕಣ್ಣ ಕದಂಬನು ಶಿವಭೂದೇವಿಯರಿಗೆ ಜನಿಸಿದ ಪುತ್ರನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಪರಶುರಾಮನು ಹೈಗ-ತುಳುನಾಡುಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದ ಕೆಲವು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಬಳಿಕ ಪಾರ್ವತೀ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರರು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಘಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಸಹ್ಯಾದ್ರಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ಒಂದು ವೃಕ್ಷದ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕ್ರೀಡಿಸುವಾಗ ಒಂದು ಗಂಡು ಶಿಶುವು ಹುಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದೂ ಅದರಿಂದ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಕದಂಬ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಬಂದಿತೆಂದೂ ಒಂದು ಐತಿಹ್ಯವಿದೆ. ಈ ಕಥೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೀಗೆ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸಗಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಇವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯ ತರುವಾಯ ಬಹುಕಾಲವಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಂಬಿಕೆಗರ್ಹವಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳು ಇವೆಯೋ ಇಲ್ಲವೋ ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.
16. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 48, Note 4. ಕೀಲ್ಹಾರ್ನರು ಬೇರೆ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ''ಸ್ವಾಧ್ಯಾಯಚರ್ಚೆಯ ಬದಲು ದುಷ್ಟನಿಗ್ರಹ ಶಿಷ್ಟಪರಿಪಾಲನೆಯೇ ಮುಖ್ಯವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದಿದ್ದವರು'' ಎಂದು ಅದರ ತಾತ್ಪರ್ಯ (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 15).
17. ಕೆಲ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಇವರು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಬರೆಯುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲ. 'ಅಹೋ ಬತ ಕ್ಷತ್ರಾತ್ಪರಿಪೇಲವಾ ವಿಪ್ರತಾ' ಎಂಬ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ಉದ್ಗಾರದಿಂದ ಅವನು ವಿಪ್ರನೆಂದೇ ದೃಢವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಶರ್ಮ ಎಂಬ ಉಪಪದವನ್ನು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಲ್ಲದೆ ಅನ್ಯರು ಧರಿಸಲಾರರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಜ್ಞಾಪಕದಲ್ಲಿಡಬೇಕು. (ಮನುಸ್ಮೃತಿ: ಅಧ್ಯಾಯ. ೨, ಶ್ಲೋಕ ೩೨)
18. *Ind. Ant.,* Vols. VII, p. 35 and VI, p. 24.
19. R. Sewell: *The Siddhāntas and the Indian Calender.*
20. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XV, pp. 247 and 248.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 248.
22. ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ.
23. ಮುಂದೆ 330ನೆಯ ಪುಟವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ.
24. *Dynasties of the Kanarese District,* p. 291.
25. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VII, pp. 33ff.
26. *Ibid.,* p. 35; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 14; *Ibid.,* Vol. VIII, p. 146; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 29; *Ibid.,* pp. 30 and 31.
27. *Ibid.,* p. 25; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIV, p. 163.
28. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 18; *EP. Carn.,* Vol. V, p. 827.
29. ಫ್ಲೀಟರು 'ಪಂಚಮೋಲೋಕಪಾಲಃ' ಎಂಬ ಪದಗಳನ್ನು ಐದನೆಯ ದಿಕ್ಪಾಲಕನೆಂದು ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಇದರಿಂದ ಇವನು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧನಾದ ರಾಜನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದೇ ವಿನಾ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರಲ್ಲಿ ಐದನೆಯವನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಯುಕ್ತವಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*J.R.A.S.,* 1905, p. 291).
30. *Mysore Archaeological Report,* 1911, p. 31.
31. ಮುಂದೆ ನೋಡಿರಿ.
32. ಮೋರೆಸರ 'ಕದಂಬ ಕುಲ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯು ಹೀಗೆ ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ:-


5 ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥ
7a ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮ (೪೭೫)
6 ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ (೪೫೦-೪೭೫)
7b ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ (೪೭೫-೪೮೦)
8 ಮಾಂಧಾತ (೪೯೦-೪೯೭)
7 ಮೃಗೇಶ (೪೭೫-೪೯೦)
8b ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮ (೪೮೫-೪೯೭)
ದೇವವರ್ಮ
9 ರವಿ
10 ಹರಿ
9b ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮ (೪೯೭-೫೪೦)
10b ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ (೫೪೦-೫೪೭)
11 ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ (೫೪೭-೫೬೫)
ಅಜವರ್ಮ
ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮ

ಈ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಸಮರ್ಥಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಗ್ರಂಥಕರ್ತರು ಈ ರೀತಿ ವಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ:- ಮೃಗೇಶನು ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಕಾಲ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದನು. ಅವನು ಸಾಯುವಾಗ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ಅಲ್ಪ ವಯಸ್ಕನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಇದನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮನು (ಇವನು ಉಚ್ಚಶೃಂಗಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದನು) ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದನು. ಅವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮಾಂಧಾತನು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಕೂಡಗೇರಿ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನು. ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವಯಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಬಂದಮೇಲೆ ಮಾಂಧಾತನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡನು. ಇತ್ತ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರನಾಗಿ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನ ಮರಣಾನಂತರ ಆಳತೊಡಗಿದನು. ಇವನನ್ನು ನಣಕ್ಕಾಸ ಪಲ್ಲವನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ತನ್ನ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದನು. ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಮರಣಾನಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ನಣಕ್ಕಾಸಪಲ್ಲವನ ಮಗನಾದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಭಿಷೇಕವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದನು. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ಮೃಗೇಶನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕಧಿಪತಿಯಾಗಲು ಹವಣಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದನು. ಆದರೆ ಆಗ ಅವನ ಮನೋರಥವು ಈಡೇರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಮುಂದೆ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ರಾಜನಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಆ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದ ಶಾಂತಿವರನ ಮಗ ಚಂಡದಂಡನ ಸಹಾಯದಿಂದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯ ಅರಸನ ಮೇಲೆ ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿಹೋದನು. ಶೂರನಾದ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಚಂಡದಂಡನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದನು. ಇವನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬರಾಜ್ಯದ ಮೂರು ಭಾಗಗಳು ಇವನ ಆಳ್ವಿಕೆಗೆ ಒಳಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದವು. ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮನು ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾಗಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರನಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೋ ಮೂಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನಾದ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಸಂತಾನವಿಲ್ಲದುದರಿಂದ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಇಡೀ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದನು. ಅಥವಾ ಸುಮಾರು ೫೪೭ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ರವಿವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು.

ಆದರೆ ಈ ಊಹೆಯು ಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲ್ಪಿತಸಂಬಂಧಗಳೂ ಆಧಾರವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಅಂಗೀಕೃತವಾದ ವಿಷಯಗಳೂ ಅನೇಕವಾಗಿವೆ. ಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಕುಮಾರವರ್ಮನು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥನ ಮಗನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಲು ಬಲವಾದ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ಅಲ್ಪ ವಯಸ್ಕನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಕುಮಾರನು ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಕೇವಲ ಊಹೆ. ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ತಾಯಿ ಕೈಕೇಯ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರಿ. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ತಾಯಿಯೂ ಕೈಕೇಯ ವಂಶದವಳೇ. ಬಲವಾದ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಗಳಿಲ್ಲದೆ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಯುಕ್ತವಲ್ಲ. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನೂ ಪಲ್ಲವ ಚಂಡದಂಡನೂ ಕೂಡಿಕೊಂಡು ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಮೇಲೆ ಯುದ್ಧವನ್ನು ಹೂಡಿದರೆಂದು ಹಲಸಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ನಣಕ್ಕಾಸಪಲ್ಲವನೂ ಶಾಂತಿವರ ಚಂಡದಂಡರೂ ತಂದೆ ಮಕ್ಕಳೆಂದು ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ.

ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ಉಚ್ಚಶೃಂಗಿ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತಗಳ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಾಗ ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮನೂ ಅವನ ಮಗ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೂ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೦-೪೭ರ ವರೆಗೆ) ಎಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಅಧಿಕಾರದಿಂದ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು? ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲ ಅವರು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರರಾಜರಂತೆ ವರ್ಣಿತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮೃಗೇಶನ ತರುವಾಯ ಕದಂಬ ಮನೆತನದ ಮೂರು ಶಾಖೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಸ್ಪರ ಭ್ರಾತೃ ಕಲಹವೂ ಅರಸೊತ್ತಿಗೆಗಾಗಿ ಕೊಲೆಗಳೂ ನಡೆದಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸುವುದು ಇತಿಹಾಸ ರಚನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಯುಕ್ತವಲ್ಲ.

33. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, pp. 264ff.

34. "ವಿಜಯಶಿವಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನ ಕೂಡಗೇರಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳು ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ದೇಶದ ಲಿಪಿಯ ಜಾತಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದವು. ಪೆಟ್ಟಿಗೆಯ ಆಕೃತಿಯ ತಲೆಕಟ್ಟುಳ್ಳವು (Box-headed). ಅವು ಸಾಧಾರಣವಾಗಿ ಕದಂಬ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ಹಲಸಿ ಮತ್ತು ನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ದೇವಗೇರಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಲಿಪಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹೋಲುತ್ತವೆ" ಎಂದು ಇದನ್ನು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಸಿದ ಕೀಲ್ಹಾರ್ನರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 13). ಇವನ ಹೆಸರಿಗೆ 'ವಿಜಯಶಿವ' ಎಂಬ ಉಪಪದಗಳು ಜೋಡಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಮಹಾರಾಜನಾಗಿ ತನ್ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರಗಳನ್ನು ಗಣಿಸಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಇವನು ರಾಜಮನೆತನದವನಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು ಮತ್ತು ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮ ರವಿವರ್ಮರ ಆಳಿಕೆಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ವಹಿಸಿರಬೇಕು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಮಾಂಧಾತ ರಾಜನನ್ನು ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನ ತಮ್ಮನೆಂದು ಗ್ರಹಿಸಿದ್ದೇವೆ.

35. ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

36. ಡುಬ್ರಾಯಿಲರು ಈ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದು ತಪ್ಪು. ಈ ವಿಷಯದ ಮೇಲಿನ ಚರ್ಚೆಯನ್ನು ಈ ಪ್ರಕರಣದ ಮುಂದಿನ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

37. ಗಂಗರಾಜನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ಣಯವನ್ನು ಮುಂದೆ ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

38. *Mysore Archaeological Report,* 1929, p. 50. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಓದುವುದರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅರ್ಥಕಲ್ಪನೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೆಲವು ಸ್ಖಲಿತಗಳು ಇರುತ್ತವೆ.

39. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 24. 'ಪಲ್ಲವಾಶ್ವ ಸಂಸ್ಥೇನ ಕಲಹೇನ' ಎಂದರೆ ಆಗಿನ ಪಲ್ಲವರಾಜನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಗದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಉಂಟಾದ ಕಲಹದಿಂದ ಎಂದು ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಬೇಕು.

40. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, p. 36.

41. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, pp. 1ff.

42. ಇದರ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳು ಪುಳುಮಾವಿಯ ಮ್ಯಾಕದೊನಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಲಿಪಿಯನ್ನು ಹೋಲುತ್ತವೆಂದೂ ಅವು ೩ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವೆಂದೂ ಡಾ॥ ಎಂ.ಎಚ್.ಕೃಷ್ಣರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

43. *Ep. Ind.* ,Vol. VIII, pp. 24ff.

44. *Ibid.,* p. 33; *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 268; *MAR.,* 1924, p. 68; *Ibid.,* 1925, p. 88, *Ibid.,* 1911, p. 32.

45. ಹೇರಾಸರು ಕುಮಾರ ಗುಪ್ತನಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*JBORS.,* Vol. XII, p. 459).

46. ರೈಸರು ಈ ಗುಪ್ತರಾಜನು ಸಮುದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 23). 'ಕದಂಬ ಕುಲ'ವು ಹೇರಾಸರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನೇ ಎತ್ತಿಹಿಡಿಯುತ್ತದೆ (pp. 20ff).

ರಾಜಶೇಖರನ 'ಕಾವ್ಯಮಿಮಾಂಸೆ'ಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಒಂದು ಶ್ಲೋಕದಲ್ಲಿ 'ಕುಂತಲಾಧೀಶ'ನ ನಿರ್ದೇಶವಿದೆ. ಇದೇ ಶ್ಲೋಕವನ್ನು ಭೋಜನು (೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನ) ತನ್ನ ಶೃಂಗಾರ ಪ್ರಕಾಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಉದ್ಧರಿಸಿ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಕುಂತಲರಾಜನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನನ್ನು ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕ್ಷೇಮೇಂದ್ರನ 'ಔಚಿತ್ಯವಿಚಾರ ಚರ್ಚೆ'ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನ 'ಕುಂತಲೇಶ್ವರ ದೌತ್ಯವೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದಿಂದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಈ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಂದ ಹೆರಾಸರು ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನು ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನನ್ನು ಕುಂತಲೇಶನಾದ ಕದಂಬ ಭಗೀರಥರಾಜನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ವಿವಾಹ ನಿಶ್ಚಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ 'ಭರತಚರಿತ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ಕುಂತಲೇಶನು 'ಸೇತುಬಂಧ ಕಾವ್ಯ'ವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಬಾಣನು ತನ್ನ 'ಹರ್ಷಚರಿತ'ದ ಉಪೋದ್ಘಾತದಲ್ಲಿ 'ಸೇತುಬಂಧ ಕಾವ್ಯ'ವು ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನಿಗೆ ಕುಂತಲೇಶನೆಂಬ

ಬಿರುದು ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ೧ನೆಯ ಪೃಥ್ವಿಸೇನನು ಕುಂತಲ ರಾಜನನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂದು ಅಜಂತೆಯ ಒಂದು ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ (೧೬ನೆಯ ಗುಹೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯ ಶಾಸನ, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.,* Vol. IV, pp. 53 and 124) ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಆಗಿನ ಕಾಲದಿಂದ ವಾಕಾಟಕರಿಗೆ 'ಕುಂತಲಾಧೀಶ' ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಬಂದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದೂ ೨ನೆಯ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನು ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ಮಗಳ ಮಗನಾದ ಪ್ರವರಸೇನನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಕೃಷ್ಣಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಅಯ್ಯಂಗಾರ್ರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute,* Vol. V, pp. 44ff.). ನರೇಂದ್ರಸೇನನು ಕುಂತಲರಾಜನ ಮಗಳನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾದನೆಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ವಾಕಾಟಕರಿಗೆ 'ಕುಂತಲೇಶ' ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಇದ್ದರೂ ನಿಜವಾದ ಕುಂತಲ ರಾಜರು ಬೇರೆ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನು ಇವರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಕುಂತಲ ರಾಜನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಿಶ್ಚಯಿಸಲಾಗದು. ಈ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಬರೆದಿರುವ ಶ್ರೀ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀನಾರಾಯಣರಾಯರ ಲೇಖವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿರಿ (*Ind. His. Quarterly,* Vol. IX, pp. 197ff.).

47. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, p. 268.

48. *J.R.A.S.,* 1914, p. 326.

49. J. Dubreuil: *Ancient History of the Deccan,* p. 75.

50. *Mysore Archaeological Report,* 1911, p. 33.

51. ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿರಿ.

52. *Ancient History of the Deccan,* p. 103. ಡಿ. ಸಿ. ಸರ್ಕಾರರೂ ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಭಾವಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XV, pp. 316ff).

'ಕದಂಬಕುಲ'ವೆಂಬ ಪುಸ್ತಕದಲ್ಲಿ (pp. 55-59) ಕದಂಬ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತಂಗಿಯನ್ನು ಗಂಗ ೩ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವನು ಮದುವೆಯಾದನೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಗಳು ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ: ''೧. ಶ್ರೀಪುರುಷನ ಹಲ್ಲೂರು ಶಾಸನ ಕಾಲವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೮೮. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಇದೇ ಅವನ ಕಡೆಯ ವರ್ಷವೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿ ಹಿಂದಿನ ರಾಜರ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಗಣಿಸಿದರೆ ೨ನೆಯ ಮಾಧವನ ಕಾಲವು ೫೩೦-೫೫೫ ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ. ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೂ ಇದೇ ಕಾಲದವನು. (೨) ದುರ್ವಿನೀತನು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ೨ನೆಯ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯ ಶ್ವಶುರ (ಮಾವನೂ) ಒಂದನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಅಜ್ಜನೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು (ವೆಂಕಟರಮಣಯ್ಯ: Durvinīta and Vikramāditya, *Trivēṇi,* pp. 112-120) ಗೊತ್ತಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮನು ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾಗಿರಬೇಕಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ, ಮಾಧವರು ಏಕಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. (೩)ಅವಿನೀತನ ಸೋದರಮಾವನಾದ (೨ನೆಯ) ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು 'ಕದಂಬಕುಲ ಗಗನ ಗಭಸ್ತಿಮಾಲೀ' ಎಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮನ ತಗರೇ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ವಿಶೇಷಣವು ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.'' ಆದರೆ ಈ ಕಾರಣಗಳು ಸಮರ್ಪಕವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. (i) ಹಿಂದಿನ ರಾಜರ ಆಳಿಕೆಗಳ ಗಣನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ತಪ್ಪುಗಳಿವೆ. ಮಾಧವನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೪೮೦-೯೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಸಪ್ರಮಾಣವಾಗಿ ಗಂಗಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದೇವೆ. (ii) ವೆಂಕಟರಮಣಯ್ಯನವರ ವಿಧಾನವು ತಪ್ಪು. ದುರ್ವಿನೀತನು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ದುರ್ವಿನೀತನ ಕಡೆಯ ವರ್ಷವು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೫೫ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ದುರ್ವಿನೀತ ೧ನೆಯ ಶಿವಮಾರರ ನಡುವೆ ನಾಲ್ವರು ರಾಜರು ಆಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ೧ನೆಯ ಶಿವಮಾರನ ಪಟ್ಟಬಂಧದ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೭೯) ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂದರೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅವಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಷ್ಕರ ಪೊಲವೀರ ಶ್ರೀವಿಕ್ರಮ ಭೂವಿಕ್ರಮರ ಆಳಿಕೆಗಳು ಮುಗಿದಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ವಿಷಯದ ಚರ್ಚೆಯನ್ನು ಗಂಗಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿರಿ. (iii) ಅವಿನೀತನ ಸೋದರಮಾವನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ 'ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಯಾಜಿ' ಎಂಬುದು ವ್ಯಾವರ್ತಕ ವಿಶೇಷಣವಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಈ ವಿಶೇಷಣವು ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೇ ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ ಮತ್ತು ಭೋಗಿವರ್ಮನ ತಗರೇ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ 'ಕದಂಬ ಕುಲಗಗನ' ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಯಾದ ವಿಶೇಷಣವಿಲ್ಲ. ಅದೇ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವ ''ಕದಂಬಾನಾಂ ಅನ್ವಯಾಂಬರ ಭಾಸ್ಕರಸ್ಯ'' ಎಂಬ ಬೇರೆ ಶಬ್ದಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಆ ವಿಶೇಷಣವು ಕೇವಲ ವರ್ಣನಾಪರವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅವಿನೀತನನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುವಾಗ ಗಂಗರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲ ''ಅವಿಚ್ಛಿನ್ನಾಶ್ವಮೇಧಾವಭೃಥಾಭಿಷಿಕ್ತ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಕದಂಬಕುಲ ಗಗನಗಭಸ್ತಿಮಾಲಿನಃ ಶ್ರೀ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾಧಿರಾಜಸ್ಯ'' ಎಂಬ ಅನುಪೂರ್ವಿಯಿಂದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ನಿರ್ದೇಶವಿದೆ.

ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ವಿಶೇಷಣಗಳುಳ್ಳ ರಾಜನು ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು.

53. ಗಂಗರ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

54. ಕದಂಬರಾಜರ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷವನ್ನೂ ಅವರ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ ಕಾಲದ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ಮಾಡಿರುವ ಚರ್ಚೆಯನ್ನೂ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

55. ತಾಳಗುಂದದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.); ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನ (*Ind. Ant.,*Vol. VI, p. 23).

56. 'ಕದಂಬಾನಾಂ ಯುವರಾಜ'ನಾದ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ''ಸ್ವ ವೈಜಯಿಕೇ ಅಶೀತಿ ತಮೇ ಸಂವತ್ಸರೇ'' ಎಂಬ ವಾಕ್ಯದಂತೆ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥನು ಯುವರಾಜನಾದಂದಿನಿಂದ ಈ ಕಾಲಗಣನೆಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಈ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ರಾಜನು ಎಂಬತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಆಳುವುದು ಅಸಂಭವವೆಂದು ಬಗೆದು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ಸಂವತ್ಸರವು ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಭಿಷೇಕ ಕಾಲದಿಂದ ಎಂಬತ್ತನೆಯ ವರ್ಷವಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.,* p. 291). ಗುಪ್ತವಂಶದ ೧ನೆಯ ಕುಮಾರಗುಪ್ತನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 'ಕುಮಾರ ಗುಪ್ತಸ್ಯಾಭಿವರ್ಧಮಾನ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರೇ ಷಣ್ಣವತೇ' ಎಂದೂ 'ಕುಮಾರ ಗುಪ್ತಸ್ಯ ವಿಜಯರಾಜ್ಯಸಂವತ್ಸರೇ' ಎಂದೂ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ದೇಶ ಮಾಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದರೂ ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳ ೯೬ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷ ಮತ್ತು ೧೧೭ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ವರ್ಷಗಳಾಗಲಾರವು. ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಯ ಕಾಲದಿಂದ ಈ ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಗಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು.

57. ಬೀರೂರು ಕೃತಕ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ 'ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠ ಪಿತೃ' ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮರು ಅಣ್ಣತಮ್ಮಂದಿರೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ತಾಳಗುಂದ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥನ 'ಔರಸಪುತ್ರ' ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ.

58. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 24ff.

59. ಇವನ ಮಕ್ಕಳು ಮೊಮ್ಮಕ್ಕಳ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು ಕದಂಬರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಮೊದಲಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ಈ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬಹುದು.

60. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 23.

61. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. IV, p. 231 ; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 23.

62. 'ತುಂಗಗಂಗರು' ಎಂದರೆ ಉನ್ನತ (ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತ) ಗಂಗರೆಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವು ಗೃಹೀತವಾಗಿದೆ. 'ತುಂಗ'ವು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ವಂಶದ ಹೆಸರಾದುದರಿಂದ (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, p. 193) ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ತುಂಗ ಶಬ್ದವು ಅವರನ್ನು ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸಬಹುದು.

63. ಹಲಸಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನ (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 29).

64. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 24.

65. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1910-11, p. 35

66. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 24.

67. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VI, p. 14.

68. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 28; *Ibid.,* p. 30.

69. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 35.

70. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, p. 37.

71. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. IV, Hs. 18.

72. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sorab 133.

73. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 24.

74. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1910-11, p. 35.

75. ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ತಿಪಟೂರು, ತುಮಕೂರು ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೋಳಾಲವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳಿವೆ.

76. ಹಿಂದೆ ನೋಡಿರಿ

77. ಡುಬ್ರ್ಾಯಿಲರು ಈ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Ancient History of the Deccan,* p. 102). 'ಕದಂಬ ಕುಲ'ದಲ್ಲಿ (pp. 41 & 42) ೧ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಮರಣಾನಂತರ ಮೃಗೇಶವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ಪಟ್ಟಬಂಧಕ್ಕೆ ತಡೆಯನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದೂ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮನಾದ ಪಲ್ಲವಶಾಂತಿವರನ ಸಹಾಯದಿಂದ ವಿಘ್ನಗಳನ್ನು ದೂರಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಅವನಿಂದ ಅಭಿಷಿಕ್ತನಾದನೆಂದೂ ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಮತ್ತು ತನ್ನ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಂತತೆ ನೆಲೆಗೊಂಡಮೇಲೆ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಭುವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಚಂಡದಂಡನೊಂದಿಗೆ ಆಗ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ರವಿವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ರಣಾಂಗಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಎದುರಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಚಂಡದಂಡನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಿರುವ ವಿವೇಚನೆಯಿಂದ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡನೆಂದು ಭಾಸವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ಮಗನಾದ ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮನು ಮಹಾರಾಜನಾಗಿ ಆಳಿದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನೇ 'ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯಯಾತ್ರೆ'ಗೆ ಹೊರಟನೆಂದು ಬೆಣ್ಣೂರು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ರವಿವರ್ಮನ ಮನೆತನದಲ್ಲಿ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಉಳಿಯಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ನಿರಾಧಾರವಾದ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯೇ ಸರಿ. ಈ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯೇ ನಿಜವಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮರು ಯಾವ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು? ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯಯಾತ್ರೆಯ ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು "ಕದಂಬಾನಾಂ ಪಂಚಮೋ ಲೋಕಪಾಲಃ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಧರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜಃ" ಎಂದು ಉದ್ದಾಮ ಪದಗಳಿಂದ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ (ಬೆಣ್ಣೂರು ಶಾಸನ). ಇದರಿಂದ ಅವನು ಕ್ರಮಪ್ರಾಪ್ತವಾದ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತದ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ರವಿವರ್ಮನು ಕೊಂದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ಕದಂಬನಾಗಿರಲಾರನು. ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಕೈಕೇಯ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರಿಯರ ಮಕ್ಕಳೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಈ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ಪಲ್ಲವ ವಿಷ್ಣುಗೋಪವರ್ಮನೋ ಅಥವಾ ಅವನ ಸೇನಾಪತಿ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನೋ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.,* p. 322).

78. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, pp. 28 and 30.

79. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 146ff.

80. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 28.

81. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, pp. 264ff.

82. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 25.

83. *Ibid.,* p. 29.

84. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VIII, Sb. 523.

85. ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ೧ನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾದ ಜಯಶಕ್ತಿಯ ಮುತ್ತಜ್ಜನಾದ ಶ್ರೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಭಾನುಶಕ್ತಿಯೆಂಬ ಸೇಂದ್ರಕ ರಾಜನೊಬ್ಬನಿದ್ದನು. ಮುಂದೆ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ನೋಡಿರಿ.

86. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 30.

87. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 31.

88. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIV, pp. 163ff.

89. ಹೇರಾಸರು ಹಾಸನ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಬೇಲೂರು ತಾಲೂಕಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಹಳೇಬೀಡೇ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*Karnatak Historical Review,* Vol. I, pp. 13-18). ಹೆಸರಿಗೆ ಅನ್ವರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಹಳೇಬೀಡಿನ ಹತ್ತಿರದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೈರವಗುಡ್ಡ, ಪುಷ್ಪಗಿರಿ,

ಬೆಣ್ಣೆಗುಡ್ಡ ಎಂಬ ಮೂರು ಬೆಟ್ಟಗಳಿವೆಯೆಂದೂ ಬೀರೂರು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಪಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಹಳೇಬೀಡು ಬನವಾಸಿಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಇರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಇದರ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನಗಳು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುತ್ತವೆಂದೂ ಮೊದಲಾಗಿ ಕಾರಣಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇವು ಸಮರ್ಪಕವಾಗಿ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಬೀರೂರು ಶಾಸನವು ಕೃತಕವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಅದನ್ನು ನಂಬಿದರೂ ಹೇರಾಸರ ವಿಧಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಬಲ ಸಾಲದು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ದತ್ತವಾದ ಭೂಮಿಯು ಸಿಂಧುಥಯರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ (ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ)ದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಬನವಾಸಿಯ ಉತ್ತರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಪಥ(?)ದಲ್ಲಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದಾಯಿತು. ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಪಥವೆಂದರೆ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕಿದ್ದ ದೇಶವೆಂಬ ಅರ್ಥವು ಹೇಗೆ ಬಂದಿತೋ ತಿಳಿಯದು. ನಣಕ್ಕಾಸ (?) ಪಲ್ಲವನಿಗೂ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನಿಗೂ ದಾವಣಗೆರೆ ತಾಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಭೀಕರವಾದ ಯುದ್ಧವು ನಡೆದುದರಿಂದ ಪಲ್ಲವನು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಮೇಲೆ ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿ ಬಂದು ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿ ಸೋಲಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಸಮಂಜಸ. ಹಳೇಬೀಡು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ನಣಕ್ಕಾಸಪಲ್ಲವನು ದಾವಣಗೆರೆಯವರೆಗೆ ಬರಬೇಕಾದ ಅವಶ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಇದಲ್ಲದೆ ಹಾಸನ ತಾಲೂಕು ಕದಂಬ ಗಂಗರಾಜ್ಯಗಳ ಮೇರೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಪಥ (?)ದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಈಶಾನ್ಯದ ಮೂಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಹಳೇಬೀಡನ್ನು ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದು ಆಡಳಿತಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಕರವಲ್ಲ. ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಸಾಧಾರಣವಾಗಿ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಮಧ್ಯವರ್ತಿಯಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ತ್ರಿಪರ್ವತವು ಹಳೇಬೀಡಾಗಲಾರದು. ಡುಬ್ರಾಯಿಲರು ಇದು ದೇವಗಿರಿಯಾಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 101). ಪ್ರೊ. ಪಾತಕರು ಇದು ಬೆಳಗಾವಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮುರಗೋಡೆಂದು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 285, note 66). ಮೇಲೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಪಾತಕರ ಊಹೆಯೇ ಸರಿಯೆಂದು ನಮಗೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

90. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 33.

91. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 50.

92. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, p. 210, D.G., 161.

93. *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1925, p. 98; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 827; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 18; ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನ ಬೀರೂರು ಕೃತಕ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kd. 162) ಈ ವಿಶೇಷಣವು ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

94. ಬನ್ನವಳ್ಳಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನ (*Ep. Ind.* ,Vol. VI, p. 18).

95. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠತನಯನಾದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮ ಧರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜನು 'ಕರ್ಣ್ಣಾಟದೇಶ ಭೂವರ್ಗಭರ್ತೃ'ವಾದ 'ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠ ಪಿತೃ' ಶಾಂತಿವರವರ್ಮ ಧರ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಅನುಜ್ಞೆಯಿಂದ ಸಿಂಧುಥಯರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಕತಟ್ಟಾಕ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ನಂದಪರಾಜ ಮಾರ್ಗದ ಮಗ್ಗುಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹರಿಯುವ ಕರ್ಣ್ಣೇಸಕ ನದಿಯ ಸೇತುವಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಎಂಭತ್ತೈದು ಜನ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಭಾಷೆ ಅಶುದ್ಧ, ಲಿಪಿ ಆಗಿನ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಿಲ್ಲ. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಮನು ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಶಾಂತಿವರ್ಮನು ಬದುಕಿದ್ದನೆಂಬ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದು ಅಸಂಭವ. ಇವೆಲ್ಲ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಕೃತಕವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ.

96. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 18.

97. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 264ff.

98. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 827.

99. ಈ ವಿಜಯಯಾತ್ರೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ಹಗೆಯು ಹರಿವರ್ಮನಾಗಿ ಇರಬೇಕೆಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ. 'ಕದಂಬಕುಲ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ದಂಡಯಾತ್ರೆಯು ಸೇಂದ್ರಕರ ಮೇಲೆ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು ಸೇಂದ್ರಕರ ವಶದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಬೇರೆ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ.

100. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 18.

101. ''ಕದಂಬಾನಾಂ ಪಂಚಮೋ ಲೋಕಪಾಲಃ ಶ್ರೀಮದ್ಧರ್ಮ್ಮ ಮಹಾರಾಜಃ ವಿಜಯಶಿವ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮ್ಮಾ ವೈಜಯಂತೀ ವಿಜಯಯಾತ್ರಾಮಭಿಪ್ರಸ್ಥಿತಃ'' ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ.

102. ಬನ್ನಹಳ್ಳಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆಯೇ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯು ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನ ವಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ.

103. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1918, p. 35.

104. *Ibid., 1911,* p. 11. ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಮುದ್ರೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಿಂಹಲಾಂಛನವಿದೆ.

105. ಮಾಂಧಾತರಾಜನಿಗೆ 'ಧರ್ಮಮಹಾರಾಜ' ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬಿರುದುಗಳಿಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಕದಂಬರ ಅವನತಿಯ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ೨ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣವರ್ಮನು ಹರಿವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ವೈಜಯಂತಿಯನ್ನಾಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ನಂತರ ಹರಿವರ್ಮನ ಪಕ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಮಾಂಧಾತನು ಉಚ್ಚಂಗಿಯ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಿಂದ ಚಿಕ್ಕ ಪ್ರಾಂತ್ಯವನ್ನಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

106. ಕೊಣ್ಣೂರ ಬಂಡೆಗಲ್ಲು ಶಾಸನ (*Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXI, p. 93).

107. ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಜಯಸಿಂಹ ರಣರಾಗರೂ ಕದಂಬರ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕರಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.,* p. 343).

108. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1918, p. 35.

109. ಮೊಳಕಾಲ್ಮುರುವಿನಿಂದ ಪೂರ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಮೂರು ಮೈಲುಗಲ್ಲುಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಉಚ್ಚಂಗಿದುರ್ಗವೇ ಇದೆಂದು ರೈಸರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions,* p. 26).

110. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. VI, Introduction. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಕೃತಕವಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಭೂವಿವರಣೆ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ನಂಬಬಹುದು.

111. *Mys. Arch. Rep.,* 1916, p. 35.

112. *Ep. Carn.,* Vol. V, Introduction, p. III.

113. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, p. 147.

114. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, p. 7, f.n. 12.

115. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. VI, p. 25.

116. *Dyn. Kan. Dist.,* p. 288.

117. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art,* p. 79

118. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, p. 102.

119. ೧ನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಕರ್ನೂಲು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಳವಾಡಿ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ರತ್ನಗಿರಿಯನ್ನು ಈ ರಾಜನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ರತ್ನಗಿರಿ ಕರ್ನೂಲು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಕರ್ನೂಲು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳ ಪ್ರಾಂತವೇ ನಳವಾಡಿ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.,* pp. 336, 363). ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಹನ್ನೆರಡನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ದಯ್ಯಮದಿನ್ನೆ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜನು ತಗರ ನದಿಯ ಉತ್ತರ ದಡದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ತಳಯಖೇಟದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ನಳವಾಡಿ ವಿಷಯದ ಉಳ್ಚಳ್ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ತಗರ ನದಿಯೇ ಈಗಿನ ತೇರ್ (ಥೈರ್ನ) ನದಿಯೆಂದೂ ಅದರ ಉತ್ತರ ದಂಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಥೈರ ಖೆಡ್ಡವೇ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ತಳಯಖೇಟವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಕೃಷ್ಣಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳು ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. (*M.E.R.,* 1916, p. 130.) ಉಳ್ಚಳ್ ಕರ್ನೂಲ್ ತಾಲೂಕಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಉಲಚಾಲವಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಶ್ರೀ ಪಂಚಮುಖಿಯವರು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXII, pp. 24ff). ನಳವಾಡಿ ವಿಷಯಕ್ಕೂ ನಳ ಅರಸರ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾದ ಜಯಪುರ ಏಜನ್ಸಿಯ ಭಾಗಕ್ಕೂ ಅಂತರ ಬಹಳವಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅವೆರಡಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಲಾಗದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

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ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ (ಪುಲಕೇಶಿ, ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿ) - ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಅರ್ಥವೇನು?*

ಈ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಧರಿಸಿದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತರಾದ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಬಾದಾಮಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರು. ಇವರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿಯೇ ಬಾದಾಮಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಸ್ಥಾಪಕನು. ಇವನು ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಕದಂಬರಿಂದ ಬಾದಾಮಿ ಪಟ್ಟಣವನ್ನು ವಶಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಅದನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡನು. ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ದೊರೆತ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫೪೩ರ ಇವನ ಒಂದೇ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನವು ಇವನು ಈ ಪಟ್ಟಣವನ್ನು ಕೋಟೆಕೊತ್ತಲಗಳಿಂದ ಭಧ್ರಪಡಿಸಿ ಅಜೇಯವನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವನು ಅಗ್ನಿಷ್ಟೋಮ, ವಾಜಪೇಯ, ಅಶ್ವಮೇಧಾದಿ ಯಾಗಗಳನ್ನೂ, ಹಿರಣ್ಯಗರ್ಭ, ಬಹುಸುವರ್ಣ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಮಹಾದಾನಗಳನ್ನೂ ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಇವನನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಪ್ರಧಾನವಾದ ಈ ಅನೇಕ ಯಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನು ಬಹು ಶೂರನಾದ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಟನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿಯ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೧೦-೬೪೨) ಹೆಸರಂತೂ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಶಾಲೆಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳೂ ತಿಳಿದದ್ದೇ. ಇವನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಸಕಲೋತ್ತರಾಪಥೇಶ್ವರನೆಂದು ಕರೆದುಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಹರ್ಷವರ್ಧನನು ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಪಥವನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಮಹದಾಕಾಂಕ್ಷೆಯಿಂದ ವಿಂಧ್ಯಪರ್ವತದ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ರೇವಾನದಿಯ ತೀರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬೀಡುಬಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದನು. ಇದನ್ನು ಸಹಿಸಲಾರದೆ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿಯು ಹರ್ಷವರ್ಧನನನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿ ಅವನ ಸೈನ್ಯವನ್ನು ಧ್ವಂಸಮಾಡಿ ಅವನನ್ನು ಹೊಡೆದಟ್ಟಿ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದನ್ನು ಪಡೆದು, ದಕ್ಷಿಣಾಪಥಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದನ್ನು ಧರಿಸಿ, ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಸಮುದ್ರದಿಂದ ಬಂಗಾಳಾಕೊಲ್ಲಿಯವರೆಗೂ, ನರ್ಮದಾನದಿಯಿಂದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಸಮುದ್ರದವರೆಗೂ ತನ್ನ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮತ್ವವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ, ಬಾದಾಮಿ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಿಂದ ಈ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಇವನ ಸುಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ಐಹೊಳೆ ಶಾಸನವು (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೩೪) ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವನ ಖ್ಯಾತಿಯು ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಪರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹಬ್ಬಿತ್ತು. ಇವನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾಗಿ ಇರಾನ್ ದೇಶದ ದೊರೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಖುಸ್ರುವು ತನ್ನ ರಾಯಭಾರಿಯ ಕೈಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಬೆಲೆಬಾಳುವ ಬಹುಮಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಗೆ ಕಳುಹಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟನೆಂದೂ, ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರಿಗೂ ಆಗಿಂದಾಗ್ಗೆ ಪತ್ರವ್ಯವಹಾರವು ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಯ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಚಾರ ಮಾಡಿದ ಹ್ಯೂಎನ್‌ತ್ಸಾಂಗ್ ಎಂಬ ಚೀನಾ ದೇಶದ ಯಾತ್ರಿಕನು ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಯ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಅತಿವಿವರವಾಗಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ.

ಇಂತಹ ಕೀರ್ತಿವಂತರಾದ ರಾಜರ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ವಿಧವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮೊದಮೊದಲಿಗೆ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಈ ವಂಶದ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಹೆಸರಿನ ರೂಪವು ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ ಎಂದೇ ಕಾಣಬರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ, ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿ, ಪುಲಕೇಶಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರೂಪಾಂತರಗಳೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕುತ್ತವೆ. ಬಹುಮಂದಿ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಈ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಪೂರ್ವಾರ್ಧವನ್ನು ''ಪುಲಿ'' ಎಂದರೆ ಹುಲಿ ಎಂದೂ, ''ಕೇಶಿನ್'' ಎಂದರೆ ಕೂದಲುಳ್ಳವನೆಂದೂ, ಈ ಎರಡು ಪದಗಳೂ ಸೇರಿ ''ಹುಲಿಯ ಕೂದಲನ್ನು ಹೋಲುವ ಕೂದಲುಳ್ಳವ''ನೆಂದೂ ಅರ್ಥಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಹನ್ನೊಂದನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜರ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದು ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಯನ್ನು ಈ ರೀತಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತದೆ:

''ವಯಮಪಿಪುಲಕೇಶಿಕ್ಷ್ಮಾಪತಿಂ ವರ್ಣಯಂತಃ
ಪುಲಕಕಲಿತದೇಹಾಃ ಪಶ್ಯತಾದ್ಯಾಪಿಸಂತಃ॥''

ಅಂದರೆ ''ಪುಲಕೇಶಿ ರಾಜನನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಶರೀರವು ಸಂತೋಷದಿಂದ ಪುಲಕಾಂಕಿತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ'' ಎಂದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ, ಹನ್ನೊಂದನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಆಸ್ಥಾನ ಕವಿಗಳು ಈ ಪುಲಕೇಶಿ ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ''ಪುಲಕ'' ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದದಿಂದ ಹುಟ್ಟಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆಯೇವಿನಾ ಪುಲಿ=ಹುಲಿ ಎಂಬ ಮಾತಿಗೂ ಈ ಪದಕ್ಕೂ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಅವರು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಕಾಣುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಮೂವರು ರಾಜರ (ಐದನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯ - ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ.

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* ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠತೀರ್ಥ - (ತೀ.ನಂ.ಶ್ರೀ. ಸಂಭಾವನ ಗ್ರಂಥ), ಪು. ೬೨೦-೬೨೩.

೧೦೦೯; ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಜಯಸಿಂಹ - ೧೦೨೪; ಆರನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯ - ೧೦೮೮) ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರಕುವುದರಿಂದ, ಈ ಶ್ಲೋಕವನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯು ರಾಜರಿಂದ ಅನುಮೋದಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟು ಅರಮನೆಯ ಕೋಷ್ಠಾಗಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು ಅವಶ್ಯಕವಾದಾಗಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೭೭ರ ಆರನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಯೇವೂರು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ "ಇದು ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದೊಳಿಳ್ದ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಗಳ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ದರಸುಗಳ ರಾಜಾವಳಿ" ಎಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ವಾಕ್ಯವು ಈ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಗೊಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಪ್ರೊಫೆಸರ್ ನೀಲಕಂಠಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರ ಈ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಪೂರ್ವಾರ್ಧವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ "ಪುಲ್" ಎಂದರೆ "ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಳ್ಳು" ಅಥವಾ "ಹಿರಿಮೆಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆ" ಎಂಬ ಧಾತುವಿನಿಂದ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೆಂದೂ ಉತ್ತರಾರ್ಧವಾದ "ಕೇಶಿನ್" ಅಂದರೆ "ಸಿಂಹ"ವೆಂದೂ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು ಈ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠವಾದ ಸಿಂಹವೆಂದು ವಿವರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರು ಈ ಹೆಸರಿಗೂ ಪುಲಿ = ಹುಲಿಗೂ ಸಂಬಂಧವಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಆದರೆ ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ಹೇಳಿರುವಂತೆ ಈ ವಂಶದ ಅತಿ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾದ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ[1] ಈ ಹೆಸರಿನ ರೂಪವಾದ "ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ"ಯೇ ಮೂಲರೂಪವಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಡಾ॥ ಫ್ಲೀಟ್ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ರೂಪವನ್ನೇ ಶಾಸನ ಪರಿಶೋಧಕರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ರಗಣ್ಯರಾದ ಡಾ॥ ಕೀಲ್‌ಹಾರ್ನ್ ಅವರೂ ಸಹ ಬಳಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮೊಟ್ಟಮೊದಲಿನ ಈ ಹೆಸರಿನ ರೂಪವಾದ "ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ" ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯದಂತೆ "ಪೊಲೆ" ಮತ್ತು "ಕೇಶಿ" ಎಂಬ ಶುದ್ಧ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಬ್ದಗಳ ಸಂಯೋಗದಿಂದ ಉಂಟಾದ ಪದ. ಇದರ ಪೂರ್ವಾರ್ಧವಾದ "ಪೊಲೆ" ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ "ಹೊಲೆಮನೆ" ಎಂದರ್ಥ. "ಕೇಶಿ" ಎಂಬುದು "ಕೇಶವ" ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಸಂಕ್ಷಿಪ್ತರೂಪ. ಈ ರೂಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಪದವು ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸಿಕ್ಕುತ್ತದೆ. "ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣ"ವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ತನ್ನ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಕೇಶಿ, ಕೇಶವ ಎಂಬ ಎರಡು ರೂಪಗಳನ್ನೂ ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆಂಬುದು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದೇ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇಶವ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ಅನೇಕ ಸಾಮಂತಾದಿಗಳು ಕೇಶಿರಾಜ, ಕೇಶಿಗೌಂಡ, ಕೇಶಿಮಯ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ತಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಕರೆದುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ "ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ" ಎಂದರೆ ಹೊಲೆಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಕೇಶವ (ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣ)ನಂತೆ ಅಪರಿಮಿತ ಪ್ರಭಾವಶಾಲಿ ಎಂದರ್ಥ. ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಮೇಲೆ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಿರುವ ಹನ್ನೊಂದನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಶಾಸನವು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಪುಲಿಕೇಶಿಯನ್ನು, "ಪುಲಕೇಶಿ ಕೇಶಿ ನಿಷೂದನಸಮೋ," ಅಂದರೆ ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಯು ಕೇಶಿ ಎಂಬ ರಾಕ್ಷಸನನ್ನು ಸಂಹರಿಸಿದ ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣನಿಗೆ ಸಮಾನನಾದವನು ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸಬಹುದು. ಹೊಲೆಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣನು ಅದ್ಭುತವಾದ ಸಾಹಸಗಳನ್ನು ತೋರಿದನೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಪುರಾಣಗಳು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಚಿಕ್ಕಂದಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಶ್ರೀಕೃಷ್ಣನು ಅದ್ಭುತವಾದ ಸಾಹಸಗಳನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ ಪುರುಷನೆಂದು "ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ"ಎಂಬ ಪದದ ಅರ್ಥ. ಇದು ಬಾಲ್ಯದಿಂದಲೇ ಮಹತ್ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದ ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜರಿಗೆ (ಮುಖ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಪೊಲೆಕೇಶಿಗೆ) ಅರ್ಥವತ್ತಾಗಿದ್ದು ಎಷ್ಟು ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಒಪ್ಪುತ್ತದೆ! ಹೆಸರಿಗೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಶೌರ್ಯ, ಪರಾಕ್ರಮ, ಸಾಹಸ, ಕೀರ್ತಿ!

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ

1. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ: Hyderabad Plates of Shaka 534, third year of Satyashraya (Kielhorn's *List of Instriptions of Southern India,* No. 9); Aihole inscriptions of Shaka 556 (*Ibid.,* No. 10); Yekkeri rock inscription (*Ibid.,* No. 11); Nerur fragmentary plates of Pulakeshin II (*Ibid.,* No. 12); Kurnool District plates of Vikramaditya I (*Ibid.,* No. 15).

51

ಕವಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮ*

'ಗೋವೈದ್ಯ'ದ ಕರ್ತನಾದ ಕವಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ಕುಲ, ಕಾಲ ಇವುಗಳ ವಿಚಾರವಾಗಿ ಪಂಡಿತರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳಿವೆ. ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿರುವ

ಜನನಾಪ್ತಂ ಗುರುದೇವಚಂದ್ರ ಮುನಿಪಂ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯ ಮಲ್ಲಾಧಿಪಂ
ಜನಕಂ ಪಾಲಭವಂದ್ಯ .... ವಾಕ್ಛ್ರೀವರಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾಂ।
ಕನರೇಂದ್ರಂ ತನಗಗ್ರಜಾತನೆನಲಂತಾರ್ ನೋಂತರೀ ಕೀರ್ತಿವ
ರ್ಮನರೇಂದ್ರಂಬರಮೆಂದು ಧಾತ್ರಿ ಪೊಗಳ್ಗುಂ ನಿಚ್ಚಂ ಮಹೋತ್ಸಾಹದಿಂ ॥

ಎಂಬ ಪದ್ಯದ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೂ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮ ಶಿವಕವಿಯ 'ಸಮಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ'ಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ

ಜನತಾನಂದಂ ಚಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣನವನಿಪಾಳೋತ್ತಮಂ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮಂ
ಜನಕಂ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲಂ ಸಕಳವಸುಮತೀವಲ್ಲಭಂ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾಂಕಾ।
ವನಿಪಂ ತಾನಗ್ರಜಾತಂ ತ್ರಿಭುವನಪತಿ ದೇವಾದಿದೇವಂ ಜಿನೇಂದ್ರಂ
ತನಗಾಪ್ತಂ ಮತ್ತೆನಲ್ಕೇಂ ಪಿರಿಯನೋ ಜಗತೀನಾಥರೊಳ್ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮಂ ॥

ಅರಸುಮಗಂ ಗಡ ಕವಿಗಡ
ಪಿರಿದೀವಂಗಡ ಬಳಿಕ್ಕೆ ಜೈನಂ ಗಡೆನಲ್
ಧರಣಿಪತಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮಂ
ನಿರುತಂ ಪೊನ್ ಕಮ್ಮಿತಾದುದೆನಿಸಿದನಿಳೆಯೊಳ್

ಎಂಬ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಕೀರ್ತಿಶೇಷರಾದ ಮಹಾಮಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ರಾವ್ ಬಹದೂರ್ ಆರ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ತಮ್ಮ 'ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಕವಿಚರಿತೆ'ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜರ ವಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದವನೆಂದೂ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೪೨ರಿಂದ ೧೦೬೮ರ ವರೆಗೆ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳಿದ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ (೧ನೆಯ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರ)ನ ಮಗನೂ ೧೦೭೬ರಿಂದ ೧೧೨೬ರ ವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡಿದ ಆರನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ತಮ್ಮನೂ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರು. ಈ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನಿಗೆ ಜಯಸಿಂಹ, ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ-ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಇಬ್ಬರು ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರು ಇದ್ದುದು ತಿಳಿದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಕವಿಯು ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬನಾಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಸೂಚಿಸಿ ಇವನ ಕಾಲವು ಸುಮಾರು ೧೧೨೫ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂದರು.[1] ಆಮೇಲೆ ಆಚಾರ್ಯರು ತಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಈ ಕವಿಯ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ೨೫ ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಹಿಂದಕ್ಕೆ ತಳ್ಳಿ ಇವನು ಸುಮಾರು ೧೧೦೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಿದರು.[2]

'ಕೆಲವು ಕನ್ನಡ ಕವಿಗಳ ಜೀವನ ಕಾಲವಿಚಾರ'ವೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಡಾಕ್ಟರ್ ಎ. ವೆಂಕಟಸುಬ್ಬಯ್ಯನವರು ಕವಿಚರಿತೆಕಾರರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪದೆ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ತಂದೆಯು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯಾದ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲನಾಗಿರಲಾರನೆಂದೂ ಅದೇ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಯಾವನೋ ಒಬ್ಬ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿ[3] ಈ ಕವಿಯು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೦೪೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿ, ಸುಮಾರು ೧೧೧೦ರ ವರೆಗೆ ಜೀವಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ 'ಗೋವೈದ್ಯ'ವನ್ನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೦೬೦-೧೦೮೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದೂ ಊಹಿಸಿದರು.[4] ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯವಂಶದವನಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಶ್ರೀ ವೆಂಕಟಸುಬ್ಬಯ್ಯನವರು ಭಾವಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಕಾರಣವೇನೆಂದರೆ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತಿ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನಿಗೆ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಮಗನೊಬ್ಬನಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಯಾವ ಆಧಾರವೂ ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದೇ. ಈ ವಾದವಿಧಾನದ ಫಲವಾಗಿ ಡಾ॥ ಅಯ್ಯನವರು 'ಸಮಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ'ಯಿಂದ ಮೇಲೆ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಿರುವ 'ಜನತಾನಂದಂ' ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ 'ಜನತಾನಂದಂ ಚಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣವನನಿಪಾಳೋತ್ತಮಂ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮಂ' ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ವಾಕ್ಯವೆಂದೂ 'ಜನಕಂ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲಂ' ಎಂಬುದೇ ಒಂದು ವಾಕ್ಯವೆಂದೂ ನಾವು ತಿಳಿಯಬೇಕಾಗಿರುವುದು ಎಂದು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರು

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* *ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ: ೨೮(೧), ಪು. ೧೪-೧೮.*

ತಮ್ಮ 'ಕವಿಚರಿತೆ'ಯ ತೃತೀಯ ಸಂಪುಟದ ಅವತರಣಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಡಾ॥ ವೆಂಕಟಸುಬ್ಬಯ್ಯನವರ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಪದ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಅಯ್ಯನವರು ಮಾಡಿರುವ ಅರ್ಥವು ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ತೋರಿಸಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು ಜಯಸಿಂಹ, ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ-ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬನಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೆ ಅವನು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ನಮಗೆ ಇದುವರೆಗೂ ತಿಳಿಯದ ಮೂರನೆಯ ತಮ್ಮನಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಇರಬಹುದು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[5]

ನಾನು ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಅಧಿಪತ್ಯದ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟನೆಗಾಗಿ ಪರಿಶೀಲನೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಈ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರನಾದ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲದ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ನನ್ನ ಗಮನಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂತು.[6] ಇದು ಗುಂಟೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ತೆನಾಲಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೊಲ್ಲೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಅನಂತಭೋಗೇಶ್ವರಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಕಂಬದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕೆತ್ತಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಪದ್ಯವು ಇದೆ:

ಮನಮೊಲ್ದಾಹವಮಲ್ಲದೇವನ ಧರಿತ್ರೀವಲ್ಲಭಂ ಸೋಮಿದೇ
ವನ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾನಡಿ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾಂಕನ ನೊಳಂಬಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಸಿಂಗಿದೇ।
ವನ ಬೇಂಗೀಪತಿ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ ಧರಾಧೀಶಂ ವರಕೀರ್ತಿವ
ರ್ಮನ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಕ್ಕೆ ಶುಭಮಕ್ಕಾಚಂದ್ರತಾರಂಬರಂ॥

ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತಿ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಜನ ಮಕ್ಕಳೂ ಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ವಿಶೇಷಣಗಳಿಂದ ವರ್ಣಿತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಎರಡನೆಯ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನು ಧರಿತ್ರೀವಲ್ಲಭನೆಂದೂ ಆರನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾನಡಿಯೆಂದೂ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಜಯಸಿಂಹನು (ಸಿಂಗದೇವ) ನೊಳಂಬಾಧೀಶ್ವರನೆಂದೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದೇ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನಿಗೆ ಬೇಂಗೀಪತಿ, ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ ಎಂಬ ವಿಶೇಷಣಗಳು ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯೋಗಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾನಡಿ ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನಿಗೂ ನೊಳಂಬಾಧೀಶ್ವರ ಎಂಬುದು ಜಯಸಿಂಹನಿಗೂ ಇದ್ದುವೆಂಬುದು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಇತಿಹಾಸದ ಪರಿಚಯವಿರುವವರೆಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಷಯವೇ. ಅಂತೆಯೇ 'ಬೇಂಗೀಪತಿ' ಎಂಬುದು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನ ಬಿರುದುಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ.[7] ಆದರೆ ಈ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ-ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನಿಗೆ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮ ಎಂಬ ಬೇರೊಂದು ಹೆಸರಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ಇದುವರೆಗೂ ತಿಳಿದಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಮೇಲೆ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಿರುವ ಕೊಲ್ಲೂರು ಶಾಸನದ ಪದ್ಯವು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ ಎಂಬುದು ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ಪ್ರತಿನಾಮವೋ ಅಥವಾ ಬಿರುದೋ ಆಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ ಮಗನೇ ಎಂದೂ ಜಯಸಿಂಹ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ-ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬನಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಅವರಿಗಿದ್ದ ಆಧಾರಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಮಾಡಿದ ಊಹೆಯು ಈಗ ಸ್ಥಿರಪಟ್ಟಿತು. ಇಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನನ್ನು ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ 'ಮಗ', 'ಸೂನು', 'ಪುತ್ರ' ಎಂದು ಸಾರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ 'ಮಗ' ಮೊದಲಾದ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ದೇಹಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಕೆಲವು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವಂತೆ ರಾಜನ ಪ್ರೀತಿವಿಶ್ವಾಸಗಳಿಗೆ ಪಾತ್ರನಾಗಿದ್ದ ಒಬ್ಬ ಸಾಮಂತನಿಗೋ ಅಥವಾ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗೋ ಅವು ಅನ್ವಯಿಸುತ್ತವೆಂದೂ ಕೆಲ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಸೂಚಿಸಿರುವ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವು[8] ತಪ್ಪೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ ಈ ಪದ್ಯವು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲವು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಅದು ಪೃಥ್ವೀವಲ್ಲಭ ಮಹಾರಾಜಾಧಿರಾಜ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪರಮಭಟ್ಟಾರಕ ಸತ್ಯಾಶ್ರಯಕುಳತಿಳಕ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಾಭರಣ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ಅಂದರೆ ಆರನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೆಂದು ಎಣಿಸಲವಕಾಶವುಂಟು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಣಿತನಾಗಿರುವ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನ ಅನಂತಪಾಲ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನ ಪ್ರಶಂಸೆಯು ಇದರ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧಾರ ಮಾಡಲು ಸಾಧಕವಾಗಿದೆ. ನಮಗೆ ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ದೊರೆತಿರುವ ಅಮಾತ್ಯನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲರೀತ್ಯಾ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯವಿಕ್ರಮವರ್ಷ೭ನೆಯ ದುಂದುಭಿಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಅಮಾವಾಸ್ಯೆ ದಿವಸ(Friday, 20th January, A.D. 1083) ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು.[9] ಇವನ ಕಡೆಯ ಶಾಸನವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೩೦ರದು.[10] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಕೊಲ್ಲೂರು ಶಾಸನವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೦೮೦, ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೩೦ ಈ ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅಂತರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ರಚಿತವಾದಾಗ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಜೀವಂತನಾಗಿದ್ದನೇ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಿಶ್ಚಯಿಸುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಲ್ಲ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿರುವ 'ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯಕ್ಕೆ ಶುಭಮಕ್ಕಾಚಂದ್ರತಾರಂಬರಂ' ಎಂಬ ವಾಕ್ಯದಿಂದ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟರಾದ ರಾಜರೆಲ್ಲರೂ ಆಗ ಬದುಕಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೇನೋ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದ್ದರೂ ಈ ಊಹೆಯು ಸಮಂಜಸವಾಗಿ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಅನಂತಪಾಲನು ಮಂತ್ರಿಪದವಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ವರ್ಷವು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೭೫ ಎಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರೂ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲನು ಅದುವರೆಗೆ ಬದುಕಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ನಮಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತಿದೆ. ಅವನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೬೮ರಲ್ಲಿ ಗತಿಸಿದನು. ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ-ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಶಾಸನಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೬೬ ಅಥವಾ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆಯೇ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದವು. ಆಮೇಲೆ ಅವನು

ಎಷ್ಟು ವರ್ಷಗಳು ಜೀವಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಕೊಲ್ಲೂರು ಶಾಸನವು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಿದ ೩-೪ ವರ್ಷಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂದರೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೦೮೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರೂ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಆಗ ಇದ್ದನೋ ಇಲ್ಲವೋ ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯು ಉಳಿದೇ ಉಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಶಿವನು ತನ್ನ 'ಸಮಯಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ'ಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನನ್ನು ಹೊಗಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರೆಂದು ಕವಿಚರಿತೆಕಾರರು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರು.[11] ಆದರೆ ಈಚೆಗೆ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ದೊರೆತ ಸಮಯಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಯ ಆದಿ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ[12] ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಶಿವನು ತನಗೆ ಹಿಂದೆ ಇದ್ದ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಮಂದಿ ಕವಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸ್ತುತಿಸಿ ಅವರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನನ್ನೂ ಸೇರಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಶಿವನ ಕಾಲ ನಮಗೆ ನಿರ್ವಿವಾದವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದರೂ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅದು ಸಹಕಾರಿಯಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಈಗ ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಅಂಶಗಳಿಂದ ಕೀರ್ತಿವರ್ಮನ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥೂಲವಾಗಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೬೦ರಿಂದ ೧೦೮೦ ಎಂದು ನಿಶ್ಚಯಿಸಬಹುದು.

ಬ್ರಹ್ಮಶಿವನ 'ಸಮಯಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಯ' ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿರುವಾಗ ಆ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುವ ಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ಅತ್ತಿಮಬ್ಬೆಯನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಒಂದೆರಡು ಮಾತುಗಳನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಧಾರವಾಡ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಗದಗ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಲಕ್ಕುಂಡಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೦೭ರ ಒಂದು ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ದಾನಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ಅತ್ತಿಮಬ್ಬೆಯು ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಸ್ತುತಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾಳೆ.[13] ಅದರಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪದ್ಯವೊಂದು ಶ್ರೀ ದೇವೀರಪ್ಪನವರು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿರುವ ಸಮಯಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಯ ಆದಿಯ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೩೯ನೆಯದು. ಆಕೆಯು ಮಾಡಿದ ಅದ್ಭುತಕಾರ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದನ್ನು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಮಾತುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆ.

ಸಮಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆ:

ಭರದಿಂ ಬಂದೊತ್ತೆ ಮುಂದೆಮ್ಮ ಸಕದೆಸಕದಿಂ ತೀವಿ ಮುಂದೊತ್ತೆ ಗೋದಾ
ವರಿಭೂಪಂ ತೈಲಪಂ ನಿಸ್ತರಿಸು ಕಟಕಮಂ ಬೇಗಮಿನ್ನಬ್ಬೆ ನೀನೆಂ।
ದೆರೆಯಲ್ ಸರ್ವಜ್ಞನಂ ಪೊತ್ತಗಿಯದೆ ಪೊಕ್ಕಡಾ ವಾರಿಪೂರಂ
ಬಿರಿದತ್ತಾ ಚಕ್ರಿ ಪೊಯ್ಯುಂ ತೊರೆಯನಮಳಸಮ್ಯಕ್ತ್ವ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಿಯಿಂದಂ॥

ಲಕ್ಕುಂಡಿ ಶಾಸನ:

ನರಪನಬೆಸದಿಂ ಜನನಂ
ಶಿರದೊಳ್ಸಲೆ ತಾಳ್ದಿ ದಾನಚಿಂತಾಮಣಿ ನಿ।
ರ್ಭ್ಭರ ಗೋದಾವರಿಯಂ ಪುಗೆ
ಪರಿಯುಡುಗಿದುದೆಂದೊಡೊಳ್ಪನದನೇವೇಳ್ವೆಂ॥

ಈ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ ಲಕ್ಕುಂಡಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸಮಯಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವರ್ಣಿತವಾಗಿರುವ ಅತ್ತಿಮಬ್ಬೆಯರು ಅಭಿನ್ನರೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಲಕ್ಕುಂಡಿ ಶಾಸನದ ಅತ್ತಿಮಬ್ಬೆಯ ಇಷ್ಟಾನುಸಾರವಾಗಿಯೇ ಕವಿ ರನ್ನನು 'ಅಜಿತ ಪುರಾಣ'ವನ್ನೂ ರಚಿಸಿದನೆಂಬ ಅಂಶವನ್ನೂ 'ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಶಾಸನಗಳ' ೧೧ನೆಯ ಸಂಚಿಕೆ. ಇಂಗ್ಲಿಷ್ ಪೀಠಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ[14] ತೋರಿಸಿದೆ.

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳು

1. *Karnataka Kavi Charite,* Vol. I (Revised edition), pp. 129f.
2. ೧ನೆಯ ಸಂಪುಟದ ಗ್ರಂಥಶುದ್ಧಿ, ಪುಟ ೭.
3. Pp. 198ff.
4. *Ibid.,* p. 206
5. *Karnataka Kavi Charite,* Vol. III, pp. Lxxxii.
6. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. IX, No. 220, 11. 13-18.
7. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. VI, No. 574 & 575; *Ibid.,* Vol. IX, No. 126, 127, 128 and 129; *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. IV, p. 213; *Epigraphia Carnatica,* Vol. XI, Davanagare 11.

8. *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XX, p. 278 (ಆದರೆ ಈ ತಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಡಾ॥ ಫ್ಲೀಟ್ ಅವರು ಆಮೇಲೆ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನು ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡರು; *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 454); *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924-25, pp. 75-76.

9. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. IX, No. 153

10. *Ibid.,* No. 224.

11. Vol. I, p. 132.

12. ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ, ಸಂಪುಟ ೨೪, ಸಂಚಿಕೆ ೪, ಪುಟ ೨೫-೩೧.

13. *South Indian Inscriptions,* Vol. XI, part I, pp. 39ff.

14. *Ibid.,* pp. VIII-IX.

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ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಎಲ್ಲಿಯವರು?*

ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ದೊರೆತಿರುವ ಕನ್ನಡ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾದ ಕವಿರಾಜಮಾರ್ಗದ ಕರ್ತನು ನೃಪತುಂಗಾಪರನಾಮಧೇಯನಾದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೧೪-೮೭೭)ನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಅರಿಯದ ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರು ವಿರಳ. ಈ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷನ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೫೩ರಿಂದ ೯೭೩ರ ವರೆಗೂ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಅದನ್ನು ಮಾನ್ಯಖೇಟದ (ಹೈದರಾಬಾದು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್**) ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಿಂದ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಬಿರಾರಿನಲ್ಲೂ, ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲೂ ಉತ್ತರ ದೇಶದ ಇನ್ನೂ ಕೆಲಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲೂ ಕೆಲ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟಮನೆತನಗಳು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಿಂದಲೇ ಸಣ್ಣ ಪುಟ್ಟ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದವು.[1] ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರಿಗೆ ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕರು ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರೆಂದು ನಾಮಕರಣಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರಿಗೂ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರಿಗೂ ಯಾವ ಸಂಬಂಧವಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲವಾದರೂ ಈ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದವರೇ ಅಲ್ಲವೇ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ವಿಚಾರಮಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧನಗಳಿವೆ. ಈ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಂಡಿತರಲ್ಲಿ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳಿವೆ.

ಮೊಟ್ಟಮೊದಲು ಈ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಪರ್ಯಾಲೋಚಿಸಿದ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಡಾ|| ಬರ್ನೆಲ್‌ರವರು. ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರೂ ಆಂಧ್ರದೇಶದ ರೆಡ್ಡಿಗಳೂ ಒಂದೇ ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವರೆಂದು ಇವರು ಸೂಚಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[2] ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಆ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ರಟ್ಟರೆಂಬ ಕ್ಷತ್ರಿಯರೇ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರೆಂದು ಸರ್ ಆರ್.ಜಿ. ಭಂಡಾರ್‌ಕರರು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟರು.[3] ಡಾ|| ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ೧೮೯೬ರಲ್ಲಿ ರಚಿಸಿದ *Dynasties of the Kanarase Districts* ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ರಾಠೋಡ್ ಪದದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ರೂಪವಿರಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ರಾಜಪುತಾನಾ, ಕನೋಜ್ ಪ್ರಾಂತದವರಾಗಿದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರು.[4] ಆದರೆ ೭-೮ ವರ್ಷಗಳನಂತರ ಈ ಸಂಶೋಧಕರು ತಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಈ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಮೂಲ ನಿವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಲಾತೂರೇ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕೆಲ ಪ್ರಬಲವಾದ ಕಾರಣಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[5] ಇದಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಸಿ.ವಿ.ವೈದ್ಯರು ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಈಗಿನ ಮರಾಠರ ಪೂರ್ವಿಕರೆಂದೂ, ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ದೇಶದವರೇ ಎಂದೂ ಬರೆದರು.[6] ಇವರೆಲ್ಲರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ವಿಶದವಾಗಿ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದವರೇ ಆಗಿ ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನು ಮಾತಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಬಿರಾರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ೭ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಸಂತತಿಯವರೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ತೋರಿಸಲು ಪ್ರೊ. ಅಳ್ತೇಕರರು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[7]

ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಿಂದಲೋ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಿಂದಲೋ ಬಂದು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲಸಿದರೆಂದು ವಾದಿಸಿರುವ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಈ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಡಲು ಅವರು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಕಾರಣಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಮರ್ಶೆಮಾಡಿ ತರುವಾಯ ಈ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರೇ ಹೊರತು ಹೊರಗಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದವರಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಸಮರ್ಥಿಸುವುದು ಉತ್ತಮ. ಡಾ|| ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತವಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಇದರ ರೂಪಾಂತರವಾದ 'ರಾಠೋಡ್' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರರ ಜನ್ಮಸ್ಥಾನವು ರಾಜಪುತಾನಾ ಮತ್ತು ಕನೋಜ್ ಪ್ರಾಂತವಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ನಮ್ಮ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಉತ್ತರದಿಂದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಮೊದಲು ಹೇಳಿದರು. ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ರಟ್ಟವಂಶವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರೂ ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ತಿಳಿಸುವುದರಿಂದ 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಶಬ್ದವು 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ'ದ ಅಪಭ್ರಂಶವೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರು. ಇವರ ಮೂಲಾವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವ 'ಲತ್ತನೂರಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರ' ಎಂಬ ಇವರ ಬಿರುದಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ಲತ್ತನೂರಪುರವು ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ರತ್ನಪುರವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಮನೆತನದವರು

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* ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ, ೨೦ (೩).

** ಈಗ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. - ಸಂ.

ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದವರೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಣಯಿಸಿರುವ ಪಂಡಿತರು ರಠಿಕ, ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಿಕ ಎಂದು ಅಶೋಕನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟರಾದ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳೇ ಕಲಕಾಲಾನಂತರ ಒಂದು ಪಂಗಡವಾಗಿ ರಠಿ, ಮಹಾರಠಿಗಳೆನ್ನಿಸಿಕೊಂಡರೆಂದೂ ಅವರಿದ್ದ ದೇಶವೇ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವಾಯಿತೆಂದೂ ಅವರ ವಂಶಜರೇ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದರು. ಇತಿಹಾಸ ಪರಿಶೋಧನೆಯನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ನಡೆಸಿದ ಮೇಲೆ ಡಾ|| ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ತಮ್ಮ ಮೊದಲಿನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ತಿದ್ದಿಕೊಂಡು 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮುಂಚೆ ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲವಾದರೂ ಇದೇ ಈ ವಂಶದ ಮೊದಲಿನ ಹೆಸರೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಗಳನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟರು. ಈ ವಂಶದ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ದೇವ್ಲೋಳಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನ[8]ದಲ್ಲಿ ರಟ್ಟ ಎಂಬಾತನು ಈ ರಾಜರ ಮೂಲಪುರುಷನೆಂದೂ ಕೆಲತಲೆಗಳಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಈ ಮನೆತನದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟನು ಜನಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ರಟ್ಟ ಎಂಬುದೇ ಮೊದಲಿನ ರೂಪವಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರ ಬಿರುದುಗಳಾದ ರಟ್ಟಮಾರ್ತ್ತಂಡ, ರಟ್ಟಕಂದರ್ಪ, ರಟ್ಟವಿದ್ಯಾಧರ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಪದಗಳೂ ರಟ್ಟ ಎಂಬುದೇ ಇವರ ಮೊದಲಿನ ನಾಮಧೇಯವೆಂದು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಎಂಟನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಕೆಲ ವೇಂಗೀ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇವರು ರಟ್ಟರೆಂದೇ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ' ಪದದ ಅಪಭ್ರಷ್ಟ ರೂಪವು 'ರಾಠೋಡ' ಅಥವಾ 'ರಾಷ್ಟೌಡ' ಆಗಬಹುದೇ ವಿನಾ 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಎಂದು ಮಾತ್ರ ಆಗಲಾರದು. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಪದದಲ್ಲಿ 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ'ದ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ 'ಕೂಟ'ಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಹೋಗುವ ಪದವಿಲ್ಲ. ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ವಂಶಜರಾದ ಸೌಂದತ್ತಿಯ 'ರಟ್ಟ'ರ ವಂಶದ ಹೆಸರಾದರೂ ಅವರು ತಮ್ಮ ಪೂರ್ವಿಕರ ಮೂಲ ನಾಮಧೇಯವನ್ನೇ ಉಳಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಎಂಬುದೇ ಮೂಲರೂಪವೆಂದೂ ಇದರ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ರೂಪವಾದ 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ' ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ಒಂದು ಮನೆತನದ ಹೆಸರಾಗಲಾರದಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಗಂಭೀರವಾಗಿ ತೋರುವ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು ಇವರು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಬಂದರೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದರು.[9] ಪ್ರೊ|| ಅಳ್ತೇಕರರು 'ರಟ್ಟ' ವು 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ'ಧ ಸಂಕ್ಷಿಪ್ತ ರೂಪವೇ ಎಂದು ವಾದಿಸಿದ್ದರೂ ರಠಿ, ಮಹಾರಠಿ ಎಂಬ ಪದಗಳು ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಸೂಚಕಗಳೇ ಹೊರತು ಪಂಗಡ ಅಥವಾ ಕುಲವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಈ ರಠಿ, ಮಹಾರಠಿ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ, ಆಂಧ್ರ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೨-೩ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದರೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿವೆಯಾದಕಾರಣ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದಿಂದ ಬಂದವರೆಂಬ ವಾದವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ತೋರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಎಂಬುದೇ ಮೊದಲಿನ ರೂಪವಿರಬಹುದೆಂದೂ ಇದು ಬಹುಶಃ ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ಪದವೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಕಾರಣವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬಹುದು. ಕಡಪಾ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತಿರುವ ೮ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಆದಿಭಾಗದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಲ್ಕಿರಟ್ಟಗುಡ್ಲು, ಪಲ್ಲವರಟ್ಟಗುಡ್ಲು, ಚೋಳ ಅಥವಾ ಚೋಳಿಯರಟ್ಟಗುಡ್ಲು, ಗಗ್ಗ(ಗಂಗ)ರಟ್ಟಗುಡ್ಲು ಎಂಬ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಉಕ್ತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ರಟ್ಟಗುಡ್ಲು ಪದದ ಹಿಂದೆ ಇರುವ ಸಲ್ಕಿ (ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ), ಪಲ್ಲವ, ಚೋಳ, ಗಂಗ ಎಂಬುವು ವಂಶವಾಚಕಗಳಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಆಯಾ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜರ ಆಶ್ರಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ.[10] ಆದುದರಿಂದ ೮ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಮುಂಚೆ 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಪದವು ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಪರಂತು 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಎಂಬುದು ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ಪದವೋ ಅಥವಾ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತವೋ ಎಂಬುದೂ ಇದರಿಂದ 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ'ವು ಹುಟ್ಟಿತೋ ಇಲ್ಲ 'ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ'ದಿಂದ 'ರಟ್ಟ' ಎಂದು ಅಪಭ್ರಷ್ಟವಾಯಿತೋ ಎಂಬ ವಿಷಯವು ಚರ್ಚಾಸ್ಪದವಾಗಿಯೇ ಉಳಿದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ದೇಶವೇ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಜನ್ಮಭೂಮಿಯೆಂದು ದೃಢಪಡಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ನಿರ್ವಿವಾದವಾದ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿವೆಯೇ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ವಿಚಾರಿಸೋಣ.

ಇವರು ದಾಕ್ಷಿಣಾತ್ಯರಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು; ಮತ್ತು ಕನ್ನಡವೇ ಇವರ ಮಾತೃಭಾಷೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಬಲವಾದ ಪ್ರಮಾಣಗಳಿವೆ. ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿರುವಂತೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರು ಲತ್ತನೂರಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರರೆಂದು ವರ್ಣಿತರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇವರಂತೆಯೇ ಕೊವಳಾಲಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗರ ಮೂಲಾವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವು ಕೊವಳಾಲ (ಈಗಿನ ಕೋಲಾರ)ವೇ ಎಂದು ಪಂಡಿತರು ತೋರಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ತಗರಪುರಪರಮೇಶ್ವರರೆಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಸಿಲಾಹಾರರು ತಗರ (ಹೈದಲಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ತೇರ್) ಪುರದವರೇ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ. ಒರೆಯೂರ್ಪುರೇಶ್ವರರೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದುಳ್ಳ ಚೋಳರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಮತ್ತು ಆಂಧ್ರ ದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಧ್ಯ ಯುಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಮಂತರಾಗಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಇವರ ಮೂಲನಿವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವು ಒರೆಯೂರೇ (ಉರೈಯೂರ್). ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ, ಅನಂತಪುರ, ಚಿತ್ರದುರ್ಗ, ತುಂಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ನೊಳಂಬ ಪಲ್ಲವರ 'ಕಾಂಚೀಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರ' ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದೂ ಇವರು ಕಂಚಿಯಿಂದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದವರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಕೆಲ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರವೆಂಬ ಪದವು ಅರಸರ ಆಗಿನ ಅಥವಾ ಒಂದಾನೊಂದು ಕಾಲದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಗೋವೆಯ ಕದಂಬರು 'ಬನವಾಸೀಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರರೆಂದು' ಹೇಳಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವುದು ಇವರ ಪೂರ್ವಜರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಬನವಾಸಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಕದಂಬರು ತಾಳಗುಂದದವರೆಂದು ಅಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನವು[11]

ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ 'ಕಾಲಂಜರಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರ' ರೆನಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ಕಳಚುರ್ಯರ ಪೂರ್ವದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಬುಂಡೇಲ್‌ಖಂಡದ ಕಾಲಂಜರವೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತೇ ಇದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಪುರವರೇಶ್ವರ, ಪುರಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಎಂಬ ವಿಶೇಷಣಗಳು ಆಯಾ ಊರುಗಳು ಆಯಾ ರಾಜರ ನಿವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನ ಅಥವಾ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಲತ್ತಲೂರು ಯಾವಾಗಲೂ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಅದು ಅವರ ಮೂಲನಿವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈಗ ಈ ಲತ್ತಲೂರು ಅಥವಾ ಲತ್ತನೂರು ಯಾವುದೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನೋಡೋಣ. ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಔತ್ತರೇಯರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದಿದ್ದ ಫ್ಲೀಟ್, ರಾಜವಾಡೆ ಮೊದಲಾದವರು ಇದು ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿನ ರತ್ನಪುರವೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ತಮ್ಮ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಮಾರ್ಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಮೇಲೆ ಫ್ಲೀಟರು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಬೀದರ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯೊಳಗೆ ಮುಂಜೇರಾ ನದಿಯ ತೀರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಲಾತೂರೇ ಈ ಲತ್ತಲೂರಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈಚೆಗೆ ಈ ಲಾತೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನ ಕಾಲದ ಒಂದು ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[12] ಈ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ಶ್ಲೋಕಗಳಿವೆ:

> ಅಸ್ತಿ ದಿವ್ಯಂ ಪರಸ್ರೇ(ಶ್ರೇ)ಷ್ಠಂ ಲತ್ತಲೌರಾಭಿಧಾನಕಂ ।
> ಮಹಾಜನ್ಯೈಃ ಪಂಚಶತ್ಯೈರ್ವೇದವಿದ್ಭಿರ್ನಿಷೇವಿತಂ ॥
> ದೇವೋಸ್ತಿ ಪ್ರಥಿತಸ್ತತ್ರ ನಾಮ್ನಾ ಪಾಪವಿನಾಶನಃ ।
> ಯಂ ದೃಷ್ಟ್ವಾ ದೇವದೇವೇಂಶಂ ಸಿದ್ಧ್ಯಂತಿ ಮನುಜಾ ಭುವಿ॥

ಆ ವೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಡಿದ ಒಂದು ದಾನವು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಪೂರ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಲತ್ತಲೌರ (ಲತ್ತಲೂರ)ವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರೇ ಲಾತೂರಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನೂ ಸ್ಥಿರಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಮೂಲನಿವಾಸ ಸ್ಥಾನವು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿನ ಲಾತೂರೇ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಸಂದೇಹವೂ ಇಲ್ಲ.

ಇನ್ನು ಇವರು ಮಾತಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಭಾಷೆ ಕನ್ನಡವೇ ಆಗಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೂ ತಕ್ಕ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿವೆ. ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ವಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹಳ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತನೂ, ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷನ ತಂದೆಯೂ ಆದ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಗೋವಿಂದನು (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೯೩-೮೧೪) ತನ್ನ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮದಿಂದ ಅನೇಕ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದು ಹಿಮವತ್ಪರ್ವತದವರೆಗೂ ತನ್ನ ವಂಶದ ಕೀರ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಹರಡಿದನು. ಹೀಗೆ ಇವನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನ ಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದಾದ ಲಾಟಮಂಡಲ (ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಗುಜರಾತ್)ದಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಇಂದ್ರರಾಜನನ್ನು ಸಾಮಂತನನ್ನಾಗಿ ನೇಮಿಸಿದನು. ಈ ಇಂದ್ರನ ಸಂತತಿಯ ಅರಸರು ತಮ್ಮ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಟರಾದ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ಮನೆತನದವರ ಅಧೀನರಾಗಿ ಬಹುಕಾಲ ಗುಜರಾತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಇವರ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಹಲವು ನಮಗೆ ದೊರೆತಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ನಾಗರೀ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಮತ್ತೆ ಕೆಲವು ಗುಜರಾತ್ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಆ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಳಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಈ ಮನೆತನದವರ ಐದು ತಾಮ್ರ ಪಟ್ಟಿಕೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ವಿಶೇಷವು ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವುಗಳ ಭಾಷೆಯೇನೋ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ. ಶಾಸನವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ನಾಗರೀ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲೋ ಅಥವಾ ಆಗಿನ ಗುಜರಾತಿ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲೋ ಇದ್ದರೂ ಇವುಗಳ ದಾತರಾದ ರಾಜರ ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತದ ಒಪ್ಪವು ಮಾತ್ರ ಕನ್ನಡ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದು ಗುಜರಾತ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಕರ್ಕರಾಜ ಸುವರ್ಣವರ್ಷನು ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೭೩೪ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೧೨)ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ದಾನಪತ್ರ.[13] ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷ, ದಾನ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಭಾಗಗಳು ಆಗ್ಗೆ ಗುಜರಾತಿನಲ್ಲಿ ರೂಢಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೂ 'ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತೋಯಂ ಮಮ ಶ್ರೀಕರ್ಕರಾಜಸ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀಮದಿಂದ್ರರಾಜಸುತಸ್ಯ' ಎಂಬ ಕರ್ಕನ ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತವು ಕನ್ನಡ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ಇದೆ. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಶಕ ೭೩೭ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೧೬)ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಇದೇ ರಾಜನ ನೌಸಾರಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[14]ಯೂ ರಾಜನ ಅಂಕಿತವಾದ 'ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತೋಯಂ ಮಮ ಶ್ರೀಮದಿನ್ದ್ರರಾಜಸುತಸ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀಕರ್ಕರಾಜಸ್ಯ' ಎಂಬ ಪದಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿರುವ ಡಾ॥ ಡಿ.ಆರ್. ಭಂಡಾರಕರು ಈ ವೈಲಕ್ಷಣ್ಯದ ಮೇಲೆ ಟೀಕೆ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾ ಗುಜರಾತ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಅರಸರು ತಮ್ಮ ವಂಶದ ಮೂಲ ನಿವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಲಿಪಿಯನ್ನೇ ಗುಜರಾತಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ಮೇಲೂ ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಶಕ ೭೪೬ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೨೪)ರ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣಪಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಸನ[15]ದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾದ ಕರ್ಕರಾಜ ಮತ್ತು ಅವನ ಅಧಿಪತಿಯಾದ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷ ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರ ಒಪ್ಪಗಳೂ 'ಮತಮ್ಮಮ ಶ್ರೀಜಗತ್ತುಙ್ಗದೇವಸುತಸ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀಮದಮೋಘವರ್ಷದೇವಸ್ಯ ಯದುಪರಿ ಲಿಖಿತಂ ॥ ಮತಮ್ಮಮ ಇನ್ದ್ರರಾಜ ಸುತಸ್ಯ ಶ್ರೀಕರ್ಕರಾಜದೇವಸ್ಯ ಯದುಪರಿ ಲಿಖಿತಮಿತಿ ॥' ಎಂದು ಕನ್ನಡ ಅಕ್ಷರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಈ ಕರ್ಕರಾಜನ ಮಗನಾದ ಒಂದನೆಯ ಧ್ರುವರಾಜನ ಶಕ ೭೫೭ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೩೫)ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಮತ್ತು ಧ್ರುವನ ಮೊಮ್ಮಗನಾದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಧ್ರುವರಾಜನ ಶಕ ೮೦೬ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೮೪)ರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು[16] ನಾಗರೀ ಲಿಪಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟು ರಾಜರ ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತಗಳು 'ಮತಮ್ಮಮ ಶ್ರೀಧ್ರುವರಾಜದೇವಸ್ಯ॥ ಶ್ರೀಕರ್ಕರಾಜಸುತಸ್ಯ ಯದುಪರಿ ಲಿಖಿತಂ'॥ ಎಂದೂ 'ಸ್ವಹಸ್ತೋಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಧ್ರುವರಾಜದೇವಸ್ಯ' ಎಂದೂ ಕನ್ನಡ ಅಕ್ಷರದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ

ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಗುಜರಾತ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಸ್ವದೇಶವಾದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕವನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟುಹೋಗಿ ಸುಮಾರು ಒಂದು ಶತಮಾನಕಾಲ ದೂರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಇವರ ಬರವಣಿಗೆಯು ಮಾತ್ರ ತಮ್ಮ ಮಾತೃಭಾಷೆಯಾದ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಜೂರಾದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ೩ನೆಯ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನ[17]ವೂ ಸಹ ಈ ರಾಜರ ತಾಯ್ನುಡಿಯು ಕನ್ನಡವೆಂದೇ ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಇನ್ನು ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ಮನೆತನವು ಬಿರಾರ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಒಂದು ಶಾಖೆಯೇ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂಬ ವಾದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರ ಸಾಲದು. ಪ್ರೊ. ಅಳ್ತೇಕರರು ತಮ್ಮ ಈ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ಎರಡು ಮುಖ್ಯಕಾರಣಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದು ಬಿರಾರ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ದಕ್ಷಿಣದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಗಿಂತಲೂ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾದವು. ಒಬ್ಬರಿಬ್ಬರ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಲಿಕೆಯಿದ್ದ ಮಾತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಮನೆತನಗಳೆರಡೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲ. ಅಳ್ತೇಕರರು ಬರೆದಾಗ ೮ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಂದಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಈಚೆಗೆ ಗೋಕಾಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ದೇಜ್ಜಮಹಾರಾಜನ ೬-೭ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಕನ್ನಡ ಲಿಪಿಯ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದೆ.[18] ಈತನು ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡ್ ಮನೆತನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ್ದನೋ ಇಲ್ಲವೋ ಎಂಬುದು ಗೊತ್ತಿಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೂ ಈತನು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದು ನಿಶ್ಚಯ. ಬಿರಾರ್ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಮಾಲ್‌ಖೇಡಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ಹೊರಗಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದವರೆಂಬ ಶಂಕೆಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶವೇ ಇಲ್ಲ.

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳು

1. ಈ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಏಳು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಮನೆತನಗಳಿದ್ದವೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ-
   - (೧) ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಮೌ - ಹೋಷಂಗಾಬಾದ್ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಸುಮಾರು ಏಳನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಮಾನಪುರದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು (ಅಭಿಮನ್ಯುವಿನ ಉಂಡಿಕವಾಟಿಕಾ ದಾನಪತ್ರ, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 165ff.)
   - (೨) ಬಿರಾರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಏಳನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಬೇತೂಲಿನ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು (ನನ್ನರಾಜನ ತಿವಾರ್‌ಖೇಡ್, ಮುಲ್ತಾಯಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನಗಳು - ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡನೆಯದು ಕೂಟಲೇಖೆ(forgery)ಯಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XI, pp. 279f.; *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 234ff.)
   - (೩.) ಬೋಧ್ ಗಯಾದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು - ಸುಮಾರು ೯-೧೦ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳು (Rajendralal Mitra: *Bodh-Gayā,* p. 195).
   - (೪) ಮಧ್ಯ ಹಿಂದೂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಪಠಾರಿಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು ೯ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನ (ಪರಬಲನ ಪಠಾರಿ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, pp. 252ff.).
   - (೫) ೧೦-೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜಪೂತಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಹಸ್ತಿಕುಂಡಿಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು (ಬಾಲಪ್ರಸಾದನ ಬಿಜಾಪುರ [ಜೋಧ್‌ಪುರ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನ] ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ, *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. X, pp. 22ff)
   - (೬) ೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಧನೋಪ (ರಾಜಪುತಾನಾ)ದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು (ಚಚ್ಚನ ಧನೋಪ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ, *Ep. Ant., Vol. XL, p. 175*)
   - (೭) ಸಂಯುಕ್ತ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ೧೧-೧೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ವೋದಾಮಯೂತದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರು (ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣಪಾಲನ ಬದಾಯೂನ್ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ, *Ep. Ind., Vol. I, pp. 64ff*).
2. *South-Indian Palaeography,* p. 54, n. 3.
3. *Early History of Deccan,* p. 194.
4. *Bombay Gazetteer,* Vol. I ,part ii, p. 384.
5. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII, pp. 223ff.
6. *History of Medieval Hindu India,* Vol. II, pp. 322ff.

7. *Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times,* pp. 15ff.
8. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. V, pp. 88ff.
9. *Ibid.,* Vol. VII, pp. 214ff.
10. *Ibid.,* Vol. XI, p. 343.
11. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VIII, pp. 24ff.
12. *Proceedings of the VII Oriental Conference,* pp. 591ff.
13. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XII, pp. 156ff.
14. *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Vol. XX, pp. 134ff.
15. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXII, pp. 77ff.
16. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIV, pp. 196ff and *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXII, pp. 64ff.
17. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XIX, pp. 287ff.
18. *Ibid.,* Vol. XXI, pp. 289ff.

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ಪಂಪನ ಆಶ್ರಯದಾತನಾದ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವಂಶ*

ಕನ್ನಡ ಕವಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ರಗಣ್ಯನಾದ ಮಹಾಕವಿ ಪಂಪನು ತನ್ನ ಆಶ್ರಯದಾತನಾದ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ವಂಶದ 'ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯನ್ನು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನವಿಜಯ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹಳವಾಗಿ ಸ್ತುತಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದುವರೆಗೂ ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯವಂಶದ ಶಾಖೆಗಳಿಗೂ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೂ ಇರುವ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಈತನು ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸೂಚಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ದ ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆಯಾದನಂತರ ಕೆಲವು ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನಗಳೂ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನಗಳೂ ದೊರಕಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ನಮಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿರುವ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ವಂಶಗಳಿಗೂ ಮತ್ತು ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೂ ಇರುವ ಸಂಬಂಧವು ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಯುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಕೆಲವು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಈ ವಂಶದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೂ, ಗುಜರಾತ್ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯವಂಶದ ಶ್ರಿಯಾಶ್ರಯ ಶಿಲಾದಿತ್ಯನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೂ ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ಎಂದು ಭಾವಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವಂಶದ ಅರಸರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಮಗೆ ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಮೊಟ್ಟ ಮೊದಲನೆಯವನು[1] ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲ. ಈತನೂ ಗುಜರಾತ್ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ವಂಶದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೂ ಒಂದೇ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಲು ಇರುವ ಕಾರಣಗಳು ಎರಡೇ ಎರಡು. ಮೊದಲನೆಯದೇನೆಂದರೆ ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚೂ ಕಡಮೆ ಒಂದೇ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಜೀವಿಸಿದ್ದುದು. ಆದರೆ ಗುಜರಾತ್ ದೇಶದ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರನೊಬ್ಬನು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಣವಾದ ಪೋದನದಲ್ಲಿ (ಈಗಿನ ಬೋಧನ್) ತನ್ನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲು ಒದಗಿದ ಸಂದರ್ಭವೇನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಯಾರೂ ವಿಶದಪಡಿಸಿಲ್ಲ. ನಿಜವಾಗಿ ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಇವರಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾದ ಆಧಾರಗಳೇ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಮುಂದೆ ವಿವರಿಸಿರುವ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ವಂಶದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೫೦ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮುಂಚೆ ಬದುಕಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೬೮ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಮೊದಲೇ ಗುಜರಾತ್ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಶಾಖೆಯ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಸತ್ತುಹೋಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿದೆ.

ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ವಂಶದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಮತ್ತು ಅವನ ವಂಶೀಯರ ಕಾಲಗಳನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಾಗಲೀ ಶಾಸನಗಳಾಗಲೀ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ದೊರೆತಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯೇ ಕನ್ನಡ ಮಹಾಕವಿ ಪಂಪನ ಆಶ್ರಯದಾತನು. ಪಂಪನು ತನ್ನ 'ಆದಿಪುರಾಣ'ವನ್ನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೪೧ರಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆದನು. ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೫೯ರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವು ಸೋಮದೇವನ 'ಯಶಸ್ತಿಲಕ'ದ[2] ಕೊನೆಯ ಭಾಗದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಗೂರ್ಜರ ರಾಜನಾದ ಮಹೀಪಾಲನನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂದು ಪಂಪಕವಿಯು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಈ ಮಹೀಪಾಲನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೪ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದನು. ಈ ನರಸಿಂಹನೇ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಅರಸನಾದ ಇಂದ್ರನ ಮಗಳೊಬ್ಬಳನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನವು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಹುಶಃ ಈ ಇಂದ್ರನು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟದ ರಾಜನಾದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನೇ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೫-೯೨೭) ಇರಬೇಕು. ಇದರಿಂದ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೦ರಿಂದ ೯೨೫ರವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮೊದಲು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ಐದನೆಯ ಪೂರ್ವಜನಾದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ಕಾಲಸಮನ್ವಯವು (Chronological synchronism) ದೊರಕುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯೂ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಧ್ರುವನೂ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೭೫-೭೯೪) ಸಮಕಾಲೀನರು. ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೦ರಿಂದ ೯೩೫ರವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಕಾಲದಿಂದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೆ ಐದು ಜನ ರಾಜರುಗಳು ಆಳಿದರು. ನರಸಿಂಹನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಭದ್ರದೇವನನ್ನುಳಿದು ಮಿಕ್ಕ ಅರಸರುಗಳ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರವನ್ನೆಲ್ಲ ಸರಾಸರಿ ತಲೆಗೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷಗಳಂತೆ ಎಣಿಸಬಹುದು. ಭದ್ರದೇವನು ತನ್ನ ಅಣ್ಣನ ತರುವಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದುದರಿಂದ ಆತನು ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದ ಕಾಲವು ಹತ್ತು ವರ್ಷಗಳೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಬಹುದು. ಇವೆಲ್ಲವುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಲೆಕ್ಕಕ್ಕೆ ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡರೆ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಕೊಟ್ಟಕೊನೆಯ ದಿನಗಳಿಗೂ ಎರಡನೆಯ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೂ ೧೧೦ ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಅಂತರವಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಕೊನೆಯ ದಿನಗಳು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೦೦ (೯೧೦-೧೧೦=೮೦೦) ಎಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಬಹುದು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಬಹುಶಃ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೭೫ರಿಂದ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೦೦ರ ವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿರಬೇಕು. ಈತನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಸುಮಾರು

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* ಅಭಿವಂದನೆ, ಶ್ರೀ ಆರ್.ಕೃ. ಅಭಿವಂದನ ಗ್ರಂಥ, ಪು ೪೬೫-೪೮೧.

ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೫೦ರ ಹೊತ್ತಿಗೆ ಬಲಿಷ್ಠನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಆದರೆ ಇದೇ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ಗುಜರಾತ್ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೩೮ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮುಂಚೆಯೇ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ಥನಾಗಿ ಈತನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಅವನಿಜನಾಶ್ರಯ ಪುಲಕೇಶಿಯು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ನಮಗೆ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಗೊತ್ತಿದೆ. ಗುಜರಾತಿನ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಮನೋರ್ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲವು ಶಕ ೬೧೩ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೯೧). ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೯೧ರ ಹೊತ್ತಿಗೇನೇ ಈತನು ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಗುಜರಾತ್ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರಾಜನು ಕನಿಷ್ಟಪಕ್ಷ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೬೯೦ರಿಂದ ೭೩೮ರವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ನಾವು ತಿಳಿಯಬಹುದು. ಈ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಈತನೇ ಪೋದನ (ಈಗಿನ ಬೋಧನ್) ದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಸಮಂಜಸವಲ್ಲ. ಮೇಲೆ ತಿಳಿಸಿರುವಂತೆ ಪೋದನದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಚಟುವಟಿಕೆಗಳು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೫೦ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮೊದಲು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭವಾಗಿರುವುದು ಅಸಂಭವ. ಈತನು ರಾಜ್ಯ ಕಟ್ಟುವಷ್ಟು ಪ್ರಬಲನಾಗಲು ಸಂದರ್ಭವು ಹೇಗೆ ಒದಗಿತೆಂಬುದು ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಈತನ ಮಗನಾದ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಧ್ರುವನ ಸಾಮಂತನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಒಂದು ಊಹೆಯು ಸ್ಫುರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಯಾರ ಸಾಮಂತನೂ ಆಗಿಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಬಾದಾಮಿಯ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರ ಅಳಿಗಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯಸೂತ್ರಗಳು ಸಡಿಲವಾದ ಸಮಯವನ್ನು ಕಾಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರನಾಗಿರಬಹುದು.

ಸೌಲಭ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜರ ವಂಶವೃಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲ - ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೫೦-೭೭೫)
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ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೭೫-೮೦೦)
|
ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ನರಸಿಂಹ-ರಾಜಾದಿತ್ಯ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೦೦-೮೨೫) | ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಭದ್ರದೇವ (ಬದ್ದೆಗ) (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೨೫-೮೩೫)
|
ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೩೫-೮೬೦)
|
ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಬದ್ದೆಗ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೬೦-೮೮೫)
|
ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲ-ಸ್ತಂಭ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೮೫-೯೧೦)
|
ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ನರಸಿಂಹ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೦-೯೩೫)
ಈತನು ಜಾಕವ್ವೆಯನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾದನು
|
ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿ (ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೩೫-೯೪೧)
|
ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಬದ್ದೆಗ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೫೯)
|
ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೬೬)

ಇನ್ನು ರಾಜರ ಚರಿತ್ರೆ. ಶಾಸನಗಳು, ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನನ್ನು ಈ ವಂಶದ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಕೀರ್ತಿವಂತನಾದ ಅರಸನೆಂದೂ ಈತನು ಇತರರಿಗೆ ಆಳಲು ಅಶಕ್ಯವಾಗಿದ್ದಂತಹ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಸ್ತುತಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಇದೇ ಸ್ತುತಿಯನ್ನೇ ಪಂಪನೂ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾನೆ. ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ವಂಶದ ಮೊಟ್ಟ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಸನು ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೆಂದು ಆಗಲೇ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈತನ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು

ಮಹತ್ಕಾರ್ಯವು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಹೊಗಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಇವನು ಪ್ರತಿನಿತ್ಯವೂ ನೂರಾರು ಆನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಪೋದನದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಣ್ಣೆಯಿಂದ ತುಂಬಿದ ಕೊಳಗಳಲ್ಲಿ **(tanks)** ಮಜ್ಜನ ಮಾಡಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದನಂತೆ. ಆತ್ಯಾಶ್ಚರ್ಯಕರವಾದ ಈ ದೃಶ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪೋದನದಲ್ಲಿ ತಾನು ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷದ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಮನೋರಂಜನೆಗಾಗಿ ಏರ್ಪಡಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು ಒತ್ತಿ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷದ ಅರಸನು ಸತತವಾಗಿ ಪೋದನದಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ಆನೆಗಳಿಗೆ ಎಣ್ಣೆ ಮಜ್ಜನದ ಏರ್ಪಾಡನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿರಬೇಕಾಧರೆ ಪೋದನವು ಸಪಾದ ಲಕ್ಷದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಅಂಶವು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಪೋದನವು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ನಿಜಾಮಾಬಾದ್‌ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಆಧುನಿಕ ಬೋಧನ್ ಎಂಬ ಊರು ಎನ್ನುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ಸಂಶಯವೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ದೇಶವೂ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಾಕಂಬರೀ ದೇಶವೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂಬ ಕೆಲ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಮತವು ಅಷ್ಟು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಏಕೆಂದರೆಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಕಾರ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವಾದ ಬೋದನದ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲೇ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ರಾಜ್ಯವೊಂದು ಇರುವಾಗ ಇತರ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು (ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ಅಂದರೆ ಒಂದೂಕಾಲುಲಕ್ಷ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ಅನೇಕ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಭಾಗಗಳು ಪೂರ್ವಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದವು) ನಾವು ಹುಡುಕುವುದು ಅನಾವಶ್ಯಕ. ವಿಶೇಷತಃ ಬೋಧನದಿಂದ ಸುಮಾರು ೬೦೦ ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರವಿರುವ ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಹುಡುಕಿಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಬೋಧನ್ನಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ಒಂದು ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಶಾಸನಾಧಾರವಿದೆ. ಕರೀಮ್ ನಗರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಎಂಬ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ೬ನೆಯ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಸಾಮಂತನಾದ ರಾಜಾದಿತ್ಯನೆಂಬಾತನು ಕೋಸವಳಂ ಸವಲಕ್ಖ (ಅಂದರೆ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ) ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗಗಳನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಲೇಂಬುಳವಾಡೆ (ಅಂದರೆ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ)ಯಿಂದ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡಕ್ಕೆ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ರಾಜ್ಯಾಂಗವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಬೋಧನನಗರವು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡದ ಹತ್ತಿರದಲ್ಲೇ ಇದೆಯಾದ್ದರಿಂದ (ನಿಜಾಮಾಬಾದ್ ಕರೀಮ್ ನಗರಗಳು ಅಕ್ಕಪಕ್ಕದ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳು) ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವು ಇವೆರಡಕ್ಕೂ ಸಮೀಪವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬ ಅಂಶವೂ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತವೆ. ವೇಮುಲವಾಡದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಶಾಸನವು ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಗೌಡಸಂಘದ ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಯ ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಶುಭಧಾಮ ಜಿನಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷದ ಅರಸನಾದ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನಿಂದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಐದನೆಯ ವಂಶಜನೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಶುಭದಾಮ ಜಿನಾಲಯದ ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಯೇ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ದಾನವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದ ಜೈನಾಚಾರ್ಯನಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಈ ಬದ್ದೆಗನೂ ಪರಭಣ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನೂ ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದ ಮೂರನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನೂ ಒಂದೇ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯೆಂದು ನಿಸ್ಸಂದೇಹವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಈ ಬದ್ದೆಗನ ಐದನೆಯ ಪೂರ್ವಜನಾದ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೂ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷದ ಅರಸನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಯಿತು. ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳವರಲ್ಲಿ ಈತನು ಎರಡನೆಯವನಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ, ಎರಡನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನೂ ಸಹ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷದ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ.೮೩೫ರಿಂದ೮೬೦ರ ವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ತರುವಾಯ ಸುಮಾರು ಒಂದು ಶತಮಾನದ ಮೇಲೆ ಇದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷದೇಶವು ಈ ವಂಶದವರ ಆಡಳಿತದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುವುದು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ವಂಶದವರಿಗೂ ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಾಕಂಭರಿಗೂ ಸಂಬಂಧವಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದು ಉಚಿತವಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಈ ವಂಶದವರು ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬೋಧನ್ ಮತ್ತು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡಗಳ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಇತ್ತೆಂದು ನಿಷ್ಕೃಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಾಸನಗಳ ಆಧಾರದಮೇಲೆ ಮಾಡಿದ ಈ ನಿರ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದ ಬೆಂಬಲವೂ ಇದೆ. 'ಯಶಸ್ತಿಲಕ ಚಂಪೂ'ವಿನ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನಕಾರನಾದ ಶ್ರುತಸಾಗರನು 'ಅಶ್ಮಂತಕ' ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದವನ್ನು 'ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ಪರ್ವತ ನಿವಾಸಿನ್' ಎಂದು ವಿವರಿಸುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಅಶ್ಮಂತಕವೂ ಅಶ್ಮಕವೂ ಎರಡೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎನ್ನುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಶ್ಮಕವು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಷಯ. ಆದರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಪೋದನ (ಬೋಧನ್). ಶ್ರುತಸಾಗರನು ಈ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವನ್ನೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ದೇಶವು ಬೋಧನ್ನಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಆಧಾರವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಂತಾಯಿತು. ಬೇರೊಂದೆಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿ[3] ನಾನು ತೋರಿಸಿರುವಂತೆ ಈ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಕನಿಷ್ಠಪಕ್ಷ ಈಗಿನ ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಪೂರ್ವ ಮತ್ತು ಮಧ್ಯಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನಾದರೂ ಒಳಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು. ಇಷ್ಟು ಆಧಾರಗಳಿದ್ದರೂ ಸಹ ನಾವು ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವನ್ನು (ಅಂದರೆ ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನದ ಶಾಕಂಭರಿಯನ್ನು) ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ದಂತಿದುರ್ಗನ ಸೇನಾನಾಯಕನಾಗಿ ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಅಷ್ಟು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ವಿಷಯವೇನೆಂದರೆ ದಂತಿದುರ್ಗನು ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಅಥವಾ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಅವನ ಸೇನಾನಾಯಕನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಇಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ (ಅಂದರೆ ೮ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ) ಶಾಕಂಭರಿ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದೇ ಸಂದೇಹವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಈ ಅರಸರ ಮತ್ತೊಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಶಾಸನವು ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟದ ವಿಜಯ. ಈ ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟವು 'ಸ್ವಭಾವದುರ್ಗ'ವೆಂದು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. (ಅಂದರೆ ದೈವ ಕಲ್ಪಿತವಾದ ದುರ್ಗ, ಮಾನವ ಕಲ್ಪಿತವಲ್ಲ). ಕೆಲವರು ಈ ದುರ್ಗವು ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಚಿತೋಡಗಢವೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಭಾವನೆಯು ಈ ಅರಸನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವು ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿಯ ಶಾಕಂಭರಿ ದೇಶವೆಂಬ ಊಹೆಗೆ ಬೆಂಬಲವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತದೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಮೇಲೆ ತೋರಿಸಿರುವಂತೆ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾದ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷಕ್ಕೂ ಶಾಕಂಭರಿಯ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೂ ಸಂಬಂಧವನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಬೇಕಾದ ಆವಶ್ಯಕತೆಯೇ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನು ಜಯಿಸಿದಂತಹ ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟದುರ್ಗವೂ ಮತ್ತು ರಾಜಸ್ಥಾನದ ಚಿತೋಡ್‌ಗಢವೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದು ಅಸಮಂಜಸ. ಪ್ರತ್ಯುತ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟವು ಬುಂದೇಲಖಂಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲಂಜರ್ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟವಾಗಿರಬಹುದಾದ ಸಂಭವ ಹೆಚ್ಚು.

ಈತನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಬಾಲ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಅಖಿಲ ವೇಂಗಿ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಜಯಿಸಿ ಪೃಥಿವಿಯನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವೂ 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ವೂ ವೇಂಗಿಯೊಡನೆ ತ್ರಿಕಲಿಂಗವನ್ನು ಈತನು ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ನಿರುಪಮ (ಅಂದರೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಧ್ರುವ)ನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಭವಿಸಿದುವೆಂದು 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿಸ್ಸಂದೇಹವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಅಣ್ಣ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಾದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಗೋವಿಂದನೂ, ಧ್ರುವನೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಪಿತ್ರಾರ್ಜಿತವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ತಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಹೊಡೆದಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಬಹುಶಃ ಈ ವಿಜಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶವು ದೊರಕಿರಬೇಕು. ಗೋವಿಂದನೂ ಪರರಾಜ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು (ಧ್ರುವನೊಡನೆ ಹೋರಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ) ಕೋರಿದನೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ಗೊತ್ತು. ಈ ಪರರಾಜರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವೇಂಗಿಯ ಅರಸನೂ ಒಬ್ಬನು. ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಈ ಯುದ್ಧಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ವೇಂಗಿಯ ರಾಜನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ತ್ರಿಕಲಿಂಗವನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಧ್ರುವನ ಪರವಾಗಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಕಿತ್ತುಕೊಂಡಿರಬೇಕು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೭೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಧ್ರುವನೇ ಅರಸನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬ ಸಂಗತಿಯು ಧ್ರುವನ ಪಿಂಪರಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಇಂತು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಗೋವಿಂದನಿಗೆ ಸಹಾಯ ಮಾಡಿದ ರಾಜರುಗಳ ಪರಾಜಯವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೭೫ಕ್ಕೆ ಮೊದಲೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೭೫ರಿಂದ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೦೦ರವರೆಗೆ (ಈ ಲೇಖನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಕಾಲಗಣನೆಯ ರೀತ್ಯಾ) ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡಿದ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಹುಡುಗನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗಲೇ ವೇಂಗಿಯನ್ನು ಗೆದ್ದನೆಂಬ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನದ ಮಾತು ಈತನು ಚಿಕ್ಕವನಾಗಿದ್ದಾಗಲೇ ರಾಜ್ಯಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ವಹಿಸಿದನೆಂಬ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಮಕ್ಕಳುಗಳಾದ ರಾಜಾದಿತ್ಯನಾದ ನರಸಿಂಹ ಮತ್ತು ಭದ್ರದೇವನ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಕವಾದ ಸ್ತುತಿಯು ಮಾತ್ರ ದೊರಕಿದೆ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ಮಗನಾದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿರುವ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಅವಲೋಕಿಸೋಣ. ಈತನ ಸಾಹಸ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವರ್ಣನೆಗಳಿಲ್ಲದಿದ್ದರೂ ಈತನನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯ ಅಂಶವು ನಮಗೆ ದೊರಕಿದೆ. ಅದೇನೆಂದರೆ ಈತನು ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷವನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದು. ಬದ್ದೆಗನ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ವಿಷಯಕ್ಕೆ ಗಣ್ಯಸ್ಥಾನವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನಿಂದ ೫ನೆಯ ವಂಶಜನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನವು ಈ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. 'ಶತ್ರುರಾಜರುಗಳು ಈತನ ಭಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಗುಹೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅಡವಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅಡಗಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.' ಅಂದರೆ ಇವನ ಶೌರ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಶತ್ರುಗಳು ನಡುಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.

ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಮಗನಾದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಈ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಲಿಷ್ಠನಾದ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಪರಾಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾರ್ತವೀರ್ಯನನ್ನೂ ಮೀರಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ವಸ್ತುತಃ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಶೂರನಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಈತನಿಗೆ 'ಸೋಲದ ಗಂಡ'ನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಬಂದಿರಬೇಕು. ಬಿರುದಿಗೆ ತಕ್ಕಂತೆ ಈತನು ನಲವತ್ತೆರಡು ಯುದ್ಧಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಜಯಶಾಲಿಯಾಗಿ ಮೊಸಳೆಯು ತನ್ನ ಭಕ್ಷ್ಯಪ್ರಾಣಿಗಳನ್ನು ನೀರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹಿಡಿಯುವಂತೆ, ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಶಾಲಿಯಾದ ಭೀಮನೆಂಬ ಅರಸನೊಬ್ಬನನ್ನು ಸೆರೆ ಹಿಡಿದನಂತೆ. ಈ ಭೀಮನೂ ಮತ್ತು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೯೨ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಿರೀಟಧಾರಣೆಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ ವೇಂಗಿಯ ಅರಸನಾದ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಭೀಮನು ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ಎಂದು ಕೆಲ ಪಂಡಿತರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ನಮ್ಮ ಕಾಲ ಗಣನೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೬೦ರಿಂದ ೮೭೫ರವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದನು. ಆದರೆ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ವಂಶದ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಅರಸನೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಕಡಿಮೆ (ಖಚಿತವಾಗಿ ಅಲ್ಲ) ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೈದು ವರ್ಷ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿದನೆಂದು ನಾವು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಇನ್ನೂ ಕೆಲವು ವರ್ಷಗಳು (ಅಂದರೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೭೫ ಆದಮೇಲೆ) ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಭೀಮನ ಸಮಕಾಲೀನನಾಗಿದ್ದಿರುವುದು ಅಸಂಭವವೇನೂ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಈತನು ಪರಾಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಔದಾರ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸಹ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧನಾಗಿದ್ದನು. ಈತನನ್ನು ಕಾಮಧೇನು, ಕಲ್ಪತರು, ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದೆ.

ಈತನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಗಣ್ಯವಾದ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳು ಯಾವುದೂ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೂ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವ ಒಂದು ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಶ್ಲೇಷಾರ್ಥದಿಂದ ಈತನಿಗೆ ಸ್ತಂಭನೆಂಬ ಅಡ್ಡ ಹೆಸರು ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂದು

ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈತನ ಮಗನಾದ ಪುರುಷಸಿಂಹನಾದ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ನರಸಿಂಹಾವತಾರದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವಿನಂತೆ ಸ್ತಂಭದಿಂದ (ಅಥವಾ ಸ್ತಂಭನಿಂದ) ಲೋಕಹಿತಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಜನಿಸಿದನು ಎಂದು ಶ್ಲೋಕವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಅನೇಕ ದೂರ ದೇಶಗಳಿಗೆ ದಂಡಯಾತ್ರೆ ಮಾಡಿ ವಿಜಯಶಾಲಿಯಾದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಲಾಟರ ಮೇಲಿನ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯವು 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇವನಿಂದ ನಿರ್ಜಿತರಾದ ಲಾಟೇಶರ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲವಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಈತನು ಯಾವಾಗ ಲಾಟರ ಮೇಲೆ ಯುದ್ಧಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದಾಗಲೀ ಅಥವಾ ಈತನನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಭಟಿಸಿದ ಲಾಟ ಶತ್ರುಗಳು ಯಾರೆಂಬುದಾಗಲೀ ಹೇಳಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲ. ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಅರಸನಾದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣನು ತನ್ನ ಶತ್ರುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅವರ ಸೇನೆಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅವರ ಸೇನಾನಾಯಕರನ್ನೂ ಖೇಟಕದಿಂದ ಹೊಡೆದಟ್ಟಿದನೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ನಾವು ಗಮನಿಸಬೇಕು. ಖೇಟಕವು ಲಾಟ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ಕೈರ ಎಂಬ ಪಟ್ಟಣ. ಅಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಕೆಲ ಶತ್ರುಗಳನ್ನು ಹೊಡೆದೋಡಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಭುವಿಗೆ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನಿತ್ತಿರಬೇಕು. 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ವೂ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನವೂ ಈತನ ಸಪ್ತಮಾಳವ ವಿಜಯವನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಸಪ್ತಮಾಳವ ಎಂದರೆ ಏಳು ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಮಾಳವ ದೇಶ. ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಏಳು ರಾಜರುಗಳನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ಅವರುಗಳನ್ನು ಅಧೀನರನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಮಾಳವದ ಈ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯದ ವರ್ಣನೆಯನ್ನು ಪಂಪನು ಬಹು ಪ್ರೌಢವಾಗಿ ಚಿತ್ರಿಸಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಸಪ್ತ ಮಾಳವಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳನ್ನು ಭಸ್ಮ ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಈ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯದ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಲು ತಕ್ಕ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣನೂ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನೂ ಮಾಳವ ದೇಶವನ್ನು ಮುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದಿದೆ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮೮೮ರ ಬಾಗುಮ್ರ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ[4] ಕೃಷ್ಣನ (ಈ ವಂಶದ ಗುಜರಾತ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಅರಸನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣ) ಉಜ್ಜಯಿನಿಯ ಮುತ್ತಿಗೆಯು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೦ರಿಂದ೯೩೫ರ ವರೆಗೆ ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ನರಸಿಂಹನಿಗೂ ಉಜ್ಜಯಿನಿಯ ಈ ಮುತ್ತಿಗೆಗೂ ಯಾವ ಸಂಬಂಧವೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನು ಉಪೇಂದ್ರ ರಾಜ[5]ನೊಡನೆ ಹೋರಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಮಾಳವಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಅವನ ಜೊತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಮಾಳವದ ಪರಮಾರ ಅರಸನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಜನೂ ಉಪೇಂದ್ರರಾಜನೂ ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ಎಂದು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಮತ. ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಗೂರ್ಜರರ ಮೇಲೂ ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿ ಹೋಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಈ ಅನೇಕ ಅರಸರುಗಳ ನೇತೃತ್ವದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದಂತಹ ಅತಿ ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಶಾಲಿಯಾದ ಗೂರ್ಜರ ಸೇನೆಯನ್ನು ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಸದೆಬಡಿದನೆಂದೂ ತನ್ನ ಶೌರ್ಯದ್ಯೋತಕವಾದ ಒಂದು ಕೀರ್ತಿಸ್ತಂಭವನ್ನು ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ, ವೇಮುಲವಾಡದ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ವು ಈ ಗೂರ್ಜರ ವೈರಿಯು ಮಹೀಪಾಲನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ತನ್ನ ಕುದುರೆಗಳನ್ನು ಗಂಗಾನದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಮಿಸಿಸಿದನೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನೂ ತಿಳಿಯಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಗೂರ್ಜರ ರಾಜನಾದ ಮಹೀಪಾಲನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಯುದ್ಧದ ಕಾಲವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೪ರ ತರುವಾಯ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಾವು ಭಾವಿಸಬಹುದು. ಏಕೆಂದರೆ ಮಹೀಪಾಲನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೧೪ಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮುಂಚೆ ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟರ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನು ಶತ್ರುನಗರವಾದ ಮಹೋದಯ (ಅಂದರೆ ಕನ್ಯಕುಬ್ಜ)ವನ್ನು ಧೂಳಿಪಾಲು ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಕ್ಯಾಂಬೇ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಿಂದ[6] ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಕನ್ಯಕುಬ್ಜದ ಅರಸನಾದ ಮಹೀಪಾಲನ ಮೇಲೆ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನು ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿ ಹೋದಾಗ ನರಸಿಂಹನು ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಭುವಾದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನನ್ನು ಹಿಂಬಾಲಿಸಿರಬೇಕು. ನರಸಿಂಹನು ತನ್ನ ಕೀರ್ತಿಸ್ತಂಭವನ್ನು ನೆಡಿಸಿದ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವು ಯಾವುದೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ. ನಾಲ್ಮಡಿ ಗೋವಿಂದನ ಕ್ಯಾಂಬೇ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನ ಆನೆಗಳು ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯಪ್ರಾಂಗಣವನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ದಂತ ಘಾತದಿಂದ ವಿಷಮಮಾಡಿದುವೆಂದು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಡಾ. ಡಿ.ಆರ್. ಭಂಡಾರಕರು ಉಜ್ಜಯಿನಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಹಾಕಾಳನ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನವೇ ಈ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ನರಸಿಂಹನು ಜಯಸ್ತಂಭವನ್ನು ನಾಟಿದ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವು ಮತ್ತು ಕ್ಯಾಂಬೇ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವೂ ಒಂದೇ ಆಗಿದ್ದರೆ, ಡಾ. ಭಂಡಾರಕರರ ಸೂಚನೆಯಂತೆ ಈ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವು ಉತ್ತರ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಮುನಾನದಿಯ ತೀರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕಾಲ್ಪಿಯೆಂದು ಕೆಲ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ಆದರೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಲೀ ಅಥವಾ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಾಗಲೀ ಕಾಲ್ಪಿಗೆ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿದ್ದುದಾಗಿ ಕಂಡು ಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ತಕ್ಕ ಆಧಾರಗಳು ಸಿಕ್ಕುವವರಿಗೆ ಈ ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯವು ಕಾಲ್ಪಿಯೇ ಅಥವಾ ಉಜ್ಜಯಿನಿಯೇ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಕಷ್ಟಕರ ವಿಷಯ. ಈ ಅರಸನ ನಂತರ ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಶರಣಾಗತನಾದ ಬಿಜ್ಜನನ್ನು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಿಜ್ಜನು ಆರ್ಯ ಪದ್ಮಾರ್ಯನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಅನೇಕ ಸೇನಾನಾಯಕರನ್ನೂ ಅವರ ವಿಪುಲವಾದ ಗಜಸೇನೆಯನ್ನೂ ಅಶ್ವಸೇನೆಯನ್ನೂ ಪದಾತಿ ಸೇನೆಯನ್ನೂ ಧ್ವಂಸಮಾಡಿ ಗೋವಿಂದರಾಜನ ಕೋಪಕ್ಕೆ ಗುರಿಯಾದನೆಂದೂ, ಗೋವಿಂದರಾಜನ ಸಿಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಅಂಜಿ, ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯನ್ನು ಮರೆಹೊಕ್ಕನೆಂದೂ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಪದ್ಮಾರ್ಯನು ಯಾರೆಂಬುದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ತನಗೆ ಶರಣಾಗತನಾದ ಬಿಜ್ಜನನ್ನು ಕಾದನೆಂದು ಪಂಪನೂ ಸಹ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಅಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಪಂಪನು ಬಿಜ್ಜನಿಗೆ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯನೆಂಬ ಪೂರ್ಣನಾಮಧೇಯವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಈತನು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಕುಲತಿಲಕನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಕಕ್ಕಲನ ತಮ್ಮನಾದ ಬಪ್ಪುವನು ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿದಾಗ ಈತನು ಬಪ್ಪುವನನ್ನು ಹೊಡದೋಡಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ಪಂಪನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಆದರೆ ಪಂಪನು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿರುವ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ

ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದುದು ಯಾವುದೆಂದರೆ ಈತನು ಗೋವಿಂದನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ತನ್ನನ್ನು ನಂಬಿಬಂದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನನ್ನು (ಅಂದರೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷ) ಪಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ತಂದುದು. ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಗೋವಿಂದನನ್ನು ಸೋಲಿಸಿ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷನನ್ನು ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾರೂಢನನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನಿಗೆ ಆಶ್ರಯವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ನಾವು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ಕಂಡು ಹಿಡಿಯಬಹುದು. ಗೋವಿಂದನು ಭೋಗಲೋಲನಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಆತನು ಪದಚ್ಯುತನಾದನೆಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ವಿದಿತವಾದ ವಿಷಯವೇ. ಈತನ ಕೊನೆಯ ಕಾಲವು (ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ) ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೩೪. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಎಲ್ಲ ವಿಶೇಷಕಾರ್ಯಗಳು (ಪದಚ್ಯುತಿಯೊಂದನ್ನುಳಿದು) ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೩೪ರಲ್ಲಿ ಜರುಗಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ವಿವರಣೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯಾಗಲೀ, ಆತನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾಗಲೀ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿಲ್ಲ. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಅನೇಕ ಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯವಂಶದ ಅನೇಕ ಸಾಮಂತರು ನೋಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರನು ಯಾರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧಾರಮಾಡುವುದು ಕಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಕೆಲವು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಈತನು ಪೂರ್ವ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರ ವಂಶದವನೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಮುದುಗೊಂಡ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯವಂಶದ ಇದೇ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ಒಬ್ಬ ಅರಸನೇ ಇವನು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಅಣ್ಣತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಾದ ಕಕ್ಕಲ ಮತ್ತು ಬಪ್ಪುವರು ಯಾವ ಕುಲದವರೆಂದಾಗಲೀ, ಅಥವಾ ಅವರು ಎಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದಾಗಲೀ ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ, ಪ್ರೊ. ನೀಲಕಂಠಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಯವರು ಅಪ್ರಕಟಿತ ಶಿಲಾಹಾರ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅಮೋಘವರ್ಷನಿಂದ ಸೋಲಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಕರ್ಕರನೂ ಮತ್ತು 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನವಿಜಯ'ದ ಕಕ್ಕಲನೂ ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ಆಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಸೂಚಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಯೋಧನು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಸ್ಫುರದ್ರೂಪಿಯೂ ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತನೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನು. ಈತನು ಕರೇಣುಪತ್ರ (ಅಂದರೆ ಪಾಲಕಾಪ್ಯ)ನಂತೆ ಗಜಚಿಕಿತ್ಸಾಕೋವಿದನೂ, ಗೌತಮನಂತೆ ಕಥಾಬಂಧ ಕುಶಲನೂ, ಸಕಲ ಕಲಾನಿಲಯನೂ, ಅತಿಚತುರನೂ, ತೇಜಸ್ವಿಯೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಮತ್ತು 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ವಿಜಯ'ದಿಂದಲೂ ಈತನಿಗೆ ಈ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಬಿರುದುಗಳು ಇದ್ದುವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಗುಣಾರ್ಣವ, ಆರೂಢಸರ್ವಜ್ಞ, ಉದಾತ್ತನಾರಾಯಣ, ಪಾಂಬರಾಂಕುಶ, ಪ್ರಿಯಗಳ್ಳ, ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲ, ಸಾಮಂತಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ, ಜಗದೇಕಮಲ್ಲ, ನೋಡುತ್ತೆ ಗೆಲ್ವೊಂ, ಸಾಹಸಾರ್ಜುನ-ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ.

ವೇಮುಲವಾಡದ ಶಾಸನದ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಇಂದ್ರರಾಜನ (ಅಂದರೆ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಇಂದ್ರನ) ಮಗಳಾದ ರೇವಕನಿಮ್ಮಡಿಯನ್ನು ಮದುವೆಯಾಗಿದ್ದನು. ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ವಂಶದ ಲೋಕಾಂಬಿಕೆಯು ಈತನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಳೆಂದು ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಎರಡು ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಒಬ್ಬ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರಿಗೆ ಇದ್ದುವೋ ಅಥವಾ ಇಬ್ಬರೂ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಗಳೋ ತಿಳಿಯದು. ಆದರೆ ಈತನ ಮಗನಾದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಲೋಕಾಂಬಿಕೆಯ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಿದೆ. ವೆದ್ದಣಾರ್ಯನೆಂಬಾತನು ಎರಡನೇ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ತಂತ್ರಪಾಲನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ವೇಮುಲವಾಡದ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಆತನು ಬದ್ದೆಗ ರಾಜನ ತಂತ್ರಾಧಿಪನಾಗಿದ್ದ ನಾಗಮಾರ್ಯನ ಮಗನೆಂದು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಮುತ್ತಾತನಾದ ಸೋಲದಗಂಡ ಬದ್ದೆಗನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.

ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಪಂಪನನ್ನು ಅವನ ಭಾರತ ರಚನೆಗಾಗಿ ಯಾವ ರೀತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗೌರವಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕವಿಯು ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಸಂಗತಿಯು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾಗಿದೆ. ಗುಣಾರ್ಣವನು (ಅಂದರೆ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು) ಕವಿತಾಗುಣಾರ್ಣವನನ್ನು (ಅಂದರೆ ಪಂಪನನ್ನು) ಬಲ್ಲಹನೂ (ಬಹುಶಃ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣ)- ಅರಿಯುವಂತೆ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಕೊಂಡಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಪಂಪನು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಮಾಂಡಲಿಕನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಪಂಪನ ಕವಿತಾಚಾತುರ್ಯವೂ ಪ್ರತಿಭೆಯೂ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮನಿಗೆ ನಿವೇದಿಸುವಷ್ಟು ಉನ್ನತವಾಗಿದ್ದುವೆಂದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ತಕ್ಕಂತೆ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯು ಪಂಪನ ಕವಿತಾಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಮೆಚ್ಚಿ ಬಚ್ಚೆಸಾಸಿರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಧರ್ಮಪುರಂ ಎಂಬ ಅಗ್ರಹಾರವನ್ನು ಪಂಪನಿಗೆ ದಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟನು. ಪಂಪ ಭಾರತದ ಸಂಪಾದಕರು ಈ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾಗದ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಚಚ್ಚೆ ಮತ್ತು ಚರ್ಚೆ ಎಂಬ ಎರಡು ಪಾಠಾಂತರಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇತರ ಕೆಲ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸಬ್ಬಿಸಾಯಿರವೆಂಬ ಒಂದು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾಗವು ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಬಚ್ಚೆ (ಚಚ್ಚೆ, ಚರ್ಚೆ) ಎಂಬುದು 'ಸಬ್ಬಿ'ಯ ರೂಪಾಂತರವಾದ 'ಚಬ್ಬಿ'ಗೆ ತಪ್ಪು ಪಾಠಾಂತರವಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ಚಬ್ಬಿ (೨೧೦೦೦) ಎಂಬ ಒಂದು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾಗವಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ೧೧ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಶಾನವೊಂದರಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಸಬ್ಬಿಯು ಒಂದು ಸಾವಿರದ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾಗವೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯವು ನಮಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತೇ ಇದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ರೇಪಾಕ ೧೨ ಎಂಬ ಮಾಗಣಿ (ಸಣ್ಣ ವಿಭಾಗ) ಇತ್ತು. ಈ ರೇಪಾಕ ೧೨ರಲ್ಲಿ ವನಿಕಟುಪುಲು, ಇಳಿಂದಿಕುಂಟ, ಕಟ್ಟಾಕೂರು, ಮತ್ತು ವೆಳ್ಳಾಳ ಪಟ್ಟು ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳು ಇದ್ದುವು. ಈ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದ ಕರೀಮ್‌ನಗರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಸಿರಸಿಲ್ಲಾ ತಾಲುಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಇವತ್ತಿಗೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚೂ ಕಡಿಮೇ ಇವೇ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ

ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತವೆ. ಕೀರ್ತಿಶೇಷರಾದ ರಾ. ಬ. ಹೊಸಕೋಟೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳು ಹನುಮನ ಕೊಂಡ ಮತ್ತು ವಾರಂಗಲ್ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳು ಸಬ್ಬಿ ಸಾಯಿರದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಬಚ್ಚೆ ಸಾಯಿರವೂ, ಸಬ್ಬಿ ಸಾಯಿರವೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂಬ ನಮ್ಮ ಸೂಚನೆಯು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ಪಂಪನಿಗೆ ದಾನವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಂತಹ ಧರ್ಮಪುರ ಅಗ್ರಹಾರವು ಈ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದೇ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಇವತ್ತಿಗೂ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಅನೇಕ ಹಳ್ಳಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವುದಾದರೂ ಒಂದಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.

ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಬದ್ದೆಗನ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನದಿಂದಲೂ ಮತ್ತು ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಆಶ್ರಯವಿತ್ತ ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಯ 'ಯಶಸ್ತಿಲಕ ಚಂಪು'ವಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಕೆಲವು ಅಂಶಗಳು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಗೌಡಸಂಘಕ್ಕೆ ಅಧಿಪನಾದ ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಯ ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಶುಭಧಾಮ ಜಿನಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೆಂಬ ಸಂಗತಿಯನ್ನು ಮೊದಲೇ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದೇವೆ. ಬದ್ದೆಗನ ಮಗನಾದ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಪರಭಣಿ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಈ ಜಿನಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಸಂಗತಿಯು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಯಾರ ಉಪಯೋಗಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಬದ್ದೆಗನು ಈ ಜಿನಾಲಯವನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೋ ಆ ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಯೇ 'ಯಶಸ್ತಿಲಕ ಚಂಪು'ವಿನ ಗ್ರಂಥಕರ್ತನು. ಈ ಚಂಪುವಿನ ಕೊನೆಯ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಜೈನಮುನಿಯು, ತಾನು ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನ ಆಶ್ರಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಕ. ೮೮೧ ಅಥವಾ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೫೯ರಲ್ಲಿ ಗಂಗಾಧಾರಾ ಎಂಬ ಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರ್ತಿಗೊಳಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಆ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣನು ಮೇಲ್ಪಾಟಿಯ ಬೀಡಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕೃಷ್ಣನು ಚೋಳರ ಮೇಲೆ ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿ ಹೋದಾಗ ಮೇಲ್ಪಾಟಿ (ಚಿತ್ತೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿ) ಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದನೆಂಬ ಸಂಗತಿಗೆ ಆಧಾರವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೫೯ ರ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಕರ್ಹಾಡ್ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರಕುತ್ತದೆ. ಯಶಸ್ತಿಲಕವು ರಚಿತವಾದ ಗಂಗಾಧಾರಾ ಪಟ್ಟಣವು ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡದ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವತ್ತಿಗೂ ಇದೇ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದೆ.

ಈ ವಂಶದ ಅರಸರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊನೆಯವನು (ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಹಾಗೆ) ಬದ್ದೆಗನ ಮಗನಾದ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿ. ಈತನ ವಿಷಯವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಸಮಾಚಾರವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಪರಭಣಿ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನ ಒಂದರಿಂದಲೇ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಈತನನ್ನು ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಜನ ಸಾಮಂತನೆಂದು (ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿ) ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಈತನ ಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಈತನಿಗೆ ಪಾಂಬರಾಂಕುಶ, ಉದಾತ್ತನಾರಾಯಣ, ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲ, ಪ್ರಿಯಗಳ್ಳ, ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷವಾದ್ವಳಿ, ವಿಕ್ರಮಾರ್ಜುನ ಮತ್ತು ಗುಣಾರ್ಣವ ಎಂಬಿವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬಿರುದುಗಳು ಇದ್ದುವೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಈತನ ಅಜ್ಜನಿಗೂ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಕಡಿಮೆ ಈ ಬಿರುದುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಇದ್ದುವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಾವು ಜ್ಞಾಪಕದಲ್ಲಿಡಬೇಕು. ಶಕ೮೮೮ರಲ್ಲಿ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯೬೬) ಸಬ್ಬಿ ೧೦೦೦ದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ವನಿಕಟುಪುಲು ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಜೈನಾಚಾರ್ಯನಾದ ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಗೆ ಶುಭಧಾಮ ಜಿನಾಲಯ ಎಂಬ ವಸತಿಯ (ಬಸದಿಯ) ಖಂಡಸ್ಫುಟಿತ ನವಸುಧಾಕರ್ಮ ಬಲಿನಿವೇದ್ಯರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಕೊಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಶುಭಧಾಮ ಜಿನಾಲಯವು ಈ ಅರಸನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಬದ್ದೆಗನಿಂದ ಲೇಂಬುಳಪಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದೂ ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಸೋಮದೇವ ಸೂರಿಯ ಗುರು ಪರಂಪರೆಯು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಗೌಡಸಂಘದಲ್ಲಿ ಯಶೋದೇವನೆಂಬ ಮುನಿಯು ವಿರಾಜಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದನು. ಆತನ ಶಿಷ್ಯನು ನೇಮಿದೇವ. ನೇಮಿದೇವನ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಅಗ್ರಗಣ್ಯನು ಸೋಮದೇವ. ಯಶೋಧರಚರಿತೆ, ಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದೋಪನಿಷತ್ ಮತ್ತು ಅನೇಕ ಸುಭಾಷಿತಗಳ ಗ್ರಂಥಕರ್ತನೆಂದು ಸೋಮದೇವನು ಹೊಗಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಅನೇಕ ರಾಜರುಗಳಿಂದ ಈತನು ಮರ್ಯಾದೆಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದುತ್ತಿದ್ದನು. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಕವಿ ಪೆದ್ದಣ್ಣನಿಂದ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಪೆದ್ದಣ್ಣನು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ತಂತ್ರಾಧಿಪನಾದ ಪೆದ್ದಣ್ಣಾರ್ಯನೋ ಅಥವಾ ಬೇರೊಬ್ಬನೋ ಎಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಇಬ್ಬರಿಗೂ ಒಂದೇ ಹೆಸರೇನೋ ಇದೆ; ಅಷ್ಟೆ.

ಈ ಲೇಖನದ ಮುಖ್ಯಾಂಶಗಳು ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬಂದ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆಯು ಅನೇಕ ಬಾರಿ ಆಗಿದ್ದರೂ ಸಹ ಪ್ರಕಟಿತವಾದ ಶಾಸನ ಪಾಠಗಳು ಸಮರ್ಪಕವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಶಾಸನವಿರುವ ಸ್ಥಳಕ್ಕೆ ನಾನು ಹೋಗಿ ಮೂಲ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನೇ ಪರೀಕ್ಷಿಸಲು ಅವಕಾಶವೊದಗಿದ್ದರಿಂದ ಮೊದಲಿಗಿಂತ ತೃಪ್ತಿಕರವಾಗಿ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನೋದಿ ಅದರ ಪಾಠವನ್ನು ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ಎರಡನೆಯ ಅರಿಕೇಸರಿಯ ವೇಮುಲವಾಡ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನ

1 ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ಭಾನುಸ್ತಮೋಹಂತಾ ದೈತ್ಯದರ್ಪಹರರ್ಪ[ರಃ।]
2 ಲೋಕೈಕಲೋಚನರ್ಪಾಯಾದಪಾಯಾದ್ಭುವನತ್ರಯಂ ॥
3 ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತವಿಬುಧಾ(ಧ)[7] ಜನಸಂಸ್ತೂಯಮಾನಸ್ಸಕ-

4 ಳಕಳಾಕಮಳೈಕರಾಜಹಂಸಃ ಕಂಸಮಥನ್ನೈವ(ನ ಇವ)
5 ಕಮಳಾಕರೀಕೃತವಕ್ಷಸ್ಥಳ[ಃ*] ಸ್ಥಾಣುವಿವಭಾ(ಭ)ಸ್ಮ-
6 ಸಾತ್ಕೃತಸಮಸ್ತಾರಿಪು[ರ][9] ಪ್ರ[ಬ]ನ್ಧಃ ಪ್ರವೃ[ದ್ಧೋ]ದಯ ಪ್ರಬೋಧಿತಾ-
7 ಶೇಷಪ್ರವಾಹಾಂಭೋಜಾನ್ವರ್ತ್ಥೀಕೃತವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯ-
8 ನಾಮಧೇಯಃರ್ಪ್ರಸಾಧಿತಾಶೇಷದಿಗ್ಮ(ಙ್ಮ)ಣ್ಡಳಶ್ಚ ಪ[ರ]
9 ಮಣ್ಡಳೈಕರಾಮಶ್ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯಕುಳತಿಳಕಃ ಶ್ರೀಯುದ್ಧ-
10 ಮಲ್ಲೋ ನಾಮ ರಾಜಾ ಬಭೂವ ॥ ಸೋಯಂ ಕಿಳಾಶಾಸದ-
11 ನನ್ಯಶಾಸ್ಯಾಂ ಸಪಾದಲಕ್ಷಾಂ ಕ್ಷಿತಿಮಕ್ಷತಾಜ್ಞ [।ಃ*] ಸ-
12 ಮಸ್ತರಾಜೇನ್ದ್ರಕಿರೀಟಕೋಟಿಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯರಾ(ರ)ಶ್ಮಿರ್ಬ್ಬಕ-
13 ರ(ರಾ)ರ್ಚ್ಚಿತಾಂಘ್ರಿಃ ॥ ಯರ್ಬ್ಬದನೇ ಸೌಧಮಯೀ[ಂ] ಗಜಾನಾ[ಂ]ವಿ-
14 ಧಾಯವಾಪೀಮಪಿ ತೈಲಪೂರ್ಣೈ[ಃ ।*] ಸ್ಸ[ಸ] ಸರ್ವ್ವಸೇಕಂ ಸ-
15 ತತಂ ವಿತೇನೇ ಚಾಸ್ಯೈಃ ಕುಚಾನಾಮರಿಸುನ್ದರೀಣಾಂ॥
16 ಸ ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟಂ ಬಹುಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟಂ ಶಕ್ಯಾ(ಕ್ಯಂ) ಸುರೇನ್ದ್ರೈರಪಿ
17 ನೋಪಯಾಂತುಂ[।*]ತ್ರಿವರ್ಗ್ಗಯುಕ್ತರ್ಪ್ರಣತಾರಿವರ್ಗ್ಗ-
18 ಸ್ವಭಾವದುರ್ಗ್ಗಂ ಕಿಳ ತಂ ಜಹಾರ ॥ ತಸ್ಯಾತ್ಮಜೋ ದ-
19 ಕ್ಷಿಣಬಾಹುದಣ್ಡಚಣ್ಡಾಸಿಧಾರಾಹತವೈರಿ
20 ಷಣ್ಡಃ[।*] ಬಾಳೋದ್ಸ ಹೀತಾಖಿಳವೇಙ್ಗಿದೇಶರ್ಪ್ಪಾ-
21 ತಿ ಸ್ಮ ಪೃಥ್ವೀಮರಿಕೇಸರೀಶಃ[॥*]ಭೂಯೋಸ್ಮಾನ್ನ-
22 ರಸಿಂಹವರ್ಮ್ಮನೃಪತಿರ್ಭೂಮಿಂ ಸಮಾಪಾಳಯ-
23 ನ್ರಾ(ದ್ರಾ)ಜಾದಿತ್ಯ ಇತಿ ಕ್ಷಮಾಪತಿರತಾ (ತಃ) ಶ್ರೀಯುದ್ಧಮ-
24 ಲ್ಲೋ ನೃಪಃ[।*] ತ್ಯಕ್ತ್ವಾ ಯೇನ ದರೀವಿವರ್ಣ್ಣವಿಪಿ[ನ]ಸ್ಯಾನ್ಯೈಃ [ವೃತಾ]
25 ಭೂಭುಜರ್ಪಶ್ಚಾದ್ಬದ್ದೆಗಕಲ್ಪದಾರುರಪರಃ ಶ್ರೀಯುದ್ಧ-
26 ಮಲ್ಲರ್ಪ್ಪುನಃ ॥ ತತಸ್ಸ ರಾಜನ್ಯಶಿರೋಮಣೇನಾಮ್ಬುದಾರ-
27 ವಿನ್ದೇನ ರಚೋ ಹರದ್ಯಃ[।*] ಬಭೂವ ನಾಮ್ನಾ ನರಸಿಂಹದೇವ[ಃ] ಸ್ತಂ-
28 ಭಾತ್ಪುಮಾನ್ಲೋಕವೃತಾವಿ(ದಿ)ವಾದ್ಯ[ಃ] ॥ ಯಃ ಸಪ್ತದುಸ್ಸಾಧತರಂ ನೃ-

Second Face

29 ಪ್ರಾಣಾನ್ನಿರ್ಜ್ಜಿತ್ಯ ಸದ್ಯಸ್ಸಮರಾಂಗ-
30 ಣೇಷು [।*] ವಿನ್ಯಸ್ಯಕೇ ಹಸ್ತಮತೋ ನತಾನಾಂ
31 ಸ್ತಾ(ತಾ)ನ್ಮಾಳ(ವಾ)ನ್ಯಃ ಕರ [ದೀ]ಚಕಾರ॥ ಪ್ರತ್ಯುದ್ಗತಾಂ
32 ಗೂರ್ಜ್ಜರರಾಜಸೇನಾಂ ನಿರ್ಜ್ಜಿತ್ಯ ರಾಜಾ ಸ್ವಯ [ಮೇ]ಕ
33 ಏವ [।*] ಕಾಳಪ್ರಿಯೇ ರಾಜಕದಂಬಕಸ್ಯ ಸ್ತಂಭೇ ಸ್ವಶೌ-
34 ರ್ಯ್ಯಂ ವಿಲಿಲೇಖ ಶೈಲೇ ॥ ತಸ್ಯೋದಪಾದಿ ಬಳವ-
35 ತ್ಪರಚಕ್ರಕುಂಭಿಕುಂಭಸ್ಥಳೋದ್ದಳನದಕ್ಷಕೃ-
36 ಪಾಣಪಾಣಿಃ [।*] ಭೀತಾನತಾರಿನರಪಾಳಕಿರೀ-

37 ಟಕೋಟಿ ಸಂಘಟ್ಟಿತಾಂಘ್ರಿಸರಸೀಜ [ವಿ]ರಾಶೋ-
38 ಭಃ ॥ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ಮಹೀಪತಿಸ್ಸಾಕ್ಷಾನ್ನಾಮ್ನಾ ವೀರೋ-
39 ರಿಕೇಸರೀ [।*] ಪ್ರಾದುರ್ಬ್ಬಭೂವ ತೇಜಸ್ವೀ ಪ್ರಾತೋ(ತ)-
40 ರ್ಭಾನುರಿವೋದಯಾಂ(ಯಂ) [॥*] ಸಮಸ್ತ ಸಾಮನ್ತ ಶಿಖಾ-
41 ಮಣೀನಾಂ ಪ್ರಭಾಪ್ರಪಾತಾಯಿತಶಾರ್ವ್ವರಾಸ್ವಃ (ಶಾರ್ವ್ವರಸ್ಸಃ?) [।*]-
42 ಸದಾರೀನಾರೀನಯನಾಂಬುಜಾನಾಂ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಂ ಹಿ-
43 ಮಾಸಾರ ಇವಾಹರದ್ಯಃ ॥ ಸಾಮನ್ತಾನ್ದಣ್ಡಮು-
44 ಖ್ಯಾನ್ನಿಜಭುಜಪರಿಘಾ[ನ್] ಪ್ರಸ್ಫುರತ್ಖಡ್ಗಧಾರಾ
45 ನೀ[ನ್ನೀ]ರಾಂಭೋರಾಶಿಮಗ್ನಾಂಸ್ತುರಗಕರಿಘಟಾಪತ್ತಿ[ಸಂ]-
46 ಪತ್ತಿಯುಕ್ತಾನ್ [।*] ಕೃತ್ವಾ ಪ[ದ್ಮಾ]ರ್ಯ್ಯಮಾರ್ಯ್ಯಂ ಸ್ವಜನಪರಿ-
47 ಜನೈಸ್ಸನ್ನಿಹತ್ಯಾಜರಂಗೇ ಕ್ರುದ್ಧೇ ಗೋವಿನ್ದರಾಜೇ [ಶ]ರಣ-
48 ಮುಪಗತೋ ರಕ್ಷಿತೋ ಯೇನ ಬಿಜ್ಜಃ [॥*] ದೇವೀಂ ರೇವಕನಿಮ್ಮ-
49 ಡೀ[ಂ] ಕ್ಷಿತಿಪತೇರಿನ್ದ್ರಸ್ಯ ಪುತ್ರೀನ್ನುತಾಂ ಪೌಲೋಮೀಮಿವ
50 ವಾಸವ[ಃ*] ಶ್ರೀಯಮಿವ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮುರಧ್ವಂಸಕಃ [।*] ಸ್ತ್ರೀರತ್ನಂ
51 ಪರಿಣೀಯ ಯೇನ [ನಿ]ತರ(ರಾ)ಂ ತಸ್ಯಾಸ್ಸಪತ್ನೀಕೃತಾ ನೂ-
52 ನಾ(ನಂ) ಸಪ್ತಸಮುದ್ರ ಮುದ್ರಿತಮಹೀ ಮ್ಮಾ(ಮಾ)ನ್ನೋನ್ನತೇನಾಧು
53 ನಾ॥ ತೇನ ಭೀತಾನತಾಖಿಳಬಳವದಿಳಾಪಾಳಮೌ-
54 ಳಿಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯರಶ್ಮಿಮಾಳಾಲಾಳಿತಚರಣಕಮ-
55 ಳಯುಗಳೇನ ಶರಣಾಯಾತಕ್ಷಿತಿಪಾಳಪ್ರಾಣೆ(ಣ)-

Third Face

56 ರಕ್ಷಣದಕ್ಷಕೌಕ್ಷೇಯಕೋಪಲತೀಕ್ಷ್ಣಣ(ಕ್ಷ್ಣ) ದಕ್ಷಿಣ-
57 ಭುಜಾರ್ಗಳೇನ[ಕ]ನ್ತುಕಾನ್ತಕಾನ್ತಾಜನಮನೋನಯ-
58 ನವಲ್ಲಭೇನ ಕರೇಣುಪುತ್ರೇ(ಣೇ)ವ ಸ್ಸ(ಸ)ಕಳ-
59 ಗಜಚಿಕಿತ್ಸಾಕೋವ(ವಿ)ದೇನ [ಗೌತಮೇನೇವೇಕೆ(ಕಾ)ಶೀತಿರ(ಕ)ಥಾ]ವಂ(ಬಂ)-
60 ಧವಿಧಿಕುಶಳೇನ ರಾಜಾತ್ಮಜೇನೇವ ಪರೀಕ್ಷಾ-
61 ವಿಧಾನದಕ್ಷೇಣ ವಾದ್ವಳಿನೇವ ಬನ್ಧುರಕರ್ಮ್ಮ-
62 ಸ್ಕನ್ದಸಂಬನ್ಧಪರಾಯಣೇನ ಈಶ್ವರೇ[ಣೇ]ವ
63 ವಿಜಿತಮನೋಜೇನೋಮಾಪ್ರಿಯೇಣ ಚ
64 ನಾರಾಯಣೇನೇವ ಗೋವರ್ದ್ಧನೇವ ಧರೇಣ ಚ
65 ಚತುರಾನನೇನ(ನೇ)ವ ಚತುರಾನನೇನ[ಚ]ಸಕ-
66 ಳಕಳಾನಿಳಯೇನ ಚ ಕಳಾಧಿ(ಧ)ರವತ್ಕು-
67 ಮುದಾನನ್ಧ(ನ್ದ)ಕರೇಣ ಕಾನ್ತಿಮತಾ ಚ ವನಜಾ-
68 ಬನ್ಧುನೇವ ಪ್ರಬೋಧಿತಬನ್ಧುರಬನ್ಧುವ-
69 ದನವನಜೇನ । ನಿರಸ್ತಾರಾತಿತಿಮಿರೇಣ

70 ಚ ಸಹಸ್ರಕಿರಣವದತುಳತೇಜಸಾ
71 ಶ್ರೀಮದರಿಕೇಸರಿಮಹಾರಾಜೇನ ॥
72 ಸ್ವಸ್ತಿ ಸಮಧಿಗತಪಞ್ಚಮಹಾಶಬ್ದ ಮಹಾ-
73 ಸಾಮನ್ತಾಧಿಪತಿ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಭುವನಸಂಸ್ತೂಯಮಾ-
74 ನಚಾಳುಕ್ಯವಂಶೋದ್ಭವಂ ಪಾಂಬರಾಂಕುಶನಮ್ಮನಗ-
75 ನ್ದವಾರಣಂ ಗನ್ದೇಭವಿದ್ಯಾಧರನಾರೂಡ(ಢ)ಸರ್ವ್ವಜ್ಞ-
76 ನುದಾತ್ತನಾರಾಂಣಂ(ರಾಯಣಂ) ನೋಡುತ್ತೆಗೆಲ್ವೊಂ ಗುಣನಿಧಿಗುಣಾ-
77 ರ್ಣ್ಣವಂ ಶರಣಾಗತವಜ್ರಪಂಜರಂ ಪ್ರಿಯಗಳ್ಳಂ-
78 ತ್ರಿಭುವನಮಲ್ಲಸಾಮನ್ತ ಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಶ್ರೀ-
79 ಮದರಿಕೇಸರಿಯರಸರ ತತ್ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪ-
80 ಜೀವಿ ಸಮಸ್ತರಾಜ್ಯಭರನಿರೂಪಿತ ಮಹಾ-
81 ಸನ್ಧಿವಿಗ್ರಹಪದವೀಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಿತಂ ಸಮಸ್ತ-
82 ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಪಾರಂಗಂ ಶ್ರೀಮತ್ಸನ್ಧಿವಿಗ್ರಹಿ ಗುಣಾಂಕು
83 ಶೇನ ।।।[10]

Fourth Face

84 ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ಸುಧೀರ್ಬ್ಬದ್ದೆಗಭೂಮಿಭರ್ತ್ತುಸ್ತ[ಂ]
85 ತ್ರಾಧಿಪಾಲೋಜನಿ ನಾಗಮಾರ್ಯ್ಯಃ ಗುಣಾರ್ಣ್ಣ-
86 ವೋರ್ವ್ವಿಪತಿತಂತ್ರಪಾಳಸ್ತಸ್ಯಾತ್ಮಜೋಜಾಯ
87 ತಪೆದ್ದಣಾರ್ಯ್ಯಃ [॥*] ತೇನಾಭ್ಯರ್ತ್ಥಿತೋ ದೇವತಾವನ್ದ-
88 ನನಿಮಿತ್ತಮಾಗತ[ಃ*] ಸ್ವನಿರ್ಮಾಪಿತಾದಿತ್ಯಗೃಹಾ-
89 ಯಾಗತಾಭ್ಯಾಗತಜನಸತ್ರನಿಮಿತ್ತಮುತ್ತರಾ-
90 ಯಣಪುಣ್ಯಸಂಕ್ರಾನ್ತಿದಿವಸೇ ಶತನಿವರ್ತ್ತನಸಂ
91 ಖ್ಯಾತಭೂಮಿಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಮಷ್ಟನಿವರ್ತ್ತನಸಂಖ್ಯಾತ-
92 ಪಾನೀಯಭೂಮಿಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ ಚ ಲೇಂಬುಳಪಾಟ-
93 ಕಪತ್ತನೈಶಾನಕೋಣೇ ಶ್ರೀಮದರಿಕೇಸರಿಕ್ಷಿತಿ-
94 ಪತಿರದಾತ್ ॥ ತತ್ರ ರಾಜೇಶ್ವರಾದಿತ್ಯಗೃಹಬದ್ದೆ-
95 [ಗೇ]ಶ್ವರನಗರೇಶ್ವರಪ್ರಭೃತಿಚತು[ಃ*] ಸ್ಥಾನಾದಿ(ಧಿ) ವಾ-
96 ಸಸ್ಸಾಕ್ಷೀ(ಕ್ಷೀ) ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜ್ಜುನವ್ಯಕ್ತಲಿಂಗಿವಿದ್ಯಾರಾಶಿ-
97 ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನಿಭಟ್ಟಾರಕಾಶ್ಚ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಣಃ ॥ ಚನ್ದ್ರಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠಿಪ್ರಭೃ-
98 ತಯೋ ನವಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠಿನಶ್ಚ ಸಾಕ್ಷಿಣಃ [॥*]
99 ನಿಸ್ಪೃಹೈಕಾಗ್ರಣೀಸ್ಸೂರಿ[ಃ*] ಸ್ಥಾನಾಧಿಷ್ಠಾಯಕ [ಃ] ಸ್ವಯಂ-
100 ಧಾತವೀಯಾನ್ವಯೋ ಜಾತಃ ಪಣ್ಡಿತಮುನೀಶ್ವರಃ[11] [॥*]
101 to 106 Verses exhorting the future kings to protect the gift.
107 ತಸ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಸ್ಯ ದ್ವಾದಶದ್ರಮ್ಮಾಸಿದ್ಧಾಯಃ [॥*]

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳು

1. ಕೊಲ್ಲಿಪಾರ ತಾಮ್ರಶಾಸನವು ಯುದ್ಧಮಲ್ಲನ ಪೂರ್ವಜರ ಹೆಸರುಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಕೃತಕ ಶಾಸನವಾಗಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಹೆಸರುಗಳು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಲ್ಲ.
2. ವಿಕ್ರಮ ಸಂವತ್ ೧೪೬೪ರ ಒಂದು ಹಸ್ತಲಿಖಿತ ಪ್ರತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜ ಕುಮಾರನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು 'ವದ್ಯಗರಾಜ' ಎಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. (ನಾಥುರಾಮ ಪ್ರೇಮಿಯವರ 'ಜೈನಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಔರ್ ಇತಿಹಾಸ್' [೧೯೪೨] ಪುಟ೭೬ನ್ನು ನೋಡಿರಿ.) ಈ ಹೆಸರು ಸರಿಯಾದ ಹೆಸರೆಂದು ಪ್ರೊ. ನೀಲಕಂಠಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿ, ಡಾ. ರಾಘವನ್ ಇತ್ಯಾದಿ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರುಗಳನೇಕರು ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೂ ಸಹ ನಮ್ಮ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸ-ಮಿತ್ರರಾದ ಡಾ. ಎನ್. ವೆಂಕಟರಮಣಯ್ಯನವರು ನಿರ್ಣಯಸಾಗರ ಮುದ್ರಣಾಲಯದ ಯಶಸ್ತಿಲಕದ ಪ್ರತಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ 'ವಾಗರಾಜ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರೇ ಸರಿಯೆಂದು ಸಾಧಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು ಆಶ್ಚರ್ಯಕರವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಭದ್ರದೇವನೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ತಮ್ಮನೊಬ್ಬನನ್ನು ಈ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರನಿಗೆ ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿರುವುದು ವಿಚಿತ್ರವಾಗಿದೆ. ವಾಸ್ತವವಾಗಿ ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಭದ್ರದೇವ ಎನ್ನುವ ಹೆಸರೇ ಬದ್ದೆಗ ಅಥವಾ ಬದ್ಯಗ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಗಳ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತರೂಪಾಂತರ.
3. Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. XVIII, pp. 39ff.
4. *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIII, pp. 65ff.
5. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. IX, pp. 32, text-lines 10.41
6. *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. VII, p. 38 text-line 21.
7. ( ) ಎಂಬ ಆವರಣ ಚಿಹ್ನೆಗಳ ನಡುವೆ ಇರುವ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳನ್ನು ತಿದ್ದುಪಡಿಯೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಬೇಕು.
8. [*] ಎಂಬ ಚಿಹ್ನೆಗಳ ನಡುವೆ ಇರುವ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳು ಮೂಲದಲ್ಲಿಲ್ಲ.
9. [ ] ಎಂಬ ಚಿಹ್ನೆಗಳ ನಡುವೆ ಇರುವ ಅಕ್ಷರಗಳು ಮೂಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹಾಸ್ಪದವಾಗಿವೆ.
10. ಮೂಲಶಾಸನ ಬರೆದ ಕೆಲಕಾಲಾನಂತರ ಬರೆದ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ಪಂಕ್ತಿಗಳು ಇಲ್ಲಿವೆ.
    1 ತಳಾರ ಜಲ್ಲೆಯಂ ಪ-
    2 ನ್ನಜನ ವೀಸಟಿಯ ಆದಿತ್ಯ-
    3 ಗೆ ಬಿಟ್ಟ
11. ಈ ಪಾದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡಕ್ಷರಗಳು ಕಡಿಮೆ.

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ಮಂಗಳವಾಡವು ಬಿಜ್ಜಳನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿತ್ತೆ ?*

ಕೀರ್ತಿಶೇಷರಾದ ಪ್ರೊ. ಟಿ.ಎಸ್. ವೆಂಕಣ್ಣಯ್ಯನವರು ಹರಿಹರನ 'ಬಸವರಾಜ ದೇವರ ರಗಳೆ' ಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇದೇ ಕವಿಯಿಂದ ರಚಿತವಾದ 'ರೇವಣಸಿದ್ಧರ ರಗಳೆ' ಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಳನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಮಂಗಳವಾಡವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆಯೆಂದೂ, ಆದರೆ ಇತರ ವೀರಶೈವ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಈ ಕಳಚುರ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಕಲ್ಯಾಣವೆಂದು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆಯೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿ ಈ ಎರಡು ಪಟ್ಟಣಗಳೂ ಒಂದೇ ಎಂದು ತೋರಬಹುದಾದರೂ ಅವು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಸ್ಥಳಗಳೆಂದೇ ಹರಿಹರನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವೆಂಬುದಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.[1] ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜರಿಗೂ ಕಳಚುರ್ಯ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರಿಗೂ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣವು ಈಗ ಹೈದರಾಬಾದು ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಬೀದರ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣಿಯೆಂದೂ,** ಮಂಗಳವಾಡವು ಉತ್ತರ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಸಾಂಗ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಂಢರಪುರಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಮಾರು ೧೩ ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಂಗಳವೇಢವೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದೇ ಇದೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಹರಿಹರನಿಗೂ ಮಿಕ್ಕ ವೀರಶೈವ ಕವಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ರಾಜನಾದ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಭೇದವಿರುವುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿದರೆ ಇವೆರಡರಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವುದು ನಂಬಿಕೆಗೆ ಅರ್ಹವಾದುದು ಅಥವಾ ಎರಡೂ ವಿಶ್ವಸನೀಯವೇ ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಶ್ನೆಯು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತದೆ. ವೆಂಕಣ್ಣಯ್ಯನವರು ಹೇಳಿರುವಂತೆ ಬಸವಣ್ಣನವರ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಜನರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಕಥೆಗಳ ಆಧಾರದ ಮೇಲೆಯೇ ವೀರಶೈವ ಕವಿಗಳೆಲ್ಲರೂ ಬಸವಣ್ಣನವರ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯನ್ನು ಬರೆದರೆಂಬುದು ನಿರ್ವಿವಾದವಾದ ಮಾತು.[2] ಹಾಗಾದರೆ ಬಸವಣ್ಣವನರ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುವ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲ 'ಬಸವರಾಜದೇವರ ರಗಳೆ' ಯು ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೂ ಹರಿಹರನ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೂ ಇರುವ ಅಂತರವು ಹೆಚ್ಚಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಈ ಕವಿಯ ಮಾತನ್ನು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ತೆಗೆದುಹಾಕುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಎಂದಾದರೂ ಮಂಗಳವಾಡವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರವೇನಾದರೂ ಇದೆಯೇ ಎಂಬ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸುವುದು ಅವಶ್ಯ. ಈ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಹುಡುಕಿದರೆ ನಮಗೇನಾದರೂ ಸಹಾಯ ದೊರಕೀತೆಂಬ ಆಶೆಯಿಂದ ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳನ್ನು ಶೋಧಿಸಿದಾಗ ಮಂಗಳವಾಡವು ಕಲಚುರ್ಯವಂಶದ ನರಪತಿಗಳ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಕೆಲವು ನನಗೆ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದುವು. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದುದು ಉತ್ತರ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದ ಜತ್ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನದೊಳಗಿರುವ ಮಾಡಗಿಹಾಳೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿದೆ.[3] ಇದು ಕಳಚುರಿಯ ಭುಜಬಳಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ರಾಜಮುರಾರಿ ಸೋವಿದೇವನ ಕಾಲದ್ದು. ಶಕ ವರ್ಷ ೧೦೯೩ನೆಯ ನಂದನ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಫಾಲ್ಗುಣದಮಾವಾಸ್ಯೆಯಾದಿವಾರ ಸೂರ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣದಂದು (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೭೨, ಜನವರಿ ೨೨) ತರಿಕಾಡು ದೇಶದೊಳಗಣ ಮಾಳಿಗೆಯ (ಈಗಿನ ಮಾಡಗಿಹಾಳು) ಪ್ರಭು ಬಿಜ್ಜಯನಾಯಕನು ತಾನು ಆ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಶ್ರೀರಾಯಮುರಾರಿ ಸೋಮನಾಥದೇವರ, ಶ್ರೀ ಬಿಜ್ಜೇಶ್ವರದೇವರ ದೇವಾಲಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂಗರಂಗಭೋಗಖಂಡಸ್ಫುಟಿತಜೀರ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕಂ ತಪೋಧನರಾಹಾರದಾನಕ್ಕಂ ಆ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಭೂದಾನ ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯಪಡಿಸುವುದೇ ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಮುಖ್ಯೋದ್ದೇಶ. ಆದರೂ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಪ್ರಾಯಿಕವಾಗಿ ಅನುಸರಿಸುವ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯಂತೆ ಈ ಶಿಲಾ ಲೇಖವೂ ಉಕ್ತಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನಾಡನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ರಾಜನು ಇಂತಹನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮೊದಲು ರಾಜನ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದೆ. ಈ ವಂಶಾವಳಿಯನ್ನು ವಿವರಿಸುವ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು ನಮ್ಮ ಪ್ರಕೃತ ವಿಷಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿವೆಯಾದ ಕಾರಣ ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಡುತ್ತೇನೆ:

> ಸ್ಫುರದಂಭೋನಿಧಿವೇಳೆ ಮೂವಳಸೆ ಜಂಬೂದ್ವೀಪವತ್ಯಂತ ಬಂ
> ಧುರವಾದ್ವೀಪದ ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಸೊಗಯಿಕ್ಕುಂ ಬಾಂಬರಂ ನೀಳ್ದು ಮಂ
> ದರ ವಾಮಂದರದಕ್ಷಿಣಸ್ಥ ಭರತಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಂ ಜಗಂನೇತ್ರ ಭಾ
> ಸುರವಾಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವಧೂರೋಜನಿತ ಲೀಲಾಕುಂತಳಂ ಕುಂತಳಂ ॥
>
> ಎನಿಪಾ ದೇಶದ ತೊಡವೆಂ
> ದೆನಿಕುಂ ತರಿಕಾರ(ಡ) ನಾಡು ತದ್ವಿಷೆ(ಷ)ಯಕ್ಕಾ

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* ಕನ್ನಡ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ಪತ್ರಿಕೆ, ೨೯ (೨), ಪು. ೧೮೬-೮೮.

** ಈಗ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದೆ. - ಸಂ.

ಸ್ಯನಿಭಂ ಮಂಗಳಿವೇಡಂ
ಜನರಮ್ಯಂ ತತುಪುರೀಶವರಂನ್ವಯದೊಳು॥
ನೆಗರ್ದಂ ಕಂನಮನಾತನ
ಮಗನೆಸದಂ ರಾಜಭೂಭುಜಂ ತನುಮಹಿಪಂ
ಗೊಗೆದತ್ರ್ರಿಪುರುಶ(ಷ)ರವೊಲ
ಮ್ಮ್ಮಗಿ ಸಂಕಮಜೋಗಮಾಂಕರಪಗತಸಂ(ಶಂ)ಕರು॥

ಅವರೊಳಗೆ॥

ವಿ(ವೃ)॥ ಜಗದೀಶಂ ಚಲದಂಕರಾಮನದಟಂ ವೀರಾರಿಭೂಪಾಪಹಂ
ನೆಗರ್ದಂ ವಿಶ್ರುತನಾದಿರಾಜಬಳವತ್ತೇಜೋಗಮಂ ಜೋಗಮಂ
ನೆಗರ್ದಂ ತತುಸುತನುದ್ಧತಾರಿಬಳಮಂ ಹೆಣ್ಮಾಡಿ ಹೆಮ್ಮಾಡಿ ತಾಂ
ನೆಗರ್ದಂ ತತುಸುತನಿಷ್ಟಚಾತಕನವಾಂಭೋಭೃಜ್ಜಲಂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲಂ ॥

ಪರನಾರೀಸೋದರಂ ಭೂವಿನುತಸುಭಟರಾದಿತ್ಯದೇವಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪೋ
ದ್ಧುರಲಂಕಾಧೀಶ್ವರಂ ಗೂರ್ಜ್ಜರಮಗಧಕಳಿಂಗಾಂಧ್ರಸೌರಾಷ್ಟ್ರವೇಂಗೀ
ಶ್ವರಬಾಹಾಭೀಳಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಪ್ರಕಟವಿಸ್ಪಾ(ಸ್ಫಾ)ರವಜ್ರಂ ನರೇಂದ್ರಾ
ಭರಣಂ ವೈರೀಭಕಂಠೀರವನತುಳಯೆ(ಯ)ಶಂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲ ಕ್ಷೋಣಿಪಾಳಂ ॥

ಲಾಳಂ ಬಾಳ್ಗೊಟ್ಟುಕೋಳ್ಗೊಟ್ಟುಳಿದನುಳಿದನಾಚೇರಮಂ ಬೀರಮಂ ನೇ
ಪಾಳಂ ಕಾಡಾಳೆ(ಳ)ಯಕ್ಕೆಯ್ದಿದನತಿಭಯದಿಂ ಸೌ(ಶೌ)ರ್ಯ್ಯಸಂಪತ್ತಿಯಿಂ ಪಾಂ
ಚಾಳಂ ಚಾಳಾದ ನಾಳಾಳೆನಿಸಿ ಬರ್ದುಕಿದಂ ಭೀಮಸಂಗ್ರಾಮಕೇಳೀ
ಲೋಳಂ ಚೋಳಂ ದಿಟಂ ಬಂದಪನೆನಲದಟಂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲ ಕ್ಷೋಣಿಪಾಳಂ ॥

ಅಂತುಮಲ್ಲದೆಯುಂ ॥

ರಾಜಮಹಾಭಿಧಾನಮನೆ ಚಂದ್ರನೊಳಪ್ರತಿಮಪ್ರತಾಪದಾ
ರಾಜತೆಯಂ ನಿದಾಘ ಸಮಯಾರ್ಕ್ಕನೊಳೂರ್ಜ್ಜಿತ ಸಾರ್ಬ್ಬಭೌಮಮಂ
ಬೀಜಸಮಂ ದಿಶಾಕರಿಯೊಳಲ್ಲದೆ ವೈರಿನೃಪಾಳರಲ್ಲಿ ರಾ
ರಾಜಿಸಲೀಯದಿಂತು ನೆಗರ್ದಂ ವಿಭು ದೋರ್ಬ್ಬಳಚಕ್ರಿ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲಂ ॥

ಕಂ ॥ ಆತನ ತನಯಂ ಲೋಕ
ಖ್ಯಾತಂ ಕಾಂತಾನಿಕಾಯರಾಜಿತಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀ
ಜಾತಂ ರಾಜಮುರಾರಿ ಸ
ಭೀತಾನತಭೂಪಕುಮುದಸೋಮಂ ಸೋಮಂ ॥

ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಿಂದ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನ ಪೂರ್ವಜರು ಕುಂತಲದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಆಭರಣದಂತಿದ್ದ ತರಿಕಾಡನಾಡೆಂಬ ವಿಷಯದ ಮುಖದೋಪಾದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಾಶಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಮಂಗಳವೇಡಪುರದ ಒಡೆಯರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನು ಕುಂತಲ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಅಧಿಪತಿಯಾಗುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರ ಸಾಮಂತನಾಗಿ ಅವರ ಕೈಕೆಳಗೆ ಅನೇಕ ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರ ಸೈನ್ಯಾಧಿಪತಿಯೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೫೭ರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನು ತನ್ನ ಸ್ಥಾನಬಲದಿಂದ ತನ್ನ ಪ್ರಾಬಲ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಸಿ ತನ್ನ ಒಡೆಯರಾದ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯರಿಗೆ ದ್ರೋಹಮಾಡಿ ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡನೆಂಬುದೂ ಸರ್ವರಿಗೂ ವಿದಿತವಾದ ಸಂಗತಿಯೇ. ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಇವನ ಕೈವಶವಾದಮೇಲೆ ಈತನು ಕಲ್ಯಾಣವನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಪೂರ್ವಿಕರ ಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಸ್ವಸ್ಥಾನವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಮಂಗಳಿವೇಡವೂ ಇವನ ನೆಲೆವೀಡುಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದಾಗಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಿಸ್ಸಂಶಯವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಈ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಪುಷ್ಟೀಕರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಇಂಡಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಸಂಖ್ನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲದೇವನದೇ ಆದ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನ[4]ದಲ್ಲಿ ಆತನು ರಾಜಧಾನಿ ಮಂಗಳಿವೇಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ನಿಸ್ಸಂದಿಗ್ಧವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲವನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿರುವ ಭಾಗ ಶಿಥಿಲವಾಗಿದೆ. ಶಕವರ್ಷದ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖ ನಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ತಿಂಗಳು ಮುಂತಾದ ವಿವರಗಳು -

ಪುಷ್ಯ, ಅಮಾವಾಸ್ಯೆ, ಸೂರ್ಯಗ್ರಹಣ, ಸೋಮವಾರ - ಉಳಿದಿವೆ. ಈ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನ ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ರಾಯಮುರಾರಿ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರ ಅಥವಾ ಸೋವಿದೇವನ ಕಾಲದ ಇನ್ನೂ ಮೂರು ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಇದನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಿರಪಡಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಸಿಂದಗಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಕಡಲೆವಾಡ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿವೆ.[5] ಮೂರನೆಯದು ಬಿಜಾಪುರದ ಪ್ರಾಚ್ಯವಸ್ತು ಸಂದರ್ಶನ ಶಾಲೆ (ಮ್ಯೂಜಿಯಂ) ಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ.[6] ಕಡಲೆವಾಡದ ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದರ ಕಾಲವು ಶಕ ೧೦೯೦ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಸರ್ವಧಾರಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೬೮); ಮತ್ತೊಂದರ ಕಾಲವು ಶಕ ೧೦೯೭ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಮನ್ಮಥ ಸಂವತ್ಸರ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೭೬). ಬಿಜಾಪುರದ ಶಾಸನವು ವಿಜಯ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದಲ್ಲಿ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೭೩) ಬರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತೆಂದು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಮೂರು ಶಿಲಾಲೇಖಗಳೂ ಸೋಮೇಶ್ವರನು 'ಮಂಗಳವಾಡ (ಮಂಗಳವೇಡ)ದ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಿನೊಳು ಸುಖಸಂಕಥಾ ವಿನೋದದಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೆಯ್ಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದ'ನೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ.

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳು

1. 'ಬಸವರಾಜದೇವರ ರಗಳೆ', ಪೀಠಿಕೆ, ಪುಟ xix.
2. *Ibid.,* ಪುಟ ix.
3. *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XV, pp. 315ff.
4. No. 68 of the Bombay Karnatak Epigraphical collection for 1937-38.
5. Nos. 37 and 41 of 1936-37 of the same collection.
6. No. 160 of 1933-34 of the same collection

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ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಬೆಳಕಿಗೆ ಬಂದಿರುವ ಬಿಜ್ಜಳನ ಒಬ್ಬ ತಮ್ಮ*

ಕೆಲವು ತಿಂಗಳ ಹಿಂದೆ ನಾಗಪುರ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ನಿವೃತ್ತ ಕುಲಪತಿಗಳಾದ ಡಾ. ವಿಷ್ಣು ಭಿಕಾಜಿ ಕೋಲತೇಯವರು ಒಂದು ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ತಂದು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅದನ್ನು ಓದಿ, ಅದರ ಪಾಠವನ್ನೂ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಭಾಷಾಂತರವನ್ನೂ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನೂ ತಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಕೇಳಿದರು. ಆ ಶಾಸನವು ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಸಾಂಗಲೀ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕವಠೇ ಮಹಾಂಕಾಳ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ದೇಸಿಂಗ್ ಬೋರಗಾಂವ್ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಹಾದೇವ ದೇವಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ, ಈಗ ಅದನ್ನು ಸುರಕ್ಷಿತವಾಗಿಡಲೋಸುಗ ಗ್ರಾಮ ಪಂಚಾಯಿತಿ ಕಚೇರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇಟ್ಟಿರುವುದಾಗಿಯೂ ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಡಾ. ಕೋಲತೇಯವರು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದಿರುವುದಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ಅದರ ಪ್ರಕಟಣೆಗೆ ಕಾಲ ವಿಳಂಬವಾಗಬಹುದಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯ ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಗಮನಕ್ಕೆ ತರುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇನೆ.**

ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮನೆತನದ ಪ್ರತಾಪ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಜಗದೇಕಮಲ್ಲನು ತನ್ನ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಕಲ್ಯಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಅನಂತರ ಅವನ ಮಹಾಮಂಡಳೇಶ್ವರನಾದ ಕಳಚುರಿ ವಂಶದ ಪೆರ್ಮಾಡಿ ದೇವನ ಪ್ರಿಯಪುತ್ರನಾದ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲ ಕ್ಷೋಣಿಪಾಲನನ್ನು ಸ್ತುತಿಸಿ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯ ದಯೆಯಿಂದ ತಾನು ಪಡೆದ ಕರಹಡನಾಡನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಾದ ರಾಜಲ ಮತ್ತು ಮೈಳುಗಿ ದೇವರ ಸಹಿತ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನು ಪಾಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಈ ಕೆಳಗಿನ ಪದ್ಯಗಳು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತವೆ:

> ಜಯ ಜಯ ಜಯಾಜೀವಿತೇಶಂ ಕಳಚುರಿಕುತ್ಕೀಳಸಿಂಹ ರಿಪುಕ್ಷತ್ರಿಯನಾರೀನೇತ್ರ ವಾರೀಪ್ರಸರಶಮಿತಕೋಪಾಗ್ನಿ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯಚಕ್ರೀ । ಶಯಶೋವಲ್ಲೀ ವಸಂತಂ ನೆಗಳ್ದನವನೀಭೋಗಕ್ಕೆ ಪೆರ್ಮ್ಮಾಡಿ ದೇವಪ್ರಿಯಪುತ್ರಂ ಕ್ಷತ್ರಧರ್ಮಪ್ರಕಟಿತಮಹಿಮಂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಲ ಕ್ಷೋಣಿಪಾಲಂ ॥
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> ಶ್ರೀವಲ್ಲಿವನವರ್ದ್ಧಕಾಸಿಲತಿಕಾಧಾರಾಜಲಂ ರಾಜಲಂ ದೇವೇಂದ್ರಪ್ರತಿಮ ಪ್ರಚಂಡ ಪರಭೂಭೃಜ್ಜೈತ್ರ ದಶ । ಗ್ರೀವಂ ಮೈಳುಗಿದೇವನೆಂಬನುಜರಿಂ ವಿಖ್ಯಾತಿವೆತ್ತಂ ಪ್ರತಾಪಾ ವಿರ್ಬ್ಭಾಡವಶೋಷಿತಜಳೋದನ್ವಜ್ಜಲಂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಳಂ ॥
>
> ಪಾಳಿಸಿದನಮತ್ಸರಹ್ರಿದಯಾಳಂಬಕನಾ ನಿಜಾನುಜರ್ವ್ವೆರಸೆಂದುಂ । ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಚರ್ಕವರ್ತ್ತಿಯ ಲೀಳಾದಯೆಯಿಂದಮಾದ ಕರಹಡನಾಡಂ ॥

ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದ ಕಲಚುರಿವಂಶದ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯಿಂದ ಬಿಜ್ಜಳನಿಗೆ ಮೈಳುಗಿದೇವನೆಂಬ ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ತಮ್ಮನಿದ್ದುದು ಮಾತ್ರ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿದೆ. ಬಿಜ್ಜಲನ ಇನ್ನೊಬ್ಬ ತಮ್ಮನೆಂದು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುವ ರಾಜಲನ ಹೆಸರು ಇದುವರೆಗೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಾಗಲಿ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಾಗಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯಿಂದ ಇದು ಬಹಳ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ವಿಷಯ. ರಾಜಲನು ತನ್ನ ಕತ್ತಿಯಿಂದ ಬೀಳುವ ರಕ್ತಧಾರೆಯಿಂದ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಸಿರಿಯೆಂಬ ಬಳ್ಳಿಯ ವನವನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಳಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ವರ್ಣಿತನಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಇವನು ಪರಾಕ್ರಮಶಾಲಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಸಂಗತಿಯೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಈ ಶಾಸನದ ಕಾಲ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತಾಪ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಜಗದೇಕಲಮಲ್ಲನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯ 12ನೇ ವರ್ಷವಾದ ಶುಕ್ಲ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಫಾಲ್ಗುಣ ಶುದ್ಧ ತ್ರಯೋದಶಿ, ಆದಿತ್ಯವಾರ. ಕ್ರೈಸ್ತಗಣನೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮನಾದ ತಿಥಿಯು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 1150, ಫೆಬ್ರವರಿ 12. ಆದರೆ ಈ ದಿವಸ ಶನಿವಾರವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ದಾನವನ್ನು ಶನಿವಾರದ ದಿನ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಭಾನುವಾರದ ದಿವಸ ಕಲ್ಲಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಬರೆಯಿಸಿದಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ.

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* ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ: ಸಂ. ೫೫ (೨), ಪು. ೧೯-೨೦.

** ನಾನು ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಪಾಠ, ಭಾಷಾಂತರ ಮತ್ತು ಸಲಹೆಗಳ ಮೇರೆಗೆ ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವ ಕೆಲವು ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಡಾ॥ ಕೋಲತೇಯವರು ಮರಾಠೀ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ''ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ಟೈಮ್ಸ್'' ಪತ್ರಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ (೩೦-೧೨-೭೩) ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಇನ್ನು ಈ ಶಾಸನಸ್ಥವಾದ ದಾನವು ಯಾವುದು ಇದನ್ನು ಎಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾರು ಯಾವ ಉದ್ದೇಶದಿಂದ ಮಾಡಿದರು ಎಂಬ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಕಂಡ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಸಂಗ್ರಹಿಸಬಹುದು:

1. ಹೆಡ-300 ನಾಡಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಬೋರಿಗ್ರಾಮೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೇತಗಾವುಂಡನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದ ಪಾರ್ಶ್ವನಾಥದೇವರ ಬಸದಿಯ ಖಂಡಸ್ಫುಟಿತ ಜೀರ್ಣೋದ್ಧಾರಕ್ಕೂ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಋಷಿಗಳ ಆಹಾರದಾನ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಧರ್ಮಗಳಿಗಾಗಿಯೂ ಬಿಜ್ಜಳದೇವನ ಕೈಕೆಳಗಿನ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಣದೇವನೂ ಮತ್ತಿತರರೂ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದರು.

2. ಈ ದತ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಜೈನಮುನಿ ಮುನಿಚಂದ್ರ ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತಿ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟರು. ಈ ಜೈನಮುನಿಯ ಶಿಷ್ಯಪರಂಪರೆಯನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

3. ಇದಲ್ಲದೆ ಶೆಟ್ಟಿಗುತ್ತರು ಸುಂಕಾಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಇತರರೂ ಇದೇ ಬಸದಿಗೆ ಕೆಲವು ಸುಂಕಗಳನ್ನೂ ತೆರಿಗೆಗಳನ್ನೂ ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆಂದೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.

4. 'ಹೆಡ' ನಾಡು ಕರಹಾಡ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ಇದನ್ನು ಮಹಾಂಕ ಕರಿಕುಲವಂಶದ ಸಾಮಂತರು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ.

ಈ 'ಹೆಡನಾಡು' ಬಿಜಾಪುರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕೆಲ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ದಾನ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಭೂಮಿಯು ಇದ್ದಂತಹ ಬೋರಿಗ್ರಾಮೆಯು ಶಾಸನವು ದೊರೆತ ಸ್ಥಳವಾದ ದೇಸಿಂಗ ಬೋರ್‌ಗಾಂವ್. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದ 'ಹೆಡ-300' ನಾಡಿನ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣವಾದ 'ಹೆಡ' ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಬೋರೆಗಾಂವಿನ ಪರಿಸರದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಈ ಹೆಡನಾಡಿನ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳೆಂದು ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಮಹಾಂಕ ಕರಿಕುಲದ ಹೆಸರೇ ಈಗಿನ ಕವಠೇ ಮಹಾಂಕಾಳಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿರಬೇಕು.

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ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಕೆಲವು ಶಾಸನಗಳು*

ಪೂರ್ವಘಟ್ಟಗಳ ಸಾಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯದಿಂದ ಕೂಡಿರುವ ಸುಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವು ಅತಿಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಒಂದು ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ಶೈವಕ್ಷೇತ್ರ. ಈ ಪುಣ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವು ಈಗಿನ ಆಂಧ್ರಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಕರ್ನೂಲ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಲ್ಲಮಲ ಪರ್ವತ ಶ್ರೇಣಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಗಿರಿ, ಶ್ರೀ ಪರ್ವತ,** ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇತರ ಕೆಲವು ಪುಣ್ಯ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸುವಾಗ ಆ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಗಳು ಶ್ರೀ ಶೈಲದ ಪೂರ್ವ, ದಕ್ಷಿಣ, ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ, ಉತ್ತರ ದ್ವಾರಗಳೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಣಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವು ಎಷ್ಟು ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠಸ್ಥಾನವೆಂಬುದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದ ಪವಿತ್ರ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವು ಒಂದು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ತೀರ್ಥವೆಂದು ಮಹಾಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿನ ಸ್ಥಳಪುರಾಣವು ಗುಪ್ತವಂಶದ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿಯಾದ ಚಂದ್ರಗುಪ್ತನ ಮಗಳು ಚಂದ್ರಾವತಿಯು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ದೇವರಾದ ಶಿವನಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಅನುರಾಗವುಳ್ಳವಳಾಗಿ ಪ್ರತಿನಿತ್ಯವೂ ಆ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಯ ಹಾರವನ್ನು ಅರ್ಪಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದು ಕೊನೆಗೆ ಆ ದೇವರನ್ನೇ ವರಿಸಿದಳೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಸಂಗತಿಯು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲೇ ಇರುವ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೬ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಸೂಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಈ ಐತಿಹ್ಯವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೨ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಪಾಲುಕುರಿಕಿ ಸೋಮನಾಥನೆಂಬ ವೀರಶೈವ ಕವಿಯ ''ಪಂಡಿತಾರಾಧ್ಯ ಚರಿತ್ರ'' ಎಂಬ ತೆಲುಗು ಗ್ರಂಥದಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜಕುಮಾರಿ ಚಂದ್ರಾವತಿಯು ಒಂದು ದಿನ ಎಂದಿನಂತೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಯ ಹಾರವನ್ನು ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಅರ್ಪಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಪರವಶಳಾಗಿ ದೇವರ ಸನ್ನಿಧಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹಾಡುತ್ತಾ ನರ್ತನ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವಾಗ ದೇವರು ಆಕೆಯ ಭಕ್ತಿಗೆ ಮೆಚ್ಚಿ ಆಕೆಗೆ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಕ್ಷನಾಗಿ ವರವನ್ನು ಬೇಡಿಕೊಳ್ಳೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದನೆಂದೂ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ರಾಜಪುತ್ರಿಯು ತಾನು ಅರ್ಪಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಯ ಹಾರವನ್ನು ಸತತವೂ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯು ಧರಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಕೇಳಿಕೊಂಡಳೆಂದೂ, ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯು ಒಲಿದು ಆಕೆಯ ಅಭೀಷ್ಟವನ್ನು ಪೂರ್ತಿಗೊಳಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ, ಅಂದಿನಿಂದ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಗೆ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದೇ ೧೨ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಾಳಿದ ಶಿವಭಕ್ತಾಗ್ರಣಿ ಅಕ್ಕಮಹಾದೇವಿಯು ತನ್ನ ಜೀವಿತದ ಕೊನೆಯ ದಿನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ಆರಾಧ್ಯ ದೇವತೆಯಾದ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಚೆನ್ನಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನನನ್ನು ಪೂಜಿಸಲು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಕದಳಿವನದಲ್ಲಿ ತಪಸ್ಸುಮಾಡಿ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಶಿವಯೋಗ ಮಾರ್ಗವಾಗಿ ದೇಹತ್ಯಾಗಮಾಡಿದಳೆಂಬುದು ಕನ್ನಡ ಲೋಕಕ್ಕೇ ಸುವಿದಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲಕ್ಕೆ ಇದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಮುಂಚಿನ ಉಲ್ಲೇಖವು ಸುಬಂಧುವಿನಿಂದ ವಿರಚಿತವಾದ ''ವಾಸವದತ್ತಾ'' ಎಂಬ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವು ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಶಿವನ ನಿವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಸುಬಂಧುವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ''ಕಾದಂಬರೀ'' ಕರ್ತನಾದ ಬಾಣಭಟ್ಟನಿಗಿಂತ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ) ಪೂರ್ವದವನು.

ಆದರೆ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವನ್ನು ಉಲ್ಲೇಖಿಸುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೫ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ತಾಳಗುಂದದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕದಂಬ ಕಾಕುಸ್ಥವರ್ಮನ ಶಾಸನವೇ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಕದಂಬ ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪಕನಾದ ಮಯೂರಶರ್ಮನು ವಿದ್ಯಾವ್ಯಾಸಂಗಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಕಂಚಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಪಲ್ಲವ ಅಶ್ವಸಂಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲುಂಟಾದ ಕಲಹದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವಮಾನಿತನಾಗಿ, ತನ್ನ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಸಂಕಲ್ಪದಿಂದ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ಅಂತಪಾಲರನ್ನು ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಜಯಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತದ (ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ) ಸುತ್ತುಮುತ್ತಲಿನ ಘೋರಾರಣ್ಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶವನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಸುಮಾರು ಇದೇ ಕಾಲದ ವಿಷ್ಣುಕುಂಡಿವಂಶದ ರಾಜರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರನ್ನು ''ಭಗವತ್ ಶ್ರೀ ಪರ್ವತ ಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಪಾದಾನುಧ್ಯಾತ'' ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವರ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯು ಈಗಿನ ಆಂಧ್ರ ಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಗೋದಾವರಿಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ದೆಂದುಲೂರು ಆಗಿತ್ತು.

ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೮ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ರಾಜನಾದ ದಂತಿದುರ್ಗನು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಅಧಿಪತಿಯನ್ನು ನಿಗ್ರಹಿಸಿ ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡನೆಂದು ವೇರೂಳದ (ಎಲ್ಲೋರಾ) ದಶವತಾರ ಗುಹೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಶಾಸನವು

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* *ದೇವಗಂಗೆ, ಶ್ರೀ ಬಿ. ಶಿವಮೂರ್ತಿಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿ ಅಭಿನಂದನ ಗ್ರಂಥ, ಪು. ೨೦೮-೨೧೨.*

** ಗುಂಟೂರುಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ನಾಗಾರ್ಜುನ ಕೊಂಡದ ಇಖಾಖು (ಇಕ್ಷ್ವಾಕು) ವಂಶದ ರಾಜರ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತವು ಬೌದ್ಧಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಲೇಖನದ ವಿಷಯವಾದ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತವೂ ಆ ಶ್ರೀ ಪರ್ವತವೂ ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಎಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೯ನೇ ಮತ್ತು ೧೦ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲವು ವಾರಣಾಸಿಯಷ್ಟೇ ಪವಿತ್ರವಾದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಬಾಗಳಿಯ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಇಂದ್ರವಲ್ಲಭನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರೀತಿ ಬರೆದಿದೆ:

''ಆರಾನುಮೀ ದಾನವನಳಿದರುಳ್ಳೊಡೆ ವಾರಣಾಸಿಯಂ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತಮುಮಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯ ಕರುವುಮನಳಿದೋರ್ ಪಂಚಮಹಾಪಾತಕಂ''.

ಕಡಪ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಪ್ರೊದ್ದಟೂರಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರಕೂಟ ಮುಮ್ಮಡಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಶಾಪವಿದೆ:

''ಇಂತೀ ಸ್ಥಿತಿ ತಪ್ಪಿದೋಂ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತಮುಮಂ ವಾರಣಾಸಿಯುಮಂ ಕವಿಲೆಯುಮನಳಿದ ಪಾಪಂ ಸಾರ್ಗುಂ.

ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಪ್ರಾಮುಖ್ಯತೆಯನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದರಿಂದ ಕೆಲವು ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಕರ್ನೂಲ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ನಂದಿಕೊಟ್ಕೂರ್ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಕೊತ್ತಪಲ್ಲಿಯೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯ ಮಹಾರಾಜನಾದ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕ್ಯಮಲ್ಲದೇವರ ''ಪಿರಿಯರಸಿ ಮೈಳಲದೇವಿಯರುಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಬಲ್ಲವರಸರುಂ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರ ಸನ್ನಿಧಾನದೊಳ್.... ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೯೮೦ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೫೭)ನೆಯ ಹೇವಿಳಂಬಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲ ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ದ್ವಾರದ ಕೊಳ್ಳದ ಆದಿಸ್ವಯಂಭು ಭೈರವದೇವರ್ಗೆ ಕೆಲವು ಗ್ರಾಮುಗಳನ್ನು ''ಸರ್ವನಮಸ್ಯವಾಗಿ'' ಬಿಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಪವಿತ್ರತೆಯನ್ನು ಅತಿ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಸಾರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲೇ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿರುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಶಕ ೧೦೮೯ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೬೭)ನೆಯ ಪಾಕನಾಡು ಚೋಳರಾಜನಾದ ವೀರರಾಜೇಂದ್ರ ಚೋಳನ ಶಾಸನವೇ ಹಳೆಯದು. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ''ಪಾಕನಾಂಟಯಿಂದುಲೂರಿಪುರಂಗನಾವಲ್ಲಭ'' ಇತ್ಯಾದ್ಯನೇಕ ಬಿರುದಾಂಕಿತನಾದ ಈ ರಾಜನು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಗೆ ಒಂದು ನಂದಾದೀಪವನ್ನು ಇಡುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಏರ್ಪಾಡುಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪ನೇ ಶತಮಾನದ ಕಾಕತೀಯ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜನಾದ ಪ್ರತಾಪರುದ್ರದೇವನ ಶಾಸನವು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾದುದು. ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದ ಪ್ರಾಂಗಣದಲ್ಲಿ ತೆಲುಗು ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ''ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತ ಶ್ರೀಸ್ವಯಂಭು ಶ್ರೀಲಿಂಗ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಮಹಾಲಿಂಗದೇವ''ರ ಕೃಪೆಯಿಂದ ''ಕಾಕತೀಯ ಮಹಾರಾಜ''ನು ಓರುಂಗಲ್ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾಗಿ ಪೃಥ್ವೀ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೨೩೫ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೩೧೩)ರಲ್ಲಿ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದ ಆಡಳಿತಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ತನಿಖೆಯೊಂದರ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ವಿವರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವಾಸಿ ಅಸಂಖ್ಯಾತ ಮಹಾಮಹೇಶ್ವರರು ಗಣ ಮಠದ ವೀರಭದ್ರದೇವರ ಮುಖಮಂಟಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಡ್ಡೋಲಗವಾಗಿ ನೆರೆದಿದ್ದಾಗಿ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರ ಅಂಗರಂಗಭೋಗಗಳನ್ನು ಅಸಂಖ್ಯಾತರ ಅಪ್ಪಣೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ನಡೆಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬರುವುದಾಗಿ ಆರಸಿಮಠದ ಈಶ್ವರಶಿವಾಚಾರ್ಯರೂ, ಆರಾಧ್ಯ ಪ್ರಗ್ಗಡೆಗಳೂ ಪ್ರತಿಜ್ಞೆ ಮಾಡಿದ ಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು ಕಂಭದ ಮೇಲೆ ಶಾಸನ ರೂಪವಾಗಿ ಕೆತ್ತಿಸಿದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಡೆಯಬೇಕಾದ ಪೂಜಾದಿಗಳಿಗಾಗಿ ರಾಜರೂ, ಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವರರೂ, ನಾಯಕರೂ ಇತರ ಭಕ್ತಾದಿಗಳೂ ಮಾನ್ಯವಾಗಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಎಪ್ಪತ್ತು ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳ ಪಟ್ಟಿಯನ್ನು ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಕೊಡುತ್ತದೆ.

ಕೊಂಡವೀಡಿನ ರೆಡ್ಡಿ ವಂಶದ ರಾಜನಾದ ಅನವೇಮಾ ರೆಡ್ಡಿಯ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಆತನು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಗೇಹಾಂಗಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ವೀರಮಂಟಪವನ್ನು ತನ್ನ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಶಿವಭಕ್ತಿಮಾರ್ಗರತನಾದ ಮಲ್ಲಯನ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪನೆಯಂತೆ ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೨೯೯ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೩೭೮)ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ವಂಶದ ಅನೇಕ ರಾಜರು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ಭಕ್ತರು. ಅನವೇಮಾರೆಡ್ಡಿಯ ತಂದೆ ವೇಮಾರೆಡ್ಡಿಯು ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಿಂದ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಬುಡದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾನದಿಯ ಪಾತಾಳಗಂಗೆಯವರೆಗೂ ಮೆಟ್ಟಿಲುಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ರಾಜರ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತವೆ.

''ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲಾಗ್ರಾತ್ ಪ್ರಭವತಿ ಪಥಿ ಪ್ರಾಪ್ತಪಾತಾಳಗಂಗೇ
ಸೋಪಾನಾನಿ ಪ್ರಮಥ ಪದವೀಂ ಆರು ರುಕ್ಷುಶ್ಚಕಾರ''.

ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಅರಸರೂ ಈ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ಅನೇಕ ಸೇವೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸಲ್ಲಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲೇ ಇರುವ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಇಮ್ಮಡಿ ಹರಿಹರನ ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೩೨೬ರ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೦೫) ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಈ ರಾಜನು ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಯ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದ ಮುಖಮಂಟಪ, ದ್ವಾರಗಳು, ಅತಿಸುಂದರವಾದ ದ್ವಾರತೋರಣಗಳು ಇತ್ಯಾದಿಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದೇ ಮನೆತನದ ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷ ಮಹಾರಾಯನು ಶಕ ವರ್ಷ ೧೩೮೮ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೬೫)ರಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ಪಟ್ಟಾಭಿಷೇಕೋತ್ಸವ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಿರುಮಣಾತುಕೂರ್ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅವನ ತಾಮ್ರ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು (ಇದು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲೇ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದ್ದು) ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ದಾನವನ್ನು ದೇವರ ಪರವಾಗಿ ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತ

ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ಮಹಾದೇವರ ಪಾದಾರ್ಚಕನಾದ ಸಿದ್ಧಭಿಕ್ಷಾಪ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಶ್ರೀಲಿಂಗಚಕ್ರೇಶ್ವರನೆಂಬ ತಪಸ್ವಿಯು ಸ್ವೀಕರಿಸಿ ಮಹಾರಾಜನನ್ನು ಚಿರಂಜೀವಿಯಾಗಿ ಬಾಳೆಂದು ಆಶೀರ್ವದಿಸಿದನು. ಶಕ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ೧೪೪೦ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೫೧೭)ರ ತೆಲುಗು ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಿಂದ ಸಾಳುವ ಕುಲದ ಪರ್ವತಯ್ಯನೂ ಅವನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯೂ ''ಸಿದ್ಧ ಭಿಕ್ಷಾವೃತ್ತಿ ಅಯ್ಯಗಾರು'' ಅವರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಮೇಲಿನ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ತಪಸ್ವಿಯೂ, ಈ ''ಸಿದ್ಧಭಿಕ್ಷಾವೃತ್ತಿ ಅಯ್ಯಗಾರೂ'' ಒಬ್ಬರೇ ಎಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೫೦೭ನೆಯ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೫೮೫) ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸಾರಂಗ ಮಠದ ಮುಂದಿರುವ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಐದು ಜಂಗಮ ಮಠಗಳು ಇದ್ದುವೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಬಾರಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿರುವ ಸಿದ್ಧಭಿಕ್ಷಾವೃತ್ತಿ ಮಠವೇ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪ್ರಾಶಸ್ತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ. ಹರಿಹರ, ವಿರೂಪಾಕ್ಷ ನೃಪತಿಗಳಂತೆಯೇ ''ಶ್ರೀ ವೀರ ಪ್ರತಾಪ ಶ್ರೀವೀರ ನರಸಿಂಗರಾಯ ಮಹಾರಾಯರು ಶ್ರೀ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರ ಪಾದಸೇವೆಯ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾ ಇಧಾರು'' ಎಂದು ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನದ ಗರ್ಭಗೃಹದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ.

ಇದಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವರಾಯನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಮಹತ್ವದ್ದು. ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನ ಶಕ ೧೪೩೮ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೫೧೫)ನೆಯ ಈ ಶಾಸನವವು ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವರಾಯನು ಪೂರ್ವ ದಿಗ್ವಿಜಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಗಿರಿದುರ್ಗ ಸ್ಥಳದುರ್ಗಗಳನ್ನು (ಇವುಗಳ ಹೆಸರುಗಳನ್ನು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ.) ಏಕಧಾಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೈಕೊಂಡು ಅನೇಕ ಪಾತ್ರ ಸಾಮಂತರನ್ನೂ ಮನ್ನೆಯರನ್ನೂ (ಇವರ ಹೆಸರುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ) ಜೀವಗ್ರಾಹವಾಗಿ ಹಿಡಿದುಕೊಂಡು ಅವರಿಗೆ ಅಭಯವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಶ್ರೀಪರ್ವತಕ್ಕೆ ಬಿಜಯ ಮಾಡಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರ ತೇರಬೀದಿಯ ಶಿಲಾಮಂಟಪಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿ ದೇವರ ಮಧ್ಯಾಹ್ನದ ಅವಸರದ ಮಹಾನೈವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಎರಡು ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ಸಮರ್ಪಿಸಿದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ.

ರಾಜರು ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಅರಮನೆಯ ಪರಿಹಾರದವರೂ, ರಾಜಬಂಧುಗಳೂ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರ ಭಕ್ತರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗೆ ಶಕ ವರ್ಷ ೧೩೭೯ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೫೮)ರ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಪ್ರೌಢದೇವ ಮಹಾರಾಯರ ಅರಮನೆಯ ಓದುವ ಹೊನ್ನಮವ್ವಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಮಲ್ಲಿಕಾರ್ಜುನ ದೇವರಿಗೆ ದಿನಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಅವಸರದ ಹರಿವಾಣದ ನೈವೇದ್ಯದ ಕಟ್ಟಳೆಗೂ ಐವರು ಜಂಗಮರ ಆರೋಗಣೆ ಕಟ್ಟಳೆಗೂ ಕ್ಷೇತ್ರವೊಂದನ್ನು ಸಮರ್ಪಿಸಿದರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಶಕ ವರ್ಷ ೧೩೮೧ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೬೦)ನೆಯ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ವಿಜಯರಾಯ ಮಹಾರಾಯರ ಮಗಳೂ ಪಾಂಡ್ಯ ಪೆರುಮಾಳ ದೇವನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯೂ ಆದ ಲಖುಮಾಜೀಆಯಿಯು ದೇವರ ನೈವೇದ್ಯಕ್ಕೂ ಐದು ಜನ ಜಂಗಮರ ಆರೋಗಣೆಗೂ ಭೂದಾನವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಹೀಗೆ ಧಾರ್ಮಿಕ ಸಾಮಾಜಿಕ ಐತಿಹಾಸಿಕ ಮುಂತಾದ ಉಪಯುಕ್ತವೂ ಗರಿಷ್ಠವೂ ಆದ ಅನೇಕ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದಿಂದ ೧೭ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ವರೆಗಿನ ಸುಮಾರು ಅರವತ್ತು ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲಿವೆ.

ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲೇ ದೊರೆಯದೇ ಇದ್ದರೂ ಸಹಾ ಈ ಪುಣ್ಯಕ್ಷೇತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಡುವುದು ಉಚಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಮುಸಲಿಮಡುಗು (ನಂದಿ ಕೊಟ್ಕೂರು ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕೂ, ಕರ್ನೂಲ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಭೇತೇಶ್ವರ ದೇವಾಲಯದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಈ ರೀತಿ ಇದೆ:

ಶ್ರೀ ಓರುಗಂಟ್ಯಂತಿಕ ಮಾಚಿರಾಜುಪಲ್ಲಿಜಃ ಶ್ರೀಗಿರಿಶೃಂಗನಿವಾಸೀ
ಶ್ರೀ ಪಂಡಿತಾರಾಧ್ಯ ಗೃಹಸ್ಯ ದಾಸೋ ವಿಭೂತಿ ಗೌರಃ ಶರಣಾಗತೋವಃ

ಅಂದರೆ ಓರುಗಲ್ಲಿನ ಸಮೀಪದ ಮಾಚಿರಾಜ ಪಲ್ಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿ ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದ ಪರ್ವತನಿವಾಸಿಯೂ ಪಂಡಿತಾರಾಧ್ಯರ ಮನೆಯ ದಾಸನೂ ಆದ ವಿಭೂತಿ ಗೌರಯನು ನಿಮಗೆ ಶರಣಾಗತನಾಗಿದ್ದಾನೆ ಎಂದು. ವೀರಶೈವ ಮತಸ್ಥಾಪಕರಲ್ಲೊಬ್ಬರಾದ ಪಂಡಿತಾರಾಧ್ಯರು ಶ್ರೀಶೈಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಮಠವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಪ್ರತೀತಿಯಿದೆ. ಈ ವಿಷಯವು ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂಚಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವುದು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾಗಿದೆ.

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ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಇತಿಹಾಸ*

ಚಿತ್ತಾಕರ್ಷಕವಾದ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯದಿಂದಲೂ ತಂಪಾದ ಹವದಿಂದಲೂ ಹಿಂದುಸ್ತಾನದಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಿ ಪಡೆದು ಪರ್ವತಾವಾಸಗಳ ರಾಣಿ (Queen of Hill-stations) ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುವ ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಪರ್ವತದ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕೇಳದ ಸುಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂದರೆ ಅತಿಶಯೋಕ್ತಿಯಾಗಲಾರದು. ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಎಲ್ಲೆಗೆ ಹತ್ತಿದಂತಿರುವ ಈ ಪರ್ವತದ ರಮಣೀಯತೆಯನ್ನೂ ದೊಡ್ಡಬೆಟ್ಟ (೮,೭೬೦ ಅಡಿ), ಮೂಕರ್ತಿ (೮,೪೦೦ ಅಡಿ), ಸ್ನೋಡನ್ (೮,೨೯೯ ಅಡಿ), ಎಲ್ಕ್‌ಹಿಲ್ (೮,೦೯೦ ಅಡಿ) ಮುಂತಾದ ಅದರ ಶಿಖರಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅವುಗಳ ಭೀಷಣ ದೃಶ್ಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅದರ ಮೇಲಿರುವ ಉಟಕಮಂಡ್ (ಉದಕಮಂಡಲ), ಕುನ್ನೂರು, ಕೋತಗಿರಿ, ಗೂಡಲೂರು ಮುಂತಾದ ಊರುಗಳನ್ನೂ ಅವುಗಳ ಸುತ್ತ ಮುತ್ತಲಿರುವ ಮನೋಹರವಾದ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳನ್ನೂ, ಪಾಯಿಕೆರೆ, ಕಾಟ್ಟೇರಿ, ಕಲ್ಹಟ್ಟಿ ಮುಂತಾದ ಜಲಪಾತಗಳನ್ನೂ, ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ವಾಯುಗುಣವನ್ನೂ ಈ ಪರ್ವತನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾದ ತೊದವರು, ಕೋತರು, ಕುರುಂಬರು, ಬಡಗರು ಇವರುಗಳ ನಡೆ, ನುಡಿ, ಉಡಿಗೆ, ತೊಡಿಗೆ, ವಸತಿ, ವ್ಯವಹಾರ, ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯಗಳು ನಾಗರಿಕತೆ ಮುಂತಾದವುಗಳ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ಅನೇಕರು ನೋಡಿಯೂ, ಓದಿಯೂ, ಕೇಳಿಯೂ ಇದ್ದಾರೆ. ಆದರೆ ಕನ್ನಡನಾಡಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಈ ಪರ್ವತದ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯು ಕನ್ನಡಗರಿಗೆ ತಕ್ಕಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದ ನನಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಮಟ್ಟಿಗೆ ಅದನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ವಾಲ್ಮೀಕಿ ರಾಮಾಯಣ ಮೊದಲಾದ ನಮ್ಮ ಪುರಾತನ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಪರ್ವತವು ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಕಾಣಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲವಾದರೂ ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ದರ್ದುರವೆಂಬ ಪರ್ವತವೇ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯೆಂದು ಹಲ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ರಾಮಾಯಣದ ಸುಂದರಕಾಂಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಹನುಮಂತನು ರಾವಣನ ಅಶೋಕವನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಸೀತಾದೇವಿಯನ್ನು ಕಂಡು ತಾನು ರಾಮದೂತನೆಂದೂ ಆಕೆಗೆ ವಿಜ್ಞಾಪಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ರಾಮನು ಆಕೆಯನ್ನು ಅಗಲಿದಾಗಿನಿಂದಲೂ ಹೇಗೆ ಆಕೆಯ ಹಂಬಲಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದಾನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಸಿ ಈ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಂಬಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಹುಟ್ಟಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೋಸ್ಕರ ಭರತಖಂಡದ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಪರ್ವತಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಆಣೆಯನ್ನಿಡುತ್ತಾನೆ:

ಮಲಯೇನ ಚ ವಿಂಧ್ಯೇನ ಮೇರುಣಾ ಮಂದರೇಣ ಚ ।
ದರ್ದುರೇಣ ಚ ತೇ ದೇವಿ ಶಪೇ ಮೂಲಫಲೇನ ಚ ॥

ತಪ್ಪಲಲ್ಲಿ ಬೀಡನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟನೆಂದೂ ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ವಂಚಿಯು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಸಮುದ್ರತೀರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೊಡುಂಕೊಲೂರ್ (Cranganore)ನ ಒಂದು ಭಾಗವಾದ ತಿರುವಂಚಿಕೊಳಂ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದಾದುದರಿಂದ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯು ನಮ್ಮ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯೇ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ.

ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಹತ್ತನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ತನಕ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಲಿ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯಾಗಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಯಾವ ವಿಷಯವೂ ಗೋಚರವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಬಹು ಪುರಾತನಕಾಲದವುಗಳೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಕೆಲವು ಅವಶಿಷ್ಟಗಳು ಈ ಪರ್ವತದ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದವು ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಅನೇಕ ಶಿಖರಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಗೋರಿಯ ಗುಡ್ಡೆಗಳು (Barrows and Cairns). ಇವುಗಳ ತುದಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲ್ಲುಚಪ್ಪಡಿಗಳ ಗುಂಡಾಗಿರುವ ಪ್ರಾಕಾರದಿಂದ ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ಗುರ್ತಿಸಬಹುದು. ಈ ಗುಡ್ಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವನ್ನು ಅಗೆದು ನೋಡಿದಾಗ ನಾನಾ ವಿಧವಾದ ಚಿತ್ರಗೆಲಸದ ಮಣ್ಣಿನ ಪಾತ್ರೆಗಳೂ, ದಿನವಹಿ ಮನುಷ್ಯರು ಬಳಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಕೊಡಲಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಆಯುಧಗಳೂ, ಚಿನ್ನದ ಆಭರಣಗಳೂ, ಗಾಜನಿಂದಲೂ ನೀಲ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಕಲ್ಲುಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಮಾಡಿದ ಮಣಿಗಳೂ, ಸುಟ್ಟ ಎಲುಬುಗಳೂ, ಬೂದಿಯೂ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರೆತ ಕೆಲವು ಮಣ್ಣಿನ ಪಾತ್ರೆಗಳ ಆಕಾರವು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾಗಿದೆ. ಅವುಗಳ ತಳವು ಚಪ್ಪಟೆಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲದೆ ನೆಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೂಳುವುದಕ್ಕೋ ಅಥವಾ ಸಿಂಬಿಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಇಡುವುದಕ್ಕೋ ಆಗುವಂತೆ ಅಂಡಾಕಾರವಾಗಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳ ಮೇಲಿನ ಮುಚ್ಚಳಗಳು ಗುಮ್ಮಟಾಕಾರವಾಗಿವೆ. ಅವುಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಮನುಷ್ಯ, ಹುಲಿ, ಚಿರತೆ, ಆನೆ, ಕುದುರೆ, ಸಾರಂಗ, ಎಮ್ಮೆ, ಕುರಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬೊಂಬೆಗಳಿವೆ.

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* *ಪ್ರಬುದ್ಧ ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ, ೨೭(೧), ಪು. ೧೧೯-೧೨೮.*

ಕೆಲವು ಎಮ್ಮೆ ಕುರಿಗಳ ಕತ್ತಿಗೆ ಗೆಜ್ಜೆಯೂ ಇದೆ. ಗಂಡು, ಹೆಣ್ಣು ಮನುಷ್ಯ-ಬೊಂಬೆಗಳು ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ ಜನಾಂಗದವರ ಉಡುಪು ಹೇಗಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ಆ ಗಂಡಸರೂ ಹೆಂಗಸರೂ ಒಂದು ವಿಧವಾದ ಉದ್ದನೆ ಟೋಪಿಯನ್ನು ಧರಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಸೊಂಟದಿಂದ ಕೆಳಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಬಟ್ಟೆಯನ್ನು ಉಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಹೆಂಗಸರೂ ಗಂಡಸರೂ ಕತ್ತಿಗೂ ಕೈಗೂ ಸೊಂಟಕ್ಕೂ ಆಭರಣಗಳನ್ನು ಹಾಕಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಇವರ ಮಣಿಯ ಹಾರಗಳೂ ಚಿನ್ನದ ಒಡವೆಗಳೂ ಬಹಳ ಅಂದವಾಗಿಯೂ ನಾಜೂಕಾಗಿಯೂ ಇವೆ. ಮಣಿಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಗೆಬಗೆಯಾದ ಚಿತ್ರಗಳು ಕೊರೆಯಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ. ಕಂಚಿನ ಪಾತ್ರೆಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಸುಂದರವಾದ ಹೂಗಳೂ ಇತರ ಚಿತ್ರಗಳೂ ಇವೆ. ಉಕ್ಕಿನ ಸಾಮಾನುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಕತ್ತಿ, ಕಠಾರಿ, ಬಿಲ್ಲು, ಕೊಡಲಿ, ಕುಡುಗೋಲು, ಕ್ಷೌರಕತ್ತಿ, ಚೂರಿ, ಮೊದಲಾದವುಗಳೂ, ದೀಪಗಳೂ, ಘಂಟೆಗಳೂ ದೊರೆತಿವೆ. ಕೆಲವು ಗುಡ್ಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ 'ದಿನಾರ' (denariums) ಗಳೆಂದು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿವೆತ್ತ ರೋಮನರ ನಾಣ್ಯಗಳೂ ದೊರತಿವೆ. ಪಿತೃಗಳನ್ನು ಹೂಳುವಾಗ ನಾಣ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಗೋರಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿಡುವುದು ಬಹಳ ಪುರಾತನ ಪದ್ಧತಿ. ಹಿಂದೂ ದೇಶದ ಅನೇಕ ಬೌದ್ಧ ಸ್ತೂಪಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇನ್ನೂ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನವಾದ ಕೆಲವು ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ನಾಣ್ಯಗಳು ಸಿಕ್ಕಿವೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ವಸ್ತುಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಜನಗಳು ಬಹಳ ನಾಗರಿಕರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಇವರು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾದ, ಈಗ ಕಾಡುಜನರೆನಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿರುವ, ತೊದವರ ಪೂರ್ವಜರೇ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಪುರಾತನ ವಸ್ತುಗಳಿಂದ ಸಾಕಾದಷ್ಟು ನಿದರ್ಶನವಿಲ್ಲವಾದರೂ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷರು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗೆ ಬಂದಾಗ ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ತೊದವರೇ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳೆಂದು ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಿ ಮನೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನಿವೇಶನಗಳನ್ನು ಉಪಯೋಗಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಲು ಅವರ ಒಪ್ಪಿಗೆಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದರೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯಾಭಿಮಾನಿಗಳಾದ ತೊದವರೇ ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ಮೂಲನಿವಾಸಿಗಳೆಂದು ಎಣಿಸಬಹುದು. ಆದರೂ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದವರೆಗೂ ಇವರ ವಿಚಾರವೇನೂ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲಾಗಲಿ ಇತರ ಯಾವ ಮೂಲಕವಾಗಲಿ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಇನ್ನು ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ[1] ನಮಗೆ ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ತಿಳಿದಿರುವ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ನೋಡೋಣ. ತಲಕಾಡಿನ ಗಂಗಮನೆತನದ ಮೂರನೆಯ ರಾಚಮಲ್ಲನು (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸ. ೯೩೮) ಬಯಲ್ನಾಡನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನವು ಹೇಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಬಯಲ್ನಾಡು ಈಗ ವೈನಾಡೆಂದು ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶ. ಇದರ ಕೆಲಭಾಗವು ಈಗಿನ ಮಲಬಾರ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೆಲಭಾಗವು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇದೆ. ಮುಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಂದರೆ ಸುಮಾರು ೯೦೦ರಿಂದ ೧೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದವರೆಗೂ ಕದಂಬ ಮನೆತನದ ವಿಯಮ್ಮರಸ, ಕಂದವಮ್ಮ, ಕಂಠೀರವ, ಇರವಿಚಲ್ಲಮ್ಮ ಎಂಬ ಅರಸರು ಬಯಲ್ನಾಡಿಗೆ ಅಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ. ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯನ್ನೂ ಅಲ್ಲಿನ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾದ ತೊದವರನ್ನೂ ಕುರಿತು ಕೆಲಸಂಗತಿಗಳನ್ನು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ರಾಜರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತನಾದ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ.

ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜನ ಚಮೂಪನಾದ ಪುಣಿಸನನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುವ ಪದ್ಯವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ.

ತೊದವನದಿರ್ಪ್ಪಿ ಕೊಂಗರನಡಂಗಿಸಿ ಪೋಲುವರಂ ಪೊರಳ್ಚಿ ಮಾ
ಣದೆ ಮಲೆಯಾಳರಂ ಮಡಿಪಿ ಕಾಳನೃಪಾಲನ ತೋಳಬಿಂಕಮಂ ।
ಬೆದರಿಸಿ ಪೊಕ್ಕು ನೀರಸಿಳೆಯಂ ಜಯಲಕ್ಷ್ಮಿಗೆ ಕೀರ್ತಿ ... ಮಾ
ಡಿದ ವಿಭುಬಿಟ್ಟಿದೇವನ ಮಹಾಸಚಿವಂ ಪುಣಿಸಂ ಬಳಾಧಿಕಂ ॥
ಅದಟಿಂ ಪೊಯ್ಸಳಭೂಪನೊರ್ಮ್ಮೆ ಬೆಸ ... ನೀಲಾದ್ರಿಯಂ ಕೊಂಡತ
ನ್ನೊದವಿಂದಂ ಮಲೆಯಾಳರಂ ಕದನದೊಳ್ಬೆಂಕೊಂಡು ತತ್ಸಾಹಸಾ ।
ಭ್ಯುದಯಂ ಕೈಕೊಳೆ ಕೇರಳಾಧಿಪತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದೇರ್ಗಂ ಬಯಲ್ನಾಡನಂ
ಪದಪಿಂ ಕಾಣಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ (?) ನಿನ್ನು ಪುಣಿಸ ಶ್ರೀ ದಂಡನಾಥಾಧಿಪಂ॥

ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಚಾಮರಾಜನಗರದ ಪಾರ್ಶ್ವನಾಥ ಬಸ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಇದರ ಕಾಲವು ಶಕವರ್ಷ ೧೦೩೮ನೆಯ ದುರ್ಮುಖಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಜ್ಯೇಷ್ಠಬಹುಳ ೧ ವ ಮೂಲಾರ್ಕ ವಾರ (=೨೮ನೆಯ ಮೇ, ೧೧೧೬). ಇದರಿಂದ ೧೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಮೇಲೆ ದಾಳಿಯನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದರೆಂದೂ ಆಗ ತೊದವರೇ ಈ ಪರ್ವತದ ಮೇಲಿನ ಮುಖ್ಯನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ಕೊಂಗರೂ ಮಲೆಯಾಳರೂ ಇವರ ನೆರೆಹೊರೆಯವರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ಕಾಳನೆಂಬರಾಜನು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರ ಸೈನ್ಯವನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿದನೆಂದೂ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೧೨೦ರ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನು ನೀಲಪರ್ವತವನ್ನು ಪಟ್ಟಣವನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಮೇಲಿನ ಪದ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಸ್ವಾಧೀನವಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದರೂ ಇನ್ನೂ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರ ಅಧಿಪತ್ಯವು ಸಂಪೂರ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದೇ ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನ ಕಾಲದ ದುಂದುಭಿ

ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ''ನಿರುಗುನ್ದನಾಡಾಳ್ವ ಎಡೆನಾಡ ಹಿರಿಯನಾಡ ಬೆಸದಿಂ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಕೋಟೆಯ ಸಿಖರದ ಮೇಗಣ ಕೊಳ್ಕಲ್ಲ ಕೊಟೆಗೆ ಹಾಕಿ ಮುತ್ತಿ ಕೊಟೆಯ ಸುಟ್ಟು ಕೋಟೆಯ ನಾಯಕನ ಮಗನಂ ಕೊನ್ದು ಮತ್ತಿದಿರಾಂತರಿಬಲಮಂ ಕೂಡಾಡಿ ಕೊಂದು ರಣಶೂರತೆಯಿಂ ಬಂಟನಾಗಿ ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ತನಾದ''ನೆಂದು ಬರೆದಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಚಾಮರಾಜನಗರ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಬಾಗಳಿಯೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಕ್ತವಾದ ದುಂಧುಭಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರವು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೪೨ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಹೊಂದುತ್ತದೆ. ನಿರುಗುಂದ ನಾಡಪ್ರಭುವು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳನ ಸಾಮಂತನಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ೧೧೪೨ರವರೆಗೂ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಘೊಯ್ಸಳರ ಕೈವಶವಾಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಆ ವರ್ಷ ಕೂಳಕುಲ್ಲ ಕೋಟೆಗೆ ಮುತ್ತಿಗೆ ಹಾಕಬೇಕಾಯಿತೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ಕೂಳಕುಲ್ಲು ಈಗ ಕೋತಗಿರಿಯ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಿತ್ತಲೇಹಣ್ಣಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿರುವ ಕೂಕಲೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮ. ಗಜ್ಜಲಹಟ್ಟಿ ಕಣಿವೆಯಿಂದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬರಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಆಗ ಕೋತಗಿರಿಯ ಮಾರ್ಗವಾಗಿಯೇ ಬರಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಕೂಕಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸತ್ತ ನಾಯಕನ ಮಗನು ಬಹುಶಃ ಚಾಮರಾಜನಗರದ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದ ಕಾಳನ ಮಗನಾಗಿರಬೇಕು.

> ತುಳುದೇಶಂ ಚಿತ್ರಕೂಟಂ ತಳವನಪುರವುಚ್ಚಂಗಿ ಕೋಳಾಲವೇಳುಂ
> ಮಲೆವಲ್ಲೂರ್ಕ್ಕಂಚಿ ಕೊಂಗರ್ವ್ವಿಸುವ ಹರಿಯಘಟ್ಟಂಬಯಲ್ನಾಡು ನೀಳಂ ।
> ಚಳದುರ್ಗಂ ರಾಯ ರಾಯೋತ್ತಮ ಪುರಿತೆರೆಯೂಕ್ಕೋರ್ವತೂರ್ಗ್ಗೊನ್ನವಾಡಿ
> ಸ್ಥಳವಂ ಭ್ರೂಭಂಗದಿಂ ಕೊಂಡತುಳಭುಜಬಲಾಟೋಪನೀ ವಿಷ್ಣುಭೂಪಂ॥

ಎಂದು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಇವನ ಮಗನಾದ ನರಸಿಂಹ (೧೧೪೧-೧೧೭೩)ನ ಆಳಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗಾಗಿ ಯುದ್ಧ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದೆ. ಶಕವರ್ಷ ಸಾವಿರದೆಂಬತ್ತನಾಲ್ಕನೆಯ ಚಿತ್ರಭಾನು ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ (=ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೬೨) ನರಸಿಂಹನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜನ ದಂಡಾಧಿಪನಾದ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಗನು

> ನೀಲಾಚಲಮಂ ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಕಾಳನ ತಲೆಗೊಂಡನಿರದೆ ಕೊಂಗರಪಡೆಯಂ ।
> ಧೂಳಿಪಟಮಾಡಿ ಕಾದಿಸಿದ ಕಾಳಾನ್ತಕನಲುತೆ ವಿಷ್ಣುದಂಡಾಧೀಶಂ ॥

ಎಂದು ಹೊಗಳಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಈ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟನಾದ ಕಾಳನು ವಿಷ್ಣುವರ್ಧನನ ದಂಡನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿ ಹೋರಾಡಿದ ಕಾಳನೇ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರೆ ತಪ್ಪಾಗಲಾರದು. ಈ ಕಾಳನು ಯಾವ ಮನೆತನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವನೆಂದಾಗಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ಆ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲಸಿದ್ದ ಯಾವ ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವನೆಂದಾಗಲಿ ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಕಾಳ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಈ ಪರ್ವತದ ಮೇಲೆ ಬಹುಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ವಾಸಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಬಡಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಈಗಲೂ ಇದೆ. ಇವನು ಬಡಗನಾಗಿರಬಹುದೆ? ಹಾಗಿದ್ದರೆ ೧೨ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆಯೇ ಬಡಗರು ಈ ಪರ್ವತವನ್ನು ತಮ್ಮ ವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನವಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೆಂತಲೂ ಇವರೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ಮೂಲನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾದ ತೊದವರೂ ಸೌಹಾರ್ದದಿಂದಿದ್ದರೆಂತಲೂ ತೊದವರು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರೊಡನೆ ಕಾದಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗದೆ ಬಡಗರ ಅರಸನಾದ ಕಾಳನ ಸಹಾಯವನ್ನು ಬೇಡಿದರೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಥವಾ ಕಾಳ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಈಗ ತೊದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲವಾದರೂ ಆಗ ಇದ್ದಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಭಾವಿಸಿದರೆ ಅವರ ದೊರೆಯೇ ಕಾಳನಾಗಿದ್ದನೆನ್ನಬೇಕಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಂದರೆ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಒಬ್ಬ ರಾಜನೂ ಒಂದು ರಾಜ್ಯಭಾರ ಕ್ರಮವೂ ಇರುವಷ್ಟು ನಾಗರಿಕರು ಅವರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದಂತಾಯಿತು. ಹಾಗಾದ ಪಕ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಬಡಗರು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗೆ ಬಡಗದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮೈಸೂರು ಪ್ರಾಂತದಿಂದ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಸೈನ್ಯದೊಂದಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ನೆಲಸಿದವರಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಅಂತೂ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ಬಲಿಷ್ಠರಾದುದರಿಂದ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಗನು ಕಾಳನನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ನೀಲಾಚಲವನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿದನು. ಈ ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಂಗರು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾದ ತೊದವರೊಂದಿಗೆ ಕಾದಿ ಸೋತರು. ಇವತ್ತಿಗೂ ಕೊಯಮುತ್ತೂರು ಸೇಲಂ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಜನಗಳಿಗೆ ಕೊಂಗರೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿದೆ. ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಈಶಾನ್ಯ ದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಯಮುತ್ತೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯೂ ಮತ್ತು ಮೈಸೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳ ಎಲ್ಲೆಗಳೂ ಕೂಡುತ್ತವೆ. ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರ ಪಡೆಯು ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿ ಬಂದಾಗ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಬುಡದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಕೊಂಗರು ಅವರನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಭಟಿಸಿರಬೇಕು.

ಮುಂದಿನ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ರಾಜರ ಆಳಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಯನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟಾದ್ವೈತ ಮತೋದ್ಧಾರಕರಾದ ರಾಮಾನುಜಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿದ್ದರೆಂಬ ಕೆಲವರ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಒಂದು ಮಾತನ್ನು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಆಗಿದ್ದ ಚೋಳರಾಜನ ಬಾಧೆಯನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಆಚಾರ್ಯರು ಶ್ರೀರಂಗದಿಂದ ಮೇಲುಕೋಟೆಗೆ ಹೋದರೆಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಷಯವೇ. ಅವರು ತಲೆತಪ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಹೋಗುತ್ತಿರುವಾಗ ಒಂದು ದಿನ ದೊಡ್ಡ ಮಳೆಗೆ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದರೆಂದೂ, ಆಗ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಬುಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬ ಬೇಡನ ಗುಡಿಸಲಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರು ತಂಗಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ, ಆ ಬೇಡನು ವೈಷ್ಣವನಾದ್ದರಿಂದ ಅವನು

ಅವರನ್ನು ಆದರದಿಂದ ಬರಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಸತ್ಕಾರಗಳನ್ನು ನಡೆಸಿದನೆಂದೂ, ತಮಿಳು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಆಚಾರ್ಯರ ಜೀವನ ಚರಿತ್ರೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ೧ನೆಯ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ಮಗನಾದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಬಲ್ಲಾಳನಿಗೆ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೧೭೩-೧೨೨೦) ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಪುರವರಾಧೀಶ್ವರನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಇದ್ದಿತು. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಇವನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರ ಆಧಿಪತ್ಯವು ನಿರಾತಂಕವಾಗಿ ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಇವನ ತರುವಾಯ ಆಳಿದ ಇಬ್ಬರು ರಾಜರ ಕಾಲದ, ಅಂದರೆ ಮೂರನೆಯ ನರಸಿಂಹನ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ವರೆಗಿನ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಪ್ರಸ್ತಾವವು ಕಂಡುಬರುವುದಿಲ್ಲವಾದುದರಿಂದ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರ ಪ್ರಭುತ್ವವು ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವ ತೊಂದರೆಯೂ ಇಲ್ಲದೆ ನೆಲೆಗೊಂಡಿದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು. ಗೂಡಲೂರಿಗೆ ಅನತಿದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ತೆರಕಣಾಂಬಿ ರಾಜದಾನಿಯಿಂದ ಪದಿನಾಲ್ಕು ನಾಡಿನ ಪ್ರಭುವು ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕು. ಮೂರನೆಯ ಬಲ್ಲಾಳನ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನಾದ ಮಾಧವ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೩೧೮ರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಅಧಿಪತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದನು. ಇವನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ಪೆರುಮಾಳೆ ದೇವದಂಡನಾಯಕನಿಗೂ, ಇವನಿಗೂ ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಸಾಧಾರ ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬಂದಿದೆ. ಈ ಪೆರುಮಾಳೆ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನೇ ಕೊಯಮುತ್ತೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಸತ್ಯಮಂಗಲದಿಂದ ೧೨ ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಬುಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಇರುವ ದಣಾಯಕನ ಕೋಟೆ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿದವನು. ಈ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೋಟೆಗೆ ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಸಾದಾರನ್ ಕೋಟ್ಟೈ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಈ ಊರಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ವಿಷ್ಣು ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ನೀಲಾಚಲಾಧಿಪ ಗ್ರಾಮನಾಥ ಮಾಧವ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ತಮಿಳು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತವೆ. ‘ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಸಾಧಾರ’, ಕೊಂಗರಮಾರಿ, ‘ಕೊಂಗರ ದಿಶಾಪಟ್ಟ’ ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದುಗಳು ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಮಾಧವದಂಡನಾಯಕ, ಕೇತಯ ದಂಡನಾಯಕ, ಸಿಂಗಯ ದಂಡನಾಯಕರಿಗೆ ಇದ್ದುವು. ಇವರ ಬಿರುದುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವು ಬಹು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದುವೆಂದು ಕಾಣುತ್ತವೆ. ಇಷ್ಟು ಹೆಮ್ಮೆಯಿಂದ ಈ ಬಿರುದುಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕಾದರೆ ಪೆರುಮಾಳದಂಡನಾಯಕನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಅದುವರೆಗೆ ಶಾಂತವಾಗಿದ್ದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳು ದಂಗೆ ಎಬ್ಬಿಸಿರಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಕೊಂಗರನ್ನು ಚೆದುರಿಸಿ ಅವರ ನಾಯಕರನ್ನು ಕೊಂದು ಪುನಃ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯನ್ನು ಅವನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡನೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಮನೆತನದವರಲ್ಲದೆ ಇನ್ನೂ ಕೆಲವರಿಗೆ ಈ ಬಿರುದು ಇದ್ದಂತೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ತಿಳಿದುಬರುವುದರಿಂದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯನ್ನು ಸಾಧಿಸಿ ಪುನಃ ಅದನ್ನು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರೆಲ್ಲರೂ ಪೆರುಮಾಳೆ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನಿಗೆ ಸಹಾಯಕರಾಗಿ ಈ ವಿಜಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಗವಹಿಸಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಶಕ ೧೧೯೮ (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೨೭೭)ರಲ್ಲಿ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ಮಾಚಿದೇವನಿಗೆ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಸಾಧಾರನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಹೆಗ್ಗಡೆದೇವನಕೋಟೆಯ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಮಲಿಯೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಕೊಯಮುತ್ತೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೊಳುಮಂ ಅಥವಾ ಸಂಗ್ರಾಮನಲ್ಲೂರೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ಸು. ೧೩೪೨ರ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಧವದಂಡನಾಯಕನ ಮಗನಾದ ಕೇತಯ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನು ತನ್ನ ಸಿಂಗಯ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನ ವಿಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಒಟ್ಟೈಕ್ಕುಮಿಂಡಾನ್ ಅಥವಾ ಒಟ್ಟೈಮಿಂಡಾನ್ ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ಮಾಧವ ಚತುರ್ವೇದಿಮಂಗಲದ ಮಹಾಜನರಿಗೆ ದಾನಮಾಡಿದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಸಾಧಕರೆನಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ದಣಾಯಕನ ಕೋಟೆಯ ನಾಯಕರ ವಂಶದ ಕೇತಯನ ಆಧಿಪತ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಒಟ್ಟೈಕ್ಕುಮಿಂಡಾನ್ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಒಳಪಟ್ಟಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಒಟ್ಟೈಕ್ಕುಮಿಂಡಾನ್ ಎಂದರೆ ‘ಒಟ್ಟೆಯವೀರ’ನೆಂಬ ಬಿರುದು ಕೇತಯನಿಗೋ, ಅವನ ಪೂರ್ವಿಕರಿಗೋ ಇದ್ದಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದೆ. ಬಿರುದಿಗೂ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಹೆಸರಾದ (ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿ) ‘ಉಟಕಮಂಡ್’ಗೂ ಬಹಳ ಹೋಲಿಕೆ ಇದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಈ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಮೂಲವು ಒಟ್ಟೈಕುಮಿಂಡಾನ್ ಎಂಬ ಕೇತಯನ ಬಿರುದೇ ಆಗಿರಬಹುದೆಂದು ಕೀರ್ತಿಶೇಷರಾದ ರಾವ್‌ಬಹದ್ದೂರ್ ಹೊಸಕೋಟೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈಗಲೂ ‘ಉಟಕಮಂಡ’ನ್ನು ತಮಿಳು ಜನಗಳು ‘ಒತ್ತೈ’ ಎಂದೂ ಬಡಗರು ‘ವ್ಹೊತ್ತಕಮಂಡ್’ ಎಂದೂ ಅನ್ನುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಈ ಕೇತಯನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನೇ ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಕೇತ್ತಿ ಎಂಬ ಊರಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರಬಹುದು.

ಹೀಗೆ ಯೊಯ್ಸಳ ರಾಜ್ಯಾರಂಭವಾದಾಗಿನಿಂದ ಅವರ ಅಳಿಗಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯು ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿತ್ತು. ಇವರ ತರುವಾಯ ಆಳಿದ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಅರಸರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅವರ ಅಧೀನದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹರದನಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಬುಕ್ಕಣೊಡೆಯರು ಪೃಥಿವೀರಾಜ್ಯವ ಮಾಡುವ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲೂ, ಅವರ ಕೈಕೆಳಗಿನ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಯೊಬ್ಬನು ಕಾವೇರಿಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾಗದ ಅಧಿಕಾರ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಗೂಡಲೂರು ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಬುಕ್ಕಾಪುರವೆಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಬುಕ್ಕರಾಯನೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ವಂಶದ ಅರಸರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬರಿಂದ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೨೪ರ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ೨ನೆಯ ಬುಕ್ಕರಾಯನು ರಾಜ್ಯವಾಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅವನ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನ ಬಯಿಚೆಯ ದಂಡನಾಥನ ಪಾದಪದ್ಮೋಪಜೀವಿಯಾದ ಬಯಿನಾಡ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಭು ಮಸನೆಯ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯ ಕೆಂಪೇಗೌಡನು ಒಂದು ಗ್ರಾಮವನ್ನು ದಾನಮಾಡಿದಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಬಯಿನಾಡು ಬಯಲನಾಡಿನ ರೂಪಾಂತರವೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೨೫ರಲ್ಲಿ ತೆರಕಣಾಂಬಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ವಿಜಯರಾಯ ಮಹಾರಾಯನ ಮಗನಾದ ವೀರಪರ್ವತರಾಯ ಒಡೆಯನು ತೆರಕಣಾಂಬಿ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದನೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿವೆ. ಈ ಪರ್ವತರಾಯ ಒಡೆಯನು

ಸಂಗಮವಂಶದ ಎರಡನೆಯ ದೇವರಾಯನ ಸಹೋದರನು. ಇದೇ ತೆರಕಣಾಂಬಿ ಸೀಮೆಯು ಸು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೫೧೩ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಳುವ ಗೋವಿಂದರಾಜನ ಅಧೀನದಲ್ಲಿತ್ತು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೫೨೭ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದ ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವರಾಯನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬಯನಾಡು, ಮಸಣಿಹಳ್ಳಿ, ದೇವರಾಯಪುರ ಇವುಗಳು ಉಕ್ತವಾಗಿವೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮಸಣಿಹಳ್ಳಿಯು ಮೈಸೂರಿನಿಂದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗೆ ಬರುವ ದಾರಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಸಣಿ ಗುಡಿಯೆಂದೂ, ದೇವರಾಯಪುರವು ಅದರ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ದೇವರಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣವೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಅರಸರಲ್ಲೊಬ್ಬನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನೇ ದೇವರಾಯಪುರಕ್ಕೆ ಇಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ದೇವರಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಹೆಸರೇ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲಕ್ಕೆ ಬರುವ ದಾರಿಗೆ ಮೊದಮೊದಲು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಬಂದ ಐರೋಪ್ಯರು ದೇವರಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟಣದ ಕಣಿವೆಯ ಮಾರ್ಗವೆಂದು ಹೆಸರಿಟ್ಟರು. ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರಾಜರ ಪ್ರಧಾನನಾಗಿದ್ದ ಪೆರುಮಾಳೆ ದಂಡನಾಯಕನ ವಂಶಸ್ಥರಾದ ಕೋಟೆಯ ಸೀಮೆ ಒಡೆಯರೂ, ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಸಾಧಾರಕೊಡೆಯ ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ನಾಡಾಳ್ವ, ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಉದ್ಧರಣ ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದುಗಳನ್ನು ಧರಿಸಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಇವರೇ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಅರಸರ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಮೇಲಿನ ಅಧಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಕೋಟೆಯು ಗುಂಡ್ಲುಪೇಟೆ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಗೋಪಾಲಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲಿನ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಕೋಟೆಯೆಂದೂ ರೈಸ್ ಸಾಹೇಬರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇವರ ತರುವಾಯ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರಿನ ಒಡೆಯರಿಗೆ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯು ಸೇರಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿದೆ. ಈ ಮನೆತನಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ವೀರನಂಜರಾಜ ಒಡೆಯರ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೪೯೮ರ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದು ದಣಾಯಕನ ಕೋಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಿಕ್ಕಿದೆ. ಈ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಜಯನಗರದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಳುವರು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಆದರೆ ಅವರು ಆಗ ಬಲಹೀನರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರ ಪ್ರಧಾನನಾದ ತುಳುವ ವಂಶದ ನರಸಣನಾಯಕನು ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನವನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸುವುದರಲ್ಲಿದ್ದನು. ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರಿನ ಅರಸರು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರರಾಗಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಮಾಡಿದರು. ಆದರೆ ಇವರು ಬಹಳಕಾಲ ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರರಾಗಿರಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೫೧೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮನಾದ ಕೃಷ್ಣದೇವರಾಯನು ಇವರನ್ನು ಮುರಿಬಡೆದು ತನ್ನ ಅಧೀನರನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದನು. ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲಿರುವ ಮಳೇಕೋಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಅರಸರು ಇರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರು ಕಟ್ಟಿದರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲ್ಪಡುವ ಅವಶೇಷಗಳನ್ನು ಈಗಲೂ ಕಾಣಬಹುದು. ಕುನೂರಿನ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲು ದುರ್ಗವೂ, ಕೋತಗಿರಿಯಿಂದ ಸುಮಾರು ೪-೫ ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಉದಯರಾಯನ ಕೋಟೆಯೂ ಇವರಿಂದ ನಿರ್ಮಿತವಾದವುಗಳೇ. ನೆಲ್ಲಿಯಾಳವೆಂಬ ಇನ್ನೊಂದು ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರ ವಂಶದವರು ಈಗಲೂ ಇದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರು ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನೇ ಮಾತನಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ.

ತಾಳೀಕೋಟೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧಾನಂತರ ವಿಜಯನಗರ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಹೀನಸ್ಥಿತಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ರಾಜರ ಕೈಕೆಳಗಿನ ಸಣ್ಣ ಪುಟ್ಟ ಅರಸರು ಪ್ರಬಲರಾದರು. ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೬೧೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೊರೆಗಳು ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಪಟ್ಟಣದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ರಾಜಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಯನ್ನು ಓಡಿಸಿ ಶ್ರೀರಂಗಪಟ್ಟಣವನ್ನು ಸ್ವಾಧೀನಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡರು. ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರು ಒಡೆಯರ ಮೇಲೆ ಇವರಿಗೆ ಹಗೆಯಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ರಾಜ ಒಡೆಯನು ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರನ್ನು ಸುಮಾರು ೧೬೧೩ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರಿಂದ ಕಿತ್ತುಕೊಂಡನು. ಇಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಮುಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರು ಅರಸರು ಮೈಸೂರು ರಾಜರ ಅಧೀನರಾಗಿಯೇ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಆಡಳಿತವನ್ನು ನಡೆಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು.

ಇಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಮುಂದಕ್ಕೆ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದ ನಮಗೆ ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಸಂಗತಿಗಳೇನೂ ತಿಳಿದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೂ ಈ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರು ಅರಸರನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಕೆಲವು ಐತಿಹ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಬಡಗರು ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಯಾವುದೋ ಒಂದು ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಮನೆತನದ ಇಬ್ಬರು ಅಣ್ಣತಮ್ಮಂದಿರು ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿಗೆ ಸುಮಾರು ೧೦ ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮಲೆಕೋಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲೆಸಿದರಂತೆ. ಯಾವಾಗ ಇವರು ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಬಂದರೆಂಬುದು ಗೊತ್ತಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಹೋದರೂ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರು ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಮೈಸೂರು ಅರಸರ ವಶವಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರಿನ ಒಡೆಯರು ಬಹಳ ಕಾಲದಿಂದಲೂ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದ್ದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ಮಲೆಕೋಟೆಯನ್ನೇ ನೆಲೆವೀಡಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಮೈಸೂರು ರಾಜರು ದುರ್ಬಲರಾಗಿ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೭೬೧ರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೈದರಾಲಿಯು ಮೈಸೂರು ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿಕೊಂಡ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತೂರು ಅರಸರು ಸ್ವತಂತ್ರರಾಗಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಿ ಮೈಸೂರಿನ ಮೇಲಾಳ್ಕೆಯನ್ನು ನಿರಾಕರಿಸಿದರೆಂದು ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೈದರಾಲಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಟೀಪೂಸುಲ್ತಾನನು ಇವರ ಮೇಲೆ ದಂಡೆತ್ತಿ ಬಂದು ಮಲೆಯಕೋಟೆ, ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲು ದುರ್ಗಗಳಿಗೆ ಮುತ್ತಿಗೆ ಹಾಕಿದಾಗ ಇವರು ನೆಲ್ಲಿಯಾಳಕ್ಕೆ ಓಡಿಹೋದರು. ಆ ಮೇಲೆ ಟೀಪೂ ಸುಲ್ತಾನನಿಗೆ ಕಪ್ಪಕಾಣಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನು ಸಲ್ಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದೂ ಟೀಪೂಸುಲ್ತಾನನು ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲು ದುರ್ಗ ಮಲೆಕೋಟೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತನ್ನ ಸೈನ್ಯವನ್ನು ಇಟ್ಟಿದ್ದನೆಂದೂ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿದೆ. ಟೀಪೂಸುಲ್ತಾನನು ಮಲೇಕೋಟೆಗೆ ಹುಸೇನಾಬಾದ್ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಸೈಯದ್ ಬುಡನ್ ಎಂಬ ಅಧಿಕಾರಿಯನ್ನು ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಸೈನ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಕಿಲ್ಲೇದಾರನನ್ನಾಗಿಯೂ ಹುಲಿಕಲ್ಲು ದುರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸೈಯದಾಬಾದ್ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರನ್ನಿಟ್ಟು ಅಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಖಾನ್ ಎಂಬಾತನನ್ನು ಕಿಲ್ಲೇದಾರನನ್ನಾಗಿಯೂ ಮಾಡಿದನು. ಇಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ಸೈನ್ಯಗಳಿಗೆ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ತೊಂದರೆಯೂ ಬೇಜಾರೂ ಇಲ್ಲದಂತೆ ಆಗಾಗ್ಗೆ ಅವುಗಳನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿ ದಣಾಯಕನ ಕೋಟೆಯಿಂದ ಬೇರೆ ಸೈನಿಕರನ್ನು ತಂದು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಇಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದನು. ನೆಲ್ಲಿಯಾಳದ ಅರಸುಗಳು ತಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಾತಂತ್ರ್ಯವನ್ನು ಕಳೆದುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರೂ ಬಡಗರು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳು ಅವರನ್ನೇ ಇಂದಿನವರೆಗೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಒಡೆಯರನ್ನಾಗಿ

ಭಾವಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಬಂದಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಬಡಗರಲ್ಲಿ ಏನಾದರೂ ಜಗಳಗಳಾಗಲಿ ಇತರ ತೊಡಕಾದ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳಾಗಲಿ ನಡೆದರೆ ಅವರು ಕಾಣಿಕೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊಂಡು ನೆಲ್ಲಿಯಾಳಕ್ಕೆ ಹೋಗಿ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಅರಸು ಮನೆತನದ ಯಜಮಾನನಿಂದ ತೀರ್ಪನ್ನು ಪಡೆಯುತ್ತಾರಂತೆ. ಪಿತೃಗಳ ಜ್ಞಾಪಕಾರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಆಗಾಗ್ಗೆ ನಡೆಯುವ 'ಮನವಲೆ' ಎಂಬ ಬಡಗರ ಉತ್ಸವಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲ್ಲಿಯಾಳದ ಅರಸುಗಳಿಗೆ ಆಹ್ವಾನವನ್ನು ಕಳಿಸುವ ಮರ್ಯಾದೆಯು ಇಂದಿಗೂ ನಡೆಯುತ್ತಿದೆಯಂತೆ.

ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೭೯೯ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೈಸೂರು ಮೂರನೆಯ ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಟೀಪೂವಿನ ಪತನಾನಂತರ ಅವನ ರಾಜ್ಯವೂ ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ್ದ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯೂ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷರ ಕೈಗೆ ಬಂದುವು. ಆದರೂ ೧೮೧೯ರ ವರೆಗೆ ಇದರ ಮೇಲೆ ಐರೋಪ್ಯರು ಯಾರೂ ಮನೆಮಠಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಕೊಂಡಂತೆ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆಗ ಕೊಯಮುತ್ತೂರಿನ ಕಲೆಕ್ಟರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಸಲ್ಲಿವನ್ನರು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯ ಪರ್ವತದ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯದಿಂದಲೂ, ಇಂಗ್ಲೆಂಡಿನ ವಾಯುಗುಣವನ್ನು ಹೋಲುವ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ಹಿತವಾದ ಹವೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ಮುಗ್ಧರಾಗಿ ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂಗಲೆಯನ್ನು ೧೮೨೨ರಲ್ಲಿ ಕಟ್ಟಿಸಿದರು. ಇದೇ ಈಗ 'ಕಲ್ಲು ಬಂಗಲೆ' (Stone House) ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಮನೆ. ಸಲ್ಲಿವನ್ನರ ಸಲಹೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಇದೇ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರದವರು ಉಟಕಮಂಡನ್ನು ನೀಲಗಿರಿ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮುಖ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಣವನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಇದು ಐರೋಪ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯಸ್ಥಾನವಾಗಿ (Sanatorium) ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ಬಂತು. ಕುನ್ನೂರು, ಕೋತಗಿರಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಊರುಗಳು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಬಂದವು. ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲಕ್ಕೆ ಮಲಬಾರ್ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದಲೂ, ಮೈಸೂರ್ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದಲೂ, ಮೇಟುಪಾಳ್ಯದ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ರಸ್ತೆಗಳು ಮಾಡಲ್ಪಟ್ಟುವು. ಉಟಕ ಮಂಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾರ್ಕೆಟೂ ಇತರ ಸೌಕರ್ಯಗಳೂ ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟುವು. ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ಹವೆಯು ಇಂಗ್ಲೆಂಡಿನ ತರಕಾರಿ ಹಣ್ಣುಗಳನ್ನು ಬೆಳೆಯುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅನುಕೂಲವಾಗಿಕಂಡು ಬಂದದ್ದರಿಂದ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಉತ್ತೇಜನದಿಂದ ಅಲ್ಲಲ್ಲಿ ತೋಟಗಳಾದುವು. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೮೪೦ನೆಯ ಇಸವಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಫೀ ಮತ್ತು ಟೀ ತೋಟಗಳು ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲೆ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭವಾದವು. ೧೮೪೭ರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಉದ್ಯಾನವನವು ಕೆಲವು ಮಂದಿ ಐರೋಪ್ಯರಿಂದ ತಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಂತ ಉದ್ಯಮದಿಂದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾ ಬಂತು. ಕುನ್ನೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸಿಮ್ಸ್‌ಪಾರ್ಕ್ ಎಂಬ ಉದ್ಯಾನವನವು ೧೮೭೦-೭೫ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷಗಳ ಮಧ್ಯೆ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತು. ೧೮೬೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ವೆಲ್ಲಿಂಗ್‌ಟನ್ನಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷ್ ಸೈನ್ಯಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ದಂಡು ಕಟ್ಟಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತು. ೧೮೭೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರದವರು ಉಟಕಮಂಡನ್ನು ಬೇಸಿಗೆಯ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಈಗ ಕಲ್ಲುಬಂಗಲೆ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲಿರುವ ಅವರ ಕಾರ್ಯಾಲಯದ (Secretriat) ಕಟ್ಟಡವನ್ನು ಇದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದರು. ಆಗಿನಿಂದ ಪ್ರತಿವರ್ಷವೂ ಮದ್ರಾಸಿನ ಗವರ್ನರೂ ಸರ್ಕಾರವೂ ಇಲ್ಲಿಗೆ ಬೇಸಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ಗವರ್ನರ್ ಇರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾದ ಭವನವೊಂದು ಇಲ್ಲದ್ದರಿಂದ ೧೮೭೭ರಲ್ಲಿ ಈಗಿನ ಅವರ ಬಂಗಲೆಯು ಪ್ರಾರಂಭವಾಗಿ ೧೮೭೯ರಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರೈಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತು. ಹೀಗೆ ಸರ್ವತೋಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟವು ಬೆಳೆಯುತ್ತಾ ಬಂದ ಮೇಲೆ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರದವರು ಇದನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕಲೆಕ್ಟರನ್ನು ನೇಮಕಮಾಡಿದರು. ಈ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ತಂಪಾದ ಹವೆಯಿಂದಲೂ ರಮ್ಯವಾದ ಉದ್ಯಾನವನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ, ಜಲಪಾತಗಳಿಂದಲೂ, ಶಿಖರಗಳೂ, ಸರೋವರಗಳೂ, ಅಡವಿಗಳೂ ಇವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ನಾನಾವಿಧವಾದ ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಸೌಂದರ್ಯದಿಂದಲೂ ಆಕರ್ಷಿತರಾದ ಅನೇಕ ದೇಶೀಯ ಸಂಸ್ಥಾನಗಳ ರಾಜರುಗಳು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಭವ್ಯವಾದ ಭವನಗಳನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿಕೊಂಡರು. ಇವರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್, ಮೈಸೂರು, ಬರೋಡ, ಜೋಧ್‌ಪೂರ್, ನವನಗರ್ ರಾಜರ ಅರಮನೆಗಳು ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ತಿರುವಾಂಕೂರು ಕೊಚ್ಚಿನ್ ರಾಜರ ಅರಮನೆಗಳು ಕುನ್ನೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇವೆ. ಈ ಅರಮನೆಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾಧೀಶ್ವರರಾದ ನಮ್ಮ ಮೈಸೂರು ಮಹಾರಾಜರ ಅರಮನೆಯ ಆವರಣವೇ ಎಲ್ಲಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ದೊಡ್ಡದು. ೧೮೯೯ನೆಯ ಇಸವಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಮೇಲಕ್ಕೆ ರೈಲ್ವೆದಾರಿಯೂ ಆಯಿತು. ೧೯೦೪ರಲ್ಲಿ ಅರವನ ಕಾಡಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾರ್ಡೈಟ್ ಎಂಬ ಸಿಡಿಮದ್ದಿನ ಕಾರ್ಖಾನೆಯು ಸ್ಥಾಪಿತವಾಯಿತು. ಮೊದಲು ಕುನ್ನೂರಿನ ವರೆಗೆಮಾತ್ರ ಇದ್ದ ರೈಲುರಸ್ತೆಯು ೧೯೧೦ರಲ್ಲಿ ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನವರೆಗೂ ಬಂತು. ಬ್ರಿಟಿಷರ ಆಡಳಿತಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಮೇಲೆ ಆರೋಗ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾನವಾಗಿ ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದ ಉಟಕಮಂಡಿನ ಶತಮಾನ ಮಹೋತ್ಸವವು ೧೯೨೨ರಲ್ಲಿ ನೆರವೇರಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿತು. ೧೯೩೦ನೆಯ ವರ್ಷದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಾಯಿಕೆರೆ ಜಲಪಾತದ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿ ನದಿಗೆ ಅಣೆಯನ್ನು ಕಟ್ಟಿ ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನು ಉತ್ಪತ್ತಿಮಾಡಿ ಬೆಟ್ಟದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಭಾಗಕ್ಕೂ ಕೊಯಮುತ್ತೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗೂ ವಿದ್ಯುಚ್ಛಕ್ತಿಯ ಉಪಯೋಗವಾಗುವಂತೆ ಮದರಾಸು ಸರ್ಕಾರದವರು ಏರ್ಪಾಡು ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಈಗ ಬೆಟ್ಟವು ಅನೇಕ ಬಗೆಯಾದ ಸೌಕರ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ ಕೂಡಿ, ಆಧುನಿಕ ನಾಗರಿಕತೆಯ ಮೇಲ್ಮಟ್ಟವನ್ನು ಮುಟ್ಟಿ ಹಿಂದೂದೇಶದ ಪರ್ವತಾವಾಸಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ಯುತ್ತಮವಾದುದೆಂದು ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿದೆ.

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿ

1. ಈ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು *Epigraphia Carnatica* ದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗಿವೆ. ಉಳಿದವು ಇಂಡಿಯಾ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಶಾಸನ ಶಾಖೆಯವರಿಂದ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟಿವೆ.

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ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು: ಮೂಲ ಮತ್ತು ಬೆಳವಣಿಗೆ*

'ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ' ಎಂಬುದು ಸ್ಮಾರ್ತ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ಒಂದು ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡದ ಹೆಸರು. ಇವರಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು, ಸಂಗೀತಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಜ್ಞರು, ವೇದಾಂತಿಗಳು, ದಂಡನಾಯಕರು ಮತ್ತು ಮಠಾಧಿಪತಿಗಳು ಆಗಿಹೋಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಈ ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡದ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಎರಡು ಪದಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಎಂಬ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪದದ ವಿವರಣೆಯನ್ನು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ನೀಡಬಹುದು. ಈ ಗುಂಪಿನ ಮಾತೃಭಾಷೆ ಕನ್ನಡ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಅವರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ವಾಸವಾಗಿರುವ ಜನ. ಆದರೆ 'ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ' ಎಂಬ ಮೊದಲ ಪದದ ಅರ್ಥವೇನು? ಸುಮಾರು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೧೦ರಿಂದ ಮೂರು ಶತಮಾನಗಳಿಗೂ ಮಿಕ್ಕು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರೆಂಬ ರಾಜಮನೆತನದವರು ಕನ್ನಡ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ನಮಗೆ ತಿಳಿದಿದೆ. 'ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಮೊದಲು ನಮಗೆ ಕಾಣಬರುವುದು ಹತ್ತನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಮಧ್ಯಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ. ಈ ಪದದ ಅರ್ಥವಿವರಣೆಯನ್ನು ಮೊದಲ ಸಲ ನೀಡುವ ಶಾಸನ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೦೧೭ಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟಿದ್ದು. ಅದು ಹೀಗಿದೆ.

ಯದುವಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಳನೆಂಬ ಒಬ್ಬನಿದ್ದನು. ಒಬ್ಬ ಜೈನ ಸಂನ್ಯಾಸಿಯ ಮುಂದಾಳುತನದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಶಕಪುರದ ಪದ್ಮಾವತಿಯನ್ನು ಪೂಜೆಯಿಂದ ತೃಪ್ತಿಪಡಿಸಿ ತನಗೆ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅವನು ನಿರತನಾಗಿದ್ದನು. ಅವರಿಬ್ಬರ ಪೂಜಾಕರ್ಮವನ್ನು ನಾಶಮಾಡುವಂತೆಯೋ ಏನೋ ಒಂದು ಹುಲಿ ಇದ್ದಕ್ಕಿದ್ದಂತೆಯೇ ಅವರನ್ನು ಎದುರಿಸಿತು. ಆಗ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯು 'ಎಲೈ ಸಳನೇ ಹೊಡೆ' ಎಂದು ಕೂಗಿಕೊಂಡನು. ಸಳನು ಹೊಡೆದು ಹುಲಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಂದನು. ಈ ಸನ್ಯಾಸಿಯ ಕೂಗಿನಲ್ಲಿ 'ಪೊಯ್, ಸಳ' ಎಂಬ ಮಾತು ಇದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಇವನ ವಂಶದವರಿಗೆ 'ಪೊಯ್ಸಳ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಬಂದಿತು. ಈ ಹೆಸರೆ 'ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ' ಎಂದಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ, ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು 'ಚುಳುಕ'ದಿಂದ ಬಂದಿದೆ ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು ಎಷ್ಟು ಊಹೆಯಿಂದ ಕೂಡಿದೆಯೋ ಅಷ್ಟೇ ಕಲ್ಪನೆಯ ಚಾತುರ್ಯವು ಈ ಪದದ ಅರ್ಥ ವಿವರಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕಂಡುಬರುತ್ತದೆ, 'ಪೊಯ್ಸಳ' ಎಂಬ ಪದದ ನಿಜವಾದ ವ್ಯುತ್ಪತ್ತಿಯು ಮರೆತುಹೋದಮೇಲೆ ಆ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಒಂದು ಗೌರವಾರ್ಹವಾದ ಮೂಲವನ್ನು ಸೃಷ್ಟಿಸಲು ನಿರ್ಮಿಸಿದ ದಂತಕಥೆಯಿದು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ವಿವರಣೆ ಬರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆಯೇ ಎರಡು ಶತಮಾನಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಈ ವಂಶವು ಜೀವಂತವಾಗಿದ್ದಿತೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ನಾವು ನೆನಪಿಡಬೇಕು. ಈ ವಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕರು 'ಬಲ್ಲಾಳ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ಹೆಸರು ತಮಿಳಿನ 'ವೆಲ್ಲಾಳ' ಎಂಬುದರ ಕನ್ನಡ ರೂಪವಾಗಿರಬಹುದು. ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ತಮಿಳು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ 'ವೆಲ್ಲಾಳ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಬರುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ವೆಲ್ಲಾಳರು ಎರಡು ಬಗೆಯವರಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಭೂಮಿಯನ್ನು ತಾವೇ ಉತ್ತು ಬೆಳೆ ಬೆಳೆಯುವ ಜನ ಮತ್ತು ಇತರರ ಸಹಾಯದಿಂದ ವ್ಯವಸಾಯ ಮಾಡಿಸುವ ಜನ. ಈ ಎರಡನೆಯ ಪಂಗಡದವರು ಜಮೀನುದಾರರಾಗಿರುವುದರ ಜೊತೆಗೆ ಕ್ರಮೇಣ ಸಮಾಜದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ಯುತ್ತಮ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳಿಗೆ ಏರಿದರು: ಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳು, ರಾಜಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಗಳು, ದಂಡನಾಯಕರು ಮುಂತಾದ ಸ್ಥಾನಗಳನ್ನು ಆಕ್ರಮಿಸಿದರು. ಈ ಮುಖ್ಯರಾದವರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ಒಂದು ಮನೆತನ ಮಾತ್ರ. ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ಸ್ಥಳೀಯ ಜಮೀನುದಾರರಾಗಿದ್ದು ಕ್ರಮೇಣ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದರೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ವಯಂವಿದಿತ.

'ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ' ಪದದೊಡನೆ 'ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ' ಎಂಬುದು ಏಕೆ ಸೇರಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಈಗ ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸೋಣ. ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರ ಸಾಮಂತರಾಗಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಬಂದರು. ಮೊದಲು ಇವರು 'ಸೊಸೆವೂರು' (ಈಗಿನ ಮೂಡಿಗೆರೆ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಅಂಗಡಿ) ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಬಳಿಕ ಬೇಲೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕೊನೆಗೆ ದೋರಸಮುದ್ರ (ಈಗಿನ ಹಳೇಬೀಡು)ದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಚಿಕ್ಕ ರಾಜ್ಯವೊಂದನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಅವರು ತಲಕಾಡು ಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೂ ಒಡೆಯರಾದರು. ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ, ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ಮತ್ತು ಆಂಧ್ರಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಭಾಗ-ಇವನ್ನು ಒಳಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಅತಿ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠ ರಾಜನಾಗಿದ್ದ ಆರನೇ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ರಾಜ್ಯವು ನಾಗಪುರದವರೆಗೂ ಹಬ್ಬಿತ್ತು. ಈ ರಾಜನು ಉದಾರಿಯಾದ ಆಶ್ರಯದಾತನಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಅವನ ಆಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ಕನ್ನಡ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಡದ ಅನೇಕ ಜನ ಬಂದು ಸೇರಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ರಾಜನ ಬಗ್ಗೆ 'ವಿಕ್ರಮಾಂಕ ಚರಿತೆ' ಎಂಬ ಕೃತಿಯನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದ

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* ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಂಘ: ಬೆಳ್ಳಿಸಂಚಿಕೆ, ಪು. ೫-೮ (ಸಂಗ್ರಹ ಅನುವಾದ: ಜಿ. ವೆಂಕಟಸುಬ್ಬಯ್ಯ).

ಬಿಲ್ಹಣನು ಕಾಶ್ಮೀರದವನಾಗಿದ್ದನು. ಚಾಳುಕ್ಯರಾದ ಮೇಲೆ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರೂ ಆ ಬಳಿಕ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಅರಸುಗಳೂ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರಿಗೂ ಕವಿಗಳಿಗೂ ಕಲೆಗಾರರಿಗೂ ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಆಶ್ರಯಕೊಡುವ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಪಡಿಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದರು. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೇ ಅವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಭಾಗವಾಗಿದ್ದ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಮೈಸೂರು ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅನೇಕ ಕನ್ನಡೇತರ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಆಶ್ರಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದರು. ವೆಲನಾಡು, ಮುಲಕನಾಡು, ಆಂಧ್ರದ ಆರವೇಲುನಿಯೋಗಿಗಳು, ಕರಹಾಡಿಗಳು, ಕೊಂಕಣಸ್ಥರು, ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ದೇಶಸ್ಥರು ಮತ್ತು ತಮಿಳುನಾಡಿನ ವಡಮರು ಮುಂತಾದವರು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲಸಿದುದು ಹೀಗೆ. ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನೇ ಮಾತನಾಡುವ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅನೇಕ ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡಗಳಿದ್ದುವು. ಬಡಗನಾಡು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು, ಸೀರೆನಾಡು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು, ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು ಮತ್ತು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮ ಕರಾವಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಹವ್ಯಕರು, ಕೋಟ ಮತ್ತು ಶಿವಳ್ಳಿ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು. ಈ ಹೆಸರುಗಳನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿದೊಡನೆಯೇ ಅವು ಆಯಾ ಜನರು ವಾಸಿಸುವ ಭೌಗೋಳಿಕ ಪ್ರದೇಶವನ್ನು ನೆನಪಿಗೆ ತರುತ್ತವೆಂಬುದು ಯಾರಿಗಾದರೂ ಗೋಚರಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ತಮ್ಮ ತಮ್ಮ ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ಕರ್ಮಪದ್ಧತಿಗಳನ್ನೂ ಭಾಷಾ ಪ್ರಾದೇಶಿಕತೆಯನ್ನೂ ಉಳಿಸಿ ಕಾಪಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ, ತಮ್ಮ ತಮ್ಮ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿತ್ವವನ್ನು ಮುಂದುವರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಈ ಪಂಗಡಗಳು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ತಮ್ಮನ್ನು ಕರೆದುಕೊಂಡವು. ಒಂದು ಊರಿನ ಅಥವಾ ಭೌಗೋಳಿಕ ಭಾಗದ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ ಸೂಚಿಸುವುದು ಈ ಕ್ರಮವಾಯಿತು. ಪ್ರಾರಂಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡಗಳಿಗೆ ಅಷ್ಟು ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಮಹಮ್ಮದೀಯರ ಧಾಳಿ ನಡೆದ ಮೇಲೆ ಈ ಹೆಸರುಗಳೂ ವಿಭಾಗಗಳೂ ಖಚಿತಗೊಂಡು ಅವು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ಪಂಗಡಗಳೇ ಆಗಿಬಿಟ್ಟವು. ಹೀಗೆ, ಬಡಗನಾಡು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರೆಂಬುವವರು ಮೊದಲಿನ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶದ ಉತ್ತರದ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು-ಅಂದರೆ ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಮತ್ತು ಅನಂತಪುರ ಮುಂತಾದ ಕಡೆಗಳಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು. ಸೀರ್ನಾಡು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಸಿರಾ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕಿನ ಸುತ್ತಮುತ್ತಣಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು, ಹೀಗೆ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳರು ಅತಿ ಉಚ್ಛ್ರಾಯ ಸ್ಥಿತಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅವರ ಹುಟ್ಟೂರಾದ ಸೊಸೆವೂರು, ಬೇಲೂರು, ದೋರಸಮುದ್ರ ಮತ್ತು ತಲಕಾಡು ಅಂದರೆ ಈಗಿನ ಕಡೂರು, ಹಾಸನ ಮತ್ತು ಮೈಸೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಅಧಿಕಾರವು ವ್ಯಾಪಿಸಿತ್ತು. ಅಂದರೆ ಅದು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ನಾಡಾಗಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಸ್ಥಳದಲ್ಲಿ ವಾಸಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಪಡೆದರು. ಈಗಲೂ ಈ ಒಳಪಂಗಡದ ಜನ ಅಧಿಕವಾಗಿ ವಾಸಿಸುವುದು ಈ ಪ್ರದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ. ರಾಮಾನುಜಾಚಾರ್ಯರೂ ಮಧ್ವಾಚಾರ್ಯರೂ ಬರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ಎಲ್ಲ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರೂ ಸ್ಮಾರ್ತರಾಗಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಾವಿಲ್ಲಿ ನೆನೆಯಬಹುದು. ಆದರೆ ಈ 'ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಾಗಲೀ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಾಗಲಿ ೧೭ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಂದೆ ಎಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಾಗಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನಾವಿಲ್ಲಿ ಗುರುತಿಸಬಹುದು. ನನಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತಿರುವಂತೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೧೬೮೭ರ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಈ ಹೆಸರು ಬಂದಿರುವಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ. ಅದನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಮುಂದೆ ಬರೆಯುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ನಾವು ಸಾಂಪ್ರದಾಯಿಕವಾಗಿ ಬಂದಿರುವ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಗಳನ್ನೇ ಆಧರಿಸಿ ಬರೆಯಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಸಂಪ್ರದಾಯದ ನಂಬಿಕೆಯಂತೆ, ಮಹಾಶಯರಾದ ಮಾಧವ-ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರು ಶೃಂಗೇರಿಯ ಮಠಾಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು, ವಿಜಯನಗರ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಗೆ ಕಾರಣರಾದವರು ಈ ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವರು. ಸಮಕಾಲೀನವಾದ ಒಂದು ಶಾಸನದಿಂದ ಈ ವಿಷಯವು ಮತ್ತಷ್ಟು ಪುಷ್ಟಿಗೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ ಮಾಧವ-ಸಾಯಣರ ತಂಗಿಯಾದ ಸಿಂಗಾಂಬಿಕೆ(ಸಿಂಗಲೆ)ಯ ಮಗನೇ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಮೀಧರನೆಂಬ ಮಂತ್ರಿ. ಈತನನ್ನು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ 'ಕನ್ನಡಿಗ ಕುಲಕೆ ರನ್ನದ ಕನ್ನಡಿ' ಎಂದು ವರ್ಣಿಸಿದೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಮಾಧವಾಚಾರ್ಯ, ಸಾಯಣಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಮತ್ತು ಭೋಗನಾಥ ಇವರು ಸಿಂಗಾಂಬಿಕೆಯ ಸಹೋದರರಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಅವರೂ ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರಾದಂತಾಯಿತು. ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಮತ್ತು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ಉಪಯೋಗವಾಗಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬಂಶವು ಗಮನದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೆ ಇವರು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರೆಂಬುದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಮಾಧವ ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರು ಮೂರು ತಲೆಮಾರುಗಳ ಕಾಲ - (ಹರಿಹರ I, ಬುಕ್ಕ I ಮತ್ತು ಹರಿಹರ II) -ವಿಸ್ತಾರವಾದ ರಾಜ್ಯವನ್ನು ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಆಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಆ ರಾಜರಿಗೆ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶನಮಾಡಿದ್ದಲ್ಲದೆ 'ಪರಾಶರ ಮಾಧವೀಯ'ವೆಂಬ ಕಾನೂನುಕ್ರಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಒಂದು ಉತ್ತಮ ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿ ಈ ರಾಜರಿಗೆ ದಾರಿ ದೀಪವಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಇದಲ್ಲದೆ ಅದ್ವೈತ ವೇದಾಂತದ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಅವರು ಬರೆದಿರುವ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಸುಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗಿವೆ. ಅವರು ಸಂಗೀತಸಾರವೆಂಬ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಂಗೀತಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನೂ ಬರೆದಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ವಿದ್ಯಾರಣ್ಯರ ತಮ್ಮಂದಿರಾದ ಸಾಯಣಾಚಾರ್ಯರು ವೇದ ಭಾಷ್ಯವನ್ನು ಬರೆದವರು. 'ಧಾತುವೃತ್ತಿ' ಮುಂತಾದ ಅನೇಕ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ಬರೆದವರು. ಇವರು ಮಹಾ ಸಾಹಿತಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದುದಲ್ಲದೆ ನುರಿತ ಆಡಳಿತ ಸಚಿವರೂ ದಂಡನಾಯಕರೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರು ಎರಡನೆಯ ಸಂಗಮನ ಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದುದಲ್ಲದೆ ಸಂಗಮ ಯೌವ್ವನಪ್ರಾಪ್ತನಾಗುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ಆ ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ರಾಜ ಪ್ರತಿನಿಧಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದು ತುಂಡೀರಮಂಡಲದ (ತಮಿಳು ನಾಡಿನ ಉತ್ತರ ಆರ್ಕಾಟು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆ) ಚಂಪನರೇಂದ್ರನನ್ನು ಯುದ್ಧದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೋಲಿಸಿದ್ದರು.

ಈ ಮೂವರು ಸಹೋದರರಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊನೆಯವರು ಭೋಗನಾಥ ಕವಿ ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಈ ಸಹೋದರರು ವಿಜಯನಗರ ಸಾಮ್ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಪಡೆದಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರಭಾವದ ದಿಸೆಯಿಂದಾಗಿ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಪಂಗಡದವರಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯವೂ ಅಧಿಕಾರವೂ ದೊರಕಿರಬೇಕು. ನನ್ನ ತಾಯಿಯ ಸೋದರಮಾವನವರು, ಅವರ ವಂಶದ ಕಥೆಯ ಪ್ರಕಾರ ಅವರ ತಾಯಿಯ ಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ಭೋಗನಾಥ ಕವಿಯ ವಂಶಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ಈಗ 'ಹೊಯ್ಸಣ ಕನ್ನಡಿ' ಎಂಬ ಒಳ ಪಂಗಡದ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸೋಣ. ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಯ್ಸಣ ಕನ್ನಡಿ ಕುಲಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ರಾಮಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗೆ, ಕಾಂಚಿಯ ಕಾಮಕೋಟಿ ಪೀಠಾಧಿಪತಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದ ಚಂದ್ರಶೇಖರ ಸರಸ್ವತಿಗಳ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಾದ ಮಹಾದೇವೇಂದ್ರ ಸರಸ್ವತಿಗಳು ಉಡುಗೊರೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟರೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಸುಮಾರು ೧೭೦೦ರಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ''ಕುಟ್ಟಿ'' ಕವಿಗಳ ಅಣ್ಣನಾದ ರಾಮಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಯೂ ಈ ರಾಮಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಯೂ ಒಬ್ಬನೇ ಎಂದು ಗುರುತಿಸಲಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಇಬ್ಬರೂ ತಂಜಾವೂರಿನ ನಾಯಕರ ಮಂತ್ರಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದ ಗೋವಿಂದ ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರ ಮಗಳ ಮಕ್ಕಳೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಗೋವಿಂದ ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರು ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರೆಂಬ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವರು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು, ವೇದಾಂತಿಗಳು ಮತ್ತು ಸಂಗೀತಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಜ್ಞರು. ತಂಜಾವೂರಿನಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ ನಾಯಕರ ಮನೆತನಕ್ಕೆ ಮೂರು ತಲೆಮಾರುಗಳ ಕಾಲ ಇವರು ಮಂತ್ರಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ನಾಯಕರಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲು ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದ ಶೆವ್ವಪ್ಪ ನಾಯಕನಿಗೂ ವಿಜಯನಗರದ ಅಚ್ಚುತರಾಯನಿಗೂ (೧೫೩೦-೧೫೪೨) ಸಂಬಂಧವಿತ್ತು. ಶೆವ್ವಪ್ಪನ ಹೆಂಡತಿ ಮೂರ್ತಿಮಾಂಬೆಯು ಅಚ್ಯುತರಾಯನ ರಾಣಿಯರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಬ್ಬಳಾದ ತಿರುಮಲಾಂಬೆಯ ತಂಗಿಯಾಗಿದ್ದಳು. ಈ ನಾಯಕರು ಗೋವಿಂದದೀಕ್ಷಿತರನ್ನು 'ಅಯ್ಯನ್' ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಅವರಿಗೆ ಅರ್ಧಾಸನದ ಗೌರವವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಗೋವಿಂದ ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರ ಆಡಳಿತದ ಪರಿಣಾಮವಾಗಿ ತಂಜಾವೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯು ತುಂಬ ನಾಗರಿಕತೆಯನ್ನೂ ಆರ್ಥಿಕ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಯನ್ನೂ ಪಡೆಯಿತು. ಅವರು 'ಸಂಗೀತ ಸುಧಾನಿಧಿ' ಎಂಬ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಗಂಥವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅವರ ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಗನಾದ ಯಜ್ಞನಾರಾಯಣ ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರು ರಚಿಸಿರುವ 'ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ರತ್ನಾಕರ' ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಅಣ್ಣನ ಬಗೆ ಅನೇಕ ವಿವರಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಗೋವಿಂದ ದೀಕ್ಷಿತರ ಮತ್ತೊಬ್ಬ ಮಕ್ಕಳಾದ ವೆಂಕಟಮುಖಿಗಳು ''ಚತುರ್ದಂಡಿಪ್ರಕಾಶಿಕಾ'' ಎಂಬ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಸಂಗೀತಕ್ಕೆ ಇಂದಿಗೂ ಆಧಾರವಾಗಿರುವ ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನು ರಚಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

ಹಿಂದೆ ಹೇಳಿದ ರಾಮಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಯ ಬಗ್ಗೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಹಿಂದಿರುಗಿ ಕಂಚಿಯ ಕಾಮಕೋಟಿ ಪೀಠದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕನ್ನಡಿ ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಗೌರವ ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯಗಳಿದ್ದುವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಈ ಕಾರಣದಿಂದಲೇ ಇರಬಹುದು. ಈ ಮಠದ ಪೀಠಾಧಿಪತಿಗಳು ಅನೇಕ ತಲೆಮಾರುಗಳವರೆಗೆ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದವರೇ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ಈಗಿನ ಹಿರಿಯ ಮಠಾಧಿಪತಿಗಳು - ಶ್ರೀ ಶ್ರೀ ಚಂದ್ರಶೇಖರೇಂದ್ರ ಸರಸ್ವತಿ ಸ್ವಾಮಿಗಳು, ಆಧ್ಯಾತ್ಮಿಕ ಪ್ರಪಂಚದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಸಾಮಾನ್ಯವಾದ ಚೈತನ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಪ್ರಭಾವವನ್ನೂ ಹೊಂದಿರುವವರಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ವಿಶಾಲ ಮನೋಭಾವನೆ, ಸರಳಜೀವನ, ಉದಾತ್ತವಾದ ಬೋಧನಮಾರ್ಗ, ಮಹಾವಿದ್ವತ್ತು. ಆಧ್ಯಾತ್ಮಿಕದೃಷ್ಟಿ ಮುಂತಾದುವುಗಳಿಂದ ಈಗಿರುವ ಹೊಯ್ಸಳ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಅತಿ ಶ್ರೇಷ್ಠ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ಕಂಗೊಳಿಸಿದ್ದಾರೆ.

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ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮಿ*

''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮಿಗಳು'' ಎಂದು ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುವ ಸ್ಮಾರ್ತ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಅನೇಕ ಮನೆತನಗಳು ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶದ ನಾನಾ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲೆಸಿವೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಷಯ. ಈ ಪಂಗಡದ ಬಹು ಜನರು ಬೆಂಗಳೂರು, ಕೋಲಾರ, ತುಮಕೂರು, ಬಳ್ಳಾರಿ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ಮಂದಿ ಇತರ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ವಾಸವಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಅಷ್ಟೇ ಅಲ್ಲದೆ, ಮೈಸೂರುದೇಶದ ಎಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈಗಿನ ಆಂಧ್ರ ಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಅನಂತಪುರ, ಕರ್ನೂಲು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಈ ಪಂಗಡದ ಕೆಲ ಮನೆತನಗಳು ಇವೆ. ಆದರೆ ''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮಿ'' ಎಂಬ ಪದದ ಅರ್ಥವಾಗಲಿ ಅದರ ಮೂಲವಾಗಲಿ ಏನು ಎಂಬುದು ಖಚಿತವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದಂತೆ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಕೆಲವು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರು ಬೇರೆ ಬೇರೆ ರೀತಿ ಇದರ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾರೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯಾವುದನ್ನು ಅಂಗೀಕರಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದು ಕಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಪದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮಂಜಸವಾದ ಅರ್ಥವೊಂದನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸಬೇಕೆಂಬುದೇ ಈ ಲೇಖನದ ಉದ್ದೇಶ.

ನಮ್ಮ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅನೇಕ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ಪಂಗಡಗಳು ಒಂದು ಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಅಥವಾ ಒಂದು ಊರಿನ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸಲ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿವೆ. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವನ್ನು ಇಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವೇಚಿಸಬಹುದು. ''ಹೊಯಿಸಳಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು'' ಹೊಯಿಸಳ ದೇಶದ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾದ ಕನ್ನಡ ಮಾತನಾಡುವ ಸ್ಮಾರ್ತಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು. ''ಸೀರನಾಡು'' ಜನರು ತುಮಕೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಸೀರ್ಯವೇ (ಈಗ ಸಿರಾ) ಮುಖ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಣವಾದ ನಾಡಿನ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳು. ''ಮುಲುಕಿನಾಡು'', ''ವೆಲನಾಡು'', ''ಆರವೇಲು'' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುವ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಆಯಾ ಪ್ರಾಂತದ ಅಂದರೆ ಮುಲುಕಿನಾಡು, ವೆಲನಾಡು, ಆರವೇಲು ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳಿಂದ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದವರು. ''ಮುಲುಕಿನಾಡು'' ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಾಂತವು ಕಡಪ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕೆಲಭಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಒಳಕೊಂಡಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ಅನೇಕ ಶಾಸನಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಇತರ ಆಧಾರಗಳಿಂದಲೂ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗಿದೆ. ಕಡಪಕ್ಕೆ ಸುಮಾರು ಎಂಟು ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಪುಷ್ಪಗಿರಿಯ ಸುತ್ತಮುತ್ತಲಿನ ಪ್ರದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ''ಮುಳಿಕಿ 300'', ಮುಲಿಕಿನಾಡು'', ''ಮುಲುಕಿನಾಡು'' ಎಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಸರಿದೆ. ಇದರಂತೆಯೇ ವೆಲನಾಡು ಪ್ರಾಂತವು ಗುಂಟೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ರೇಪಲ್ಲೆ ಮತ್ತು ತೆನಾಲಿ ತಾಲ್ಲೂಕುಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡಿತ್ತು. ಆರವೇಲು ಪ್ರಾಂತವು ''ಕೃಷ್ಣವೇಣ್ಯಾ ನದೀದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಷಟ್‌ಸಹಸ್ರ ಗ್ರಾಮಾವನೀ'' ಎಂದು ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ವರ್ಣಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾನದಿಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣತೀರದಲ್ಲಿ ಆರುಸಾವಿರ (ತೆಲುಗಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಆರುವೇಲು) ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡ ಪ್ರಾಂತಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಹೆಸರಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇದನ್ನು ''ಕೋಟ'' ಎಂಬ ಮನೆತನದ ಸಾಮಂತರು ತಮ್ಮ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಧಾನ್ಯಕಟಕದಿಂದ ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆಂದು ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಹೇಳುತ್ತವೆ. ಈ ಧಾನ್ಯಕಟಕವು ಬೌದ್ಧ ಶಿಲ್ಪಕಲೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ಅಮರಾವತಿಯ ಬಳಿಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈಗಿನ ''ಧರಣಿಕೋಟ'' ಎಂದು ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ಸಣ್ಣಗ್ರಾಮ. ಅಮರಾವತಿಯು ಗುಂಟೂರಿನಿಂದ ಸುಮಾರು ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತೊಂದು ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣಾನದಿಯ ದಕ್ಷಿಣತೀರದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಆದ್ದರಿಂದ ಧರಣಿಕೋಟೆಯ ಸುತ್ತುಮುತ್ತಲಿನ ಪ್ರಾಂತವೇ ಆರವೇಲು ಪ್ರಾಂತವೆಂದು ಹೆಸರು ಪಡೆದಿತ್ತೆಂಬುದು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಮೈಸೂರು ಮತ್ತು ಇತರ ಪ್ರಾಂತಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಂದು ನೆಲಸಿರುವ ಆರುವೇಲು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಅಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು.

ಇದೇರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ದೇಶಸ್ಥ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ''ದೇಶ'' ಎಂಬ ದಕ್ಷನ್ ಪ್ರಸ್ಥಭೂಮಿಯ (Deccan plateau) ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳು. ಕೊಂಕಣಸ್ಥ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಕೊಂಕಣದಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು. ಕೊಂಕಣವು ಪಶ್ಚಿಮಘಟ್ಟಕ್ಕೂ ಸಮುದ್ರಕ್ಕೂ ನಡುವೆ ಇರುವ ಪ್ರದೇಶ, ಅಂದರೆ ಠಾಣಾ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಿಂದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣಕ್ಕೆ ಗೋವೆಯ ವರೆಗಿನ ಪ್ರದೇಶವೆಂದು ಸ್ಥೂಲವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು.

ಇವುಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ನಾಡುಗಳ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ ನಿರ್ದೇಶಿಸಲ್ಪಟ್ಟ ಪಂಗಡಗಳು. ಇನ್ನು ಊರುಗಳ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ ಕರೆಯಲ್ಪಡುವ ಕೆಲವು ಪಂಗಡಗಳ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಬಹುದು. ''ಮೂಗೂರು ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕರು'' ಮೈಸೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಮೂಗೂರು ಗ್ರಾಮದವರು. ''ಶಿವಳ್ಳಿ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ'' ಎಂಬವರು ಮಂಗಳೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಉಡುಪಿಯ ಬಳಿ ಇರುವ ಶಿವಳ್ಳಿ ಎಂಬ ಹಳ್ಳಿಯವರು. ''ಕೋಟ'' ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಇದೇ ಮಂಗಳೂರು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ''ಕೋಟ'' ಎಂಬ ಸ್ಥಳದವರು. ''ಮಂಡ್ಯಂ ಅಯ್ಯಂಗಾರ್'' ಎಂಬ ಶ್ರೀವೈಷ್ಣವ ಪಂಥದವರು ಮಂಡ್ಯಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಮುಖ್ಯಪಟ್ಟಣವಾದ ಮಂಡ್ಯ ಸ್ಥಳದವರು. ''ಸಂಕೇತಿಗಳು'' ಮದರಾಸ್ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ತಿರುನೆಲ್‌ವೇಲಿ

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* ಉಪಾಯನ, ಡಾ. ಡಿ.ಎಲ್.ಎನ್. ಅಭಿನಂದನ ಗ್ರಂಥ, ಪು. ೩೦೦-೩೦೨.

ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ''ಶೆಂಕೊಟ್ಟ'' ಎಂಬ ಊರಿನಿಂದ ಮೈಸೂರು ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದು ನೆಲಸಿದವರೆಂದು ಈ ಜನಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವರ ಹೇಳಿಕೆ. ತಮಿಳು ಮಾತೃಭಾಷೆಯಾಗಿರುವ ''ಬೃಹಚ್ಚರಣಂ'' ಎಂಬ ಸ್ಮಾರ್ತ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣಪಂಗಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಎರಡು ಮೂರು ಬಗೆಗಳಿವೆ. ಕಂಡ್ರಮಾಣಿಕ್ಯಂ, ಸತ್ಯಮಂಗಲಂ, ತಿರುವಣ್ಣಾಮಲೈ ಎಂಬ ಈ ಬಗೆಗಳವರ ಹೆಸರುಗಳೇ ಈ ಜನರು ಈ ಊರುಗಳ ನಿವಾಸಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದಾರೆಂದು ಸೂಚಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ''ನಂದವರೀಕುಲು'' ಎಂಬ ಹೆಸರುಳ್ಳ ತೆಲುಗು ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಆಂಧ್ರಪ್ರದೇಶದ ಕರ್ನೂಲು ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯಲ್ಲಿರುವ ನಂದವರಂ ಎಂಬ ಊರಿನಿಂದ ಬಂದವರು. ''ಗೋಲ್ಕೊಂಡ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರುಲು'' (ಈಗ ವ್ಯಾಪಾರಿಗಳಲ್ಲ) ಎಂಬ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಹೈದರಾಬಾದ್ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಜಗದ್ವಿಖ್ಯಾತವಾದ ಗೋಲ್ಕೊಂಡ ಸ್ಥಳದವರು. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಪುದೂರು ದ್ರಾವಿಡಿಗಳು, ತುಮ್ಮಕುಂಟೆ ದ್ರಾವಿಡಿಗಳು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ಪಂಗಡಗಳು ಊರುಗಳ ಹೆಸರುಗಳಿಂದ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಯಾಗಿವೆ.

ಊರು ಅಥವಾ ನಾಡಿನ ಹೆಸರನ್ನು ಒಂದು ಪಂಗಡಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಡುವ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯು ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾರತದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪ್ರಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೂ, ಭಾರತದ ಇತರ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಈ ಪದ್ಧತಿಯನ್ನು ಕಾಣಬಹುದು. ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಾಗಿ ಮಹಾರಾಷ್ಟ್ರ ದೇಶದ ''ಕರ್ಹಾಡೀ'' ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಸಾತಾರಾ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಕರಹಾಡ (ಈಗಿನ ಕರಾಡ) ಸ್ಥಳೀಕರು. ಉತ್ತರ ಪ್ರದೇಶ (U.P.) ಮತ್ತು ಮಧ್ಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶ(M.P.)ಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಬಹು ಸಂಖ್ಯಾತರಾದ ''ಕಾನ್ಯಕುಬ್ಜ'' ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರು ಇತಿಹಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಿಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದ ಕಾನ್ಯಕುಬ್ಜವಿನಿರ್ಗತರು. ಈ ಕಾನ್ಯಕುಬ್ಜವು ಉತ್ತರಪ್ರದೇಶದ ರಾಜಧಾನಿಯಾದ ಲಖನೌ ಸಮೀಪದಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಅತ್ತರ್ ತಯಾರಿಕೆಗೆ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧವಾದ ಕನ್ನೌಜ್ ಎಂಬ ಪಟ್ಟಣ. ''ವರೇಂದ್ರೀ'' ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರೆಂಬುವರು ಬಂಗಾಳಾದೇಶದ ವರೇಂದ್ರೀ ಪ್ರಾಂತದವರು (ಈಗಿನ ರಾಜಶಾಹೀ ಡಿವಿಷನ್).

ಈ ರೀತಿ ನಾಡುಗಳ ಮತ್ತು ಊರುಗಳ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದ ವಿದಿತವಾದ ಅನೇಕ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ಪಂಗಡಗಳು ಭಾರತದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಭಾಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಂತೆ, ಮೈಸೂರುದೇಶದಲ್ಲಿ ನೆಲಸಿವೆ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸಿದಂತಾಯಿತು. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮೆ'' ಎಂಬ ಪಂಗಡವೂ ಒಂದು ಊರಿನ ಹೆಸರಿನಿಂದಲೇ ಹುಟ್ಟಿದೆ ಎಂಬುದು ನನ್ನ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮೆ'' ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ''ಉಲ್ಚ'' ಮತ್ತು ''ಕಮ್ಮೆ'' ಎಂಬ ಎರಡು ಪದಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಂಡಿದೆ. ''ಕಮ್ಮೆ'' ಎಂಬುದು ''ಕರ್ಮಿನ್'' ಎಂಬ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪದದ ಕನ್ನಡರೂಪ. ''ಕರ್ಮಿನ್'' ಎಂದರೆ ವೈದಿಕ ಕರ್ಮಗಳನ್ನು ಶ್ರದ್ಧೆಯಿಂದ ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ಎಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿಲ್ಲ.[1] ಇನ್ನು ''ಉಲ್ಚ'' ಎಂಬ ಪದಕ್ಕೆ ಅರ್ಥ. ''ಉಲ್ಚ'' ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ''ಉಳ್ಚಳ್'' ಎಂಬ ಊರಿನ ಹೆಸರಿನ ರೂಪಾಂತರ. ''ಉಳ್ಚಳ್'' ಪದವು ''ಉಲ್ಚಲ್'' ಆಗಿ ಆಮೇಲೆ ''ಉಲ್ಚ''ವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇದು ಹೀಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ನಾನು ಶಾಸನಸಂಗ್ರಹಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಸಂಚಾರಮಾಡುತ್ತಿರುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಕರ್ನೂಲ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ''ಉಲಚಾಲ'' ಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಶಿಲಾಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪರೀಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಹೊಳೆಯಿತು. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಬಾದಾಮಿಯ ಚಾಲುಕ್ಯವಂಶದ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯ ಮಹಾರಾಜನ ಮೂವತ್ತೈದನೆಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಸಂವತ್ಸರದಲ್ಲಿ, ಅಂದರೆ ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. ೭೩೦ನೇ ಇಸವಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟ ಒಂದು ದಾನಪತ್ರ. ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಮಗನಾದ ಯುವರಾಜ ವಿಕ್ರಮಾದಿತ್ಯನು ಕಾಂಚೀಪಟ್ಟಣವನ್ನು ಮುತ್ತಿ ಅಲ್ಲಿಯ ರಾಜನಾದ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರ ಪಲ್ಲವನಿಂದ ಕಪ್ಪವನ್ನು ಕೊಂಡು ಹಿಂತಿರುಗುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ''ಉಳ್ಚಳು'' ಮತ್ತು ''ಪರಿಯಳು'' ಎಂಬ ಗ್ರಾಮಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಂಗುಣಿವಂಶೀಯನಾದ ''ದುರ್ವಿನೀತ ಪೆರಿಯಪ್ಪೋರ್'' ಎಂಬ ಸಾಮಂತನಿಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟಂತೆ ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಉಲಚಾಲಗ್ರಾಮದಲ್ಲೇ ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದರಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರ್ದಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ''ಉಳ್ಚಳು'' ಉಲಚಾಲವೇ ಎಂಬುದುಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ವಿಜಯಾದಿತ್ಯನ ತಂದೆಯಾದ ವಿನಯಾದಿತ್ಯನ ಶಾಸನವೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಹೆಸರು ''ಉಳ್ಚಳ್'' ಎಂದಿದೆ. ಮೇಲೆ ತೋರಿಸಿದಂತೆ ''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮೆ''ಯ ''ಉಲ್ಚ'' ಎಂಬ ಪೂರ್ವಾರ್ಧಪದವು ''ಉಳ್ಚಳ್'' ಎಂಬ ಪದದ ಸಂಕ್ಷಿಪ್ತಸ್ವರೂಪ. ಈ ಉಲಚಾಲ ಗ್ರಾಮವು ಕರ್ನೂಲಿನ ವಾಯುವ್ಯದಿಕ್ಕಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಹತ್ತು ಮೈಲಿ ದೂರದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಕನ್ನಡನಾಡಾದ ರಾಯಚೂರ್ ಜಿಲ್ಲೆಯ ಅಂಚಿನಲ್ಲಿರುವ ಈ ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಸುತ್ತುಮುತ್ತಲಿನ ಪ್ರದೇಶವು ಈಗ ತೆಲುಗು ರಾಜ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದರೂ ಕೆಲವು ಶತಮಾನಗಳ ಹಿಂದೆ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕದೇಶಕ್ಕೇ ಸೇರಿತ್ತು. ಈ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಸ್ತುತ ಶಾಸನವು[2] ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಗಮನಾರ್ಹವಾದ ವಿಷಯ. ಇದೊಂದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೇ ಅನೇಕ ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನಗಳು ಈ ಪ್ರಾಂತದಲ್ಲಿ ದೊರತಿವೆ. ಆದುದರಿಂದ ಕನ್ನಡವೇ ಮಾತೃಭಾಷೆಯಾಗಿರುವಂತಹ ''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮೆ'' ಜನರು ಕನ್ನಡನಾಡಾಗಿದ್ದ ಈ ಭಾಗದವರೆಂಬುದು ಅಸಂಭವವಲ್ಲ. ಯಾವ ರೀತಿಯಾಗಿ ಬಬ್ಬೂರಿನ ಕಮ್ಮೆಗಳು ''ಬಬ್ಬೂರು ಕಮ್ಮೆ''ಗಳಾದರೋ ಅದೇ ರೀತಿ ''ಉಳ್ಚಳು'' ಅಥವಾ ''ಉಳ್ಚಳ್'' ಗ್ರಾಮದ ಕಮ್ಮೆಗಳು ''ಉಲ್ಚಕಮ್ಮೆ''ಗಳಾದರು.

ಟಿಪ್ಪಣಿಗಳು

1. ಬಸವರಾಜದೇವರ ರಗಳೆ (1.98). ಯಶೋಧರಚರಿತೆ (1.20) ಮೊದಲಾದ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲೂ (ಇವುಗಳನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟು ಉಪಕಾರ ಮಾಡಿದವರು ಪ್ರೊ॥ ತೀ.ನಂ.ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಯ್ಯನವರು). ಕೆಲವು ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನಗಳಲ್ಲೂ (ಉದಾ. *Bombay-Karnatak*

Epigraphical Collection, No. 207 of 1926-27) ''ಕಮ್ಮೆಕುಲ''ವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರಿನ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣಕುಲವೊಂದು ಉಲ್ಲಿಖಿತವಾಗಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿಯ ''ಕಮ್ಮೆ'' ಪದವು ''ಕಮ್ಮಿ'' ಎಂಬುದರ ರೂಪಾಂತರವಿದ್ದಂತೆ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

2. ಪಲ್ಲವರಾಜರ ಕಾಲಮಾನವನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಧರಿಸುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ಉಲ್ಲಿಖಿತವಾದ ಕಾಲವು (ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 730) ಬಹಳ ಮಹತ್ವದ್ದಾಗಿದೆ. ಈ ಶಾಸನವು ಸಿಕ್ಕುವವರೆಗೂ ನಂದಿವರ್ಮ್ಮ ಪಲ್ಲವರ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಪ್ರಾರಂಭ ಕಾಲನಿರ್ಣಯದ ವಿಚಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಭಿನ್ನಾಭಿಪ್ರಾಯಗಳಿದ್ದವು. ಈ ಶಾಸನದಲ್ಲಿ ನಂದಿವರ್ಮ್ಮನಿಗಿಂತ ಮೊದಲು ಆಳುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಪರಮೇಶ್ವರನು ಕ್ರಿ.ಶ. 730ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇದ್ದನೆಂದು ತಿಳಿಯುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಂಚೆ ನಂದಿವರ್ಮ್ಮನು ಪಟಕ್ಕೆ ಬಂದಿರಲಾರನು ಎಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. (*Journal of Indian History,* Vol. XXX, pt. iii, pp. 287ff. ನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾದ "Date of Pallava Paramesvara" ಎಂಬ ನನ್ನ ಲೇಖನವನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ.).

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ಡಾ॥ ಡಿ.ಎಲ್. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರು*

''ಡಿ.ಎಲ್.ಎನ್.'' ಅವರ ಪ್ರಥಮ ಪರಿಚಯ ನನಗಾದದ್ದು ೧೯೩೮ರಲ್ಲಿ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ನನಗೆ ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಒದಗಿಸಿಕೊಟ್ಟವರು ಪೂಜ್ಯರಾದ ದಿವಂಗತ ಟಿ.ಎಸ್. ವೆಂಕಣ್ಣಯ್ಯನವರು. ವೈದ್ಯರ ಸಲಹೆಯ ಮೇಲೆ ಹವಾ ಬದಲಾವಣೆಗಾಗಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗೆ ವೆಂಕಣ್ಣಯ್ಯನವರು ಬರಬೇಕಾಯಿತು. ಆಗ (೧೯೩೮ರ ಏಪ್ರಿಲ್ ತಿಂಗಳು) ನಾನು ನೀಲಗಿರಿಯಲ್ಲೇ ನೌಕರಿಯಲ್ಲಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ನಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಅವರು ಸುಮಾರು ಒಂದು ತಿಂಗಳು ಇದ್ದರು. ಅವರು ಅಲ್ಲಿದ್ದಾಗ ಅನೇಕವೇಳೆ ಡಿ.ಎಲ್.ಎನ್. ಅವರ ಗಾಢ ಪರಿಶ್ರಮವನ್ನೂ, ವಿದ್ವತ್ತನ್ನೂ ಪ್ರಶಂಸಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದರು. ''ಇವರು ನಿಮಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತಿದೆಯೇ'' ಎಂದು ನನ್ನನ್ನು ಕೇಳಿದ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ''ಇಲ್ಲ ಸರ್'' ಎಂದು ನಾನು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಇದಾದ ಕೆಲವು ತಿಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ನಾನು ಮೈಸೂರಿಗೆ ಹೋಗಬೇಕಾದ ಸಂದರ್ಭ ಒದಗಿತು. ವೆಂಕಣ್ಣಯ್ಯನವರ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಎರಡು ದಿನ ಇಳಿದುಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದೆ. ಆಗ ಶ್ರೀ ಡಿ.ಎಲ್.ಎನ್., ಶ್ರೀ ತೀ.ನಂ.ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಯ್ಯನವರು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅವರ ಸಹೋದ್ಯೋಗಿಗಳ ಪರಿಚಯವನ್ನು ನನಗೆ ಮಾಡಿಕೊಡುವ ಉದ್ದೇಶದಿಂದಲೇ ಅವರು ತಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಚಿಕ್ಕಭೋಜನ ಕೂಟವನ್ನು ಏರ್ಪಡಿಸಿ ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರನ್ನು ಗುರುತು ಮಾಡಿಕೊಟ್ಟರು. ಅಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಮುಂದೆ ನಾನು ಮೈಸೂರು ಮಾರ್ಗ ಯಾವಾಗ ಪ್ರಯಾಣ ಮಾಡಿದರೂ ಡಿ.ಎಲ್.ಎನ್. ಅವರನ್ನು ನೋಡದೇ ಹೋಗುತ್ತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಒಂದು ಸಲ ಅವರನ್ನು ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಣಲು ನನಗೆ ವ್ಯವದಾನವಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಆಗ ಅವರೇ ರೈಲ್ವೆ ಸ್ಟೇಷನ್ನಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ರೈಲು ಹೊರಡುವವರೆಗೂ ನನ್ನ ಜೊತೆಯಲ್ಲೇ ಇದ್ದು ಅವರ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯ ಗುರುತಾಗಿ ಒಂದು ಚಿಪ್ಪು ನಂಜನಗೂಡು ರಸಬಾಳೆಯ ಹಣ್ಣನ್ನು ತಂದುಕೊಟ್ಟರು. ಇವರೊಡನೆ ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆ ಮತ್ತು ಶಾಸನ ಸಂಶೋಧನೆಗೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟ ಪತ್ರವ್ಯವಹಾರವನ್ನು ನಾನು ಇಟ್ಟುಕೊಂಡೇ ಇದ್ದೆ. ನಾವಿಬ್ಬರೂ ಮಾತುಕಥೆಯಾಡುವಾಗಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಯಾವುದಾದರೂ ಒಂದು ಸಂಶೋಧನಾತ್ಮಕವಾದ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಚರ್ಚಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದೇವೇ ಹೊರತು ಒಂದು ಕ್ಷಣವೂ ಕಾಡುಹರಟೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲ್ಕಳೆಯುತ್ತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ.

೧೯೫೨ರಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರು ನನ್ನ ಆಹ್ವಾನವನ್ನು ಮನ್ನಿಸಿ ನೀಲಗಿರಿಗೆ ಬಂದು ನಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಐದು-ಆರು ದಿನಗಳಿದ್ದರು. ಈ ಸಮಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಆಗತಾನೇ ನಾನು ಪಡಿಯಚ್ಚುಮಾಡಿಕೊಂಡು ಬಂದಿದ್ದ ಹತ್ತನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನದ ಒಂದು ಕನ್ನಡ ಶಾಸನವನ್ನು ಪರೀಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದೆ. ಅದರ ಪಾಠವನ್ನು ಅವರ ಕೈಗೆ ಕೊಟ್ಟು ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ಸಾಹವೆಂಬ ಛಂದಸ್ಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ರಚಿತವಾದ ಪದ್ಯವೊಂದನ್ನು ಅವರಿಗೆ ತೋರಿಸಿ, ಈ ಛಂದಸ್ಸಿನ ವಿಷಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರಿಗೆ ಗೊತ್ತಿರುವ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ನನಗೆ ತಿಳಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಕೇಳಿಕೊಂಡೆ. ಆಗ ಅವರು ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣವಾಗಿ ಶಾಸನಪಾಠವನ್ನು ಪರಿಶೀಲಿಸಿ ಇದು ಅನೇಕ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಗಳಿಂದ ಬಹು ಮಹತ್ವವಾದ ಶಾಸನವೆಂದೂ ಆದಷ್ಟು ಬೇಗ ಅದನ್ನು ಪ್ರಕಟಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿದರು. ಈ ಕೆಲಸವನ್ನು ಅವರೇ ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಂಡರೆ ಬಹಳ ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿರುವುದೆಂದು ನಾನು ಸೂಚಿಸಿದೆ. ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವರು ಸಮ್ಮತಿಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟರೂ ಆ ಶಾಸನದ ಮೇಲಿನ ಲೇಖನವು ನಮ್ಮಿಬ್ಬರ ಹೆಸರಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಇರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ ಪಟ್ಟರು. ಹಾಗಾದರೆ ಅವರ ಹೆಸರೇ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾಗಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಸಲಹೆಕೊಟ್ಟೆ. ಆದರೆ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವರು ಒಪ್ಪದೆ ನನ್ನ ಹೆಸರೇ ಮೊದಲು ಇರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಒತ್ತಾಯಪಡಿಸಿದರು. ನನ್ನ ಮೇಲೆ ಅವರಿಗಿದ್ದ ಪ್ರೀತಿ ಗೌರವಗಳಿಗೆ ಇದೇ ಒಂದು ನಿದರ್ಶನ. Epigraphia Indica (Vol. XXIX-Pages 203-209)ದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗಿರುವ ಈ ಲೇಖನದ ಪೀಠಿಕೆಯು ಅವರ ಅಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ನರಸಿಂಹಾಚಾರ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಇದ್ದಷ್ಟು ಶಾಸನ ಪರಿಚಯ ಮತ್ತಾವ ಕನ್ನಡ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರಿಗೂ ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂದೇ ನನ್ನ ಖಚಿತವಾದ ಅಭಿಪ್ರಾಯ. ಉಳಿದ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅವರ ಬುದ್ಧಿ ಕೌಶಲವನ್ನೂ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಶ್ಲಾಘಿಸಲು ನನಗೆ ಅರ್ಹತೆ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೆ ಕೆಲವು ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ನಾವು ಚರ್ಚಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಾಗ ಇವರ ಪ್ರತಿಭೆಯನ್ನೂ, ಇವರ ವಾದದ ಶೈಲಿಯನ್ನೂ, ಇವರ ಅಪರಿಮಿತವಾದ ಭಾಷಾ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನೂ, ಇವರ ಆಡಂಬರವಿಲ್ಲದ ಪ್ರಾವೀಣ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಕಂಡು ಎಷ್ಟೋ ಸಲ ಚಕಿತನಾಗಿದ್ದೇನೆ.

ಈ ವರ್ಷ (೧೯೭೧) ಕನ್ನಡ ನಿಘಂಟುವಿನ ಕೆಲಸಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಮೈಸೂರಿಗೆ ಏಪ್ರಿಲ್ ತಿಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೋಗಿದ್ದಾಗ ಇವರನ್ನು ಕೊನೆಯಬಾರಿಗೆ ಕಂಡದ್ದು ೧೬ನೆಯ ತಾರೀಖು. ಈ ಸಲ ಅನೇಕ ಕಾರಣಗಳಿಂದ ಅವರ ಮನೆಗೆ ಹೋಗಲು ಸಾಧ್ಯವಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವರ ಮನೆಯ ಬಳಿ ಮೈಸೂರು ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದ Van ಇಂದ ಅವತ್ತು ಅವರು ಇಳಿದಾಗ ''ಈ ಸಲ ನಮ್ಮ ಮನೆಗೆ ಬರಲೇ ಇಲ್ಲವಲ್ಲ, ಸರ್'' ಎಂದು ಪೇಚಾಡಿದರು. ''ಕ್ಷಮಿಸಿ, ಮುಂದಿನ ಸಲ ಖಂಡಿತ ತಪ್ಪುವುದಿಲ್ಲ,'' ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದೆ. ಆದರೆ ಆ ಪುಣ್ಯ ನನಗೆ ಲಭಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲ!

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* *ಕನ್ನಡನುಡಿ, ೧೬-೮-೧೯೭೧, ಪು. ೩.*

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